

CALL OF THE EARTH
By Taraprasad Biswas

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NOTES

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As the War-Lords of the Western peoples have declared that World War No. II is over, 1946, *Anno Domini* should be hailed as the first year of peace after half a decade of organised violence, terror and destruction. Peace if it be, indeed, then it is Peace in a garb unknown to all the prophets and philosophers of old. What with Europe hidden under the impenetrable veil of a complete news-blackout, with the Near East quaking and Iran staging a series of puppet-shows under the direction of Moscow, with Britain as an uneasy spectator, with Indo-China and Indonesia ringing under the iron heels of Imperialistic Militarism engaged in the crushing of the aspirations of infant Asiatic democracies, with China poised on the cross-roads between civil war and anarchy and with Japan being given a demonstration of Mosaic Law, the rosy dreams of peace are melting fast. For the Asiatics the portents of 1946 seem to be for a Blood and Iron peace, the uneasy interlude between one orgy of death and destruction and, maybe, another of a still more horrible and devastating nature. For Europe, it seems, as if 1946 is ushering in the entree of *Gottterdammerung* of Western civilization. And for the leaders of the Americas, 1946 is the Year of Trial for democracy.

In the Economic sphere, in the world of trade, commerce and industry, this new-born year will be the year of a queer moratorium, the year in which the buyers will go begging after sellers, as if for alms, and the sellers will ride the high-horse, drunk with the loot of war-profiteering. Viewed from all points therefore, 1946 is the year of the hiatus, the gap in the transition from carnage and chaos to the unknown.

Of Europe we have heard but little since the cessation of hostilities and what little there has been of news, was of the most disturbing nature in so far as the civilians, old and young, are concerned. Rape and pillage in Austria has been reported and mass transfers of population. A short glimpse into the conditions prevailing may be got from the following list of news sent by the *USIS*:

New York, Dec. 24.—A Christmas appeal to the people of America on behalf of the children of Europe was issued yesterday by 50 prominent churchmen and laymen representing the major Christian denominations in the United States.

The appeal told the American people to petition the United States Congress to join in the effort to save Europe's children, "regardless of race, nationality or creed."

The appeal was based on official reports and information received from abroad by the various religious relief organizations.

The appeal pictured conditions where "millions of Europe's children live in heatless rooms, often without windows, with leaking roofs and sometimes open to the winter sky. Their food must also fuel their bodies with heat." The appeal asked for aid for all of Europe's children, including those in the Axis countries.

The Soviets are working their will on the conquered peoples in the accepted methods of medieval Europe. The British and Americans seem to have confined their energies to "make the punishment fit the crime." It might be considered unseemly to refer to such a grim tragedy as is being enacted in Europe in a strain of levity, but we find nothing in the news to describe the role of the Anglo-Americans in Europe better than by the above quotation from *Mikado*.

Indeed from all accounts the Soviets are taking time by the furlough in both the hemispheres. The following news item from the *Worldover Press* bulletin would give an idea regarding the Soviets' activities in Latin America:

Has Venezuela Revolt Spoiled Soviet Center?

Almost lost to sight was the arrival of a plane bearing 24 Soviet Embassy officials at Caracas the day before the rent revolution broke out. The new functionaries announced that others would soon follow until the staff numbered sixty. Coupling this with slowness of the USSR to replace the late Ambassador Constantine Oumansky in Mexico, where Russian coldness has undone much of his work, and the support given mezucla's President Medina by Communists early in the revolution, it appears that Caracas has been selected as the new center for diffusion of Soviet activity throughout Latin America. When it was charged, Mexico City last year that the Soviet Embassy had had sixty officials, indignant denials were forthcoming.

Mexico is to have an election in 1946, and the political battle lines are already forming. This does not provide a good climate for intensive Communist propaganda. Neither does the country's proximity to and friendship with the U.S., which is adopting a tougher attitude. The end of the war has made work in South America more feasible from a nearer headquarters. All these factors were behind the choice of Caracas, but the new regime may or may not be as willing to swap favors for labor support as was the deposed President. Román Betancourt has al-

ready been characterized as a "Trotzkyite" by certain Latin American papers with a Communist ideology.

With regard to the reference to the Soviets Embassy in Mexico, the following extracts from an article by Tavares de Sa in the November issue of *Asia and the Americas* are interesting:

One has heard a great deal about the pro-Fascist, reactionary factions in Latin America: the *Sinarquistas* in Mexico, the *Integralistas* in Brazil, the military clique in Argentina and other countries. What about the Left?

First of all, it is necessary to proceed cautiously, tongue in check, to avoid overrating the importance of Communism south of the border. Every government there, but especially dictatorships like Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, have long used the convenient label of "Communist" to stick on whoever happens to be against them....

On the other hand, it would be puerile to deny that Communism is a growing force throughout Latin America, many countries having vigorous and thriving political offshoots of Marxism. A quick survey of some key countries bears this out.

In Mexico the swing to the Left has a long and tormented story behind it; the Mexicans refer to it as the *Revolucion Mexicana*. And they will tell you proudly that their revolution, with its Marxist conceptions of confiscation of *latifundia* and expropriation of foreign corporations, got under way several years before Lenin debarked at the Finland Station in Petrograd. Perhaps as a throwback to historical days in the evolution of Communism, Mexican Marxists are even today split into a Stalinist and a Trotskyist wing....

Soviet Russia has not been unaware of this favorable climate in a strategic part of the Western Hemisphere. The Soviet Embassy in Mexico City boasts of a very large staff of top-flight specialists and experts in various fields; while at its head was one of the leading Soviet foreign service men, Ambassador Oumansky, recently killed in an airplane crash, was conceded to be Russia's outstanding diplomat.

While the Soviets' activities in the New World are confined to the traditional method of Western diplomacy, the same cannot be said by any means about the Old World.

In Eastern Europe the Soviets are maintaining their stranglehold with a mailed fist and an almost total news-black out. But it is in Asia, the Near East and up in the northern provinces of Iran, that we really get a picture of the Russian Sinx in action. There while one paw is menacing Turkey, the other one is slowly feeling its way to the Persian Gulf. The position in Iran is becoming clearer day by day, and it is perhaps here that the sowing of the Dragon's Teeth is begun in earnest. With the Arab world in ferment the Soviets' Embassy in Baghdad would be in a position of great strategic importance, and with British Permanent Officialdom fully engaged in fishing in the troubled waters of Pakistan in India, Stalin's "castling move" in Azerbaijan becomes of vital significance. From Azerbaijan to Mazandran and Khorassan, and thence it is but a step to the power magazines of Afghanistan and the trans-frontier region of the Indian North-West.

While Britain is pondering the laudable task of putting back Humpty Dumpty in Indo-China and

Indonesia and incidentally, "larning" Asiatic aspirant after liberty with bombs and mechanized weapons in her traditional fashion, and while the U.S.A. is busy educating the Japanese, civilians and military, in the code of Mosaic Law, the Soviets' moves in the sphere of *Real-politik* are indeed masterly. Bernard Shaw's remarks on the eve of the first meeting of Stalin with Churchill and Roosevelt now seem to be justified more than ever.

Big Powers' Fight Over Iran

"When the British Lion and the Russian Bear move together," wrote a nineteenth century poet, "the fate of Iran will be sealed." Today the fate of Iran is being decided with a vengeance. India cannot but watch the big Powers' fight over Iran with mounting anxiety for obvious strategic reasons. The American Eagle has now begun to participate in this trial of nerves. Iran's only sin is that she occupies a strategic position important both to Britain and Russia. Moscow has already engineered a revolt in the northern part asking for separation from Teheran. After that London is bound to create and protect her own sphere of influence to maintain her oil interests and sea position. Iran has figured prominently in the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Moscow.

Andre Visson, writing in the *Readers' Digest*, has given a good account of what is happening in Iran. He says that the stage is set for trouble there. In this Near Eastern country, located atwart important commercial routes and rich in oil and metals, British and Russian interests collide. The results of that collision are already being felt half a world away, in America.

Britain wants to continue development of British-owned oil-fields in the southern Iranian provinces, and to maintain communication lines across Iran to India.

Russia wants to get a share of Iranian oil and ores, a warm water port on the Persian Gulf and the use of Iranian roads for transit of goods to and from Central Asia.

Visson says, America wants no special privilege. The great majority of the people of Iran have a standard of living too low to permit them to be important buyers of American goods, and American imports from Iran—rugs, lambskin, Kashmir goat-hair, etc.—are not vital to America. As regards oil and ore, America herself has plenty. Yet America is there because she is vitally concerned by what happens in this remote and barren land. Explaining the American position, Visson writes:

There the security zones of Great Britain and the Soviet Union overlap. For more than a century, the British have been worriedly blocking Russian penetration. Soviet pressure today is severe; and there is a limit to the concessions the British can afford to make. Should the Soviet Union try to go too far, a conflict could hardly be avoided—and Americans could not ignore such a conflict.

The Iranians have long dreaded a war between the two great powers, knowing that the victor might absorb Iran. But they are equally apprehensive of complete agreement between the Russians and British, fearing that such agreement would result in a partitioning of their country.

The Iranians have always dreaded a friendly move between the British Lion and the Russian Bear on their own soil. The Lion and the Bear did move together

in 1907. Declaring that they "agreed to respect the integrity and independence of Persia," they actually divided the country into three zones—a northern one for Russian influence; a southern one with the rich oil-fields for British control and a middle one which both agreed to let alone.

This arrangement was torn up in 1917 by the Russian revolution and immediately the two Powers clashed in Persia. Out of the struggle Persia emerged once again under its ancient name of Iran, with the soldier-Shah Riza Khan on the throne. Riza Khan shrewdly played Russia and Britain against each other and by 1930 had the nation on the way to political and economic independence.

Hitler's attack on Russia once more induced the Bear and the Lion to move together. British and Soviet armies invaded Iran in August 1941 and in three days overwhelmed the Iranian forces. Riza Shah was exiled to the island of Mauritius and his son Muhammad Riza, succeeded him in a country occupied and partitioned by Britain and Russia.

The British and the Russians promised to evacuate their forces from Iran, six months after the end of hostilities against "Germany and her satellites." This pledge, made in 1941, was re-emphasised at the conclusion of the Teheran Conference in 1943. At Potsdam, the early withdrawal of Russian and British token forces from Teheran was re-affirmed.

But in fact, despite all these political gestures, the independence of Iran remained suspended. The five northern provinces under Russian administration are Iran's granary. Russia has isolated them, closed their borders to all travellers, even to Iranian tax-collectors and has prohibited the export of any food to the deficient southern provinces under British control. So the British had to send food to Iran from famished India.

When war ended in Europe, Iran demanded that Britain, Russia and America live up to their pledges and take away their troops within six months. Moscow pointed out that the pledge was worded "after the defeat of Germany and her satellites", and said that Russian troops could not leave Iran until Japan was defeated. Britain, on her side, would not consider withdrawal as long as there were Soviet troops abroad. Meanwhile, the Iranian political situation is fast deteriorating. The Government is rapidly losing even its nominal authority. Such a situation cannot last indefinitely; it is dangerous for Iran, dangerous for Britain and Russia and dangerous for the United States equally entangled and involved.

Labour Govt.'s Choice : Free India or the World's Biggest Blood-bath ?

Mr. F. A. Ridley, writing in the *New Leader*, says that the world will have to face many explosions bigger than those caused by the atomic bomb, in the coming few years and the biggest of them all will be the Indian revolution overthrowing the yoke of British Imperialism. Faced with a movement of such magnitude Britain's Labour Government will either have to give India independence or indulge in one of the most gigantic blood-baths in all history by way of repression, warns the author of this article, forecasting what the immediate future holds for the whole world in general and Britain and the United States in particular.

Ridley writes that the proverbial truth, "coming events cast their shadows before them" applies in particular to three gigantic phenomena which, together, are evidently destined to overshadow the coming era. These, according to him, are respectively the fast mounting rivalry between the two dominant World Powers of the immediate future; the capitalist-imperialism of America and the new Russian power-politics; the coming American economic crisis and the coming Indian revolution.

With regard to the first, "the dawning struggle for world power between the two winners of the second Imperialist war," Ridley says :

President Truman's publicly proclaimed determination to keep the secret of the Atom Bomb in American hands for the general good of the world affords an interesting and revealing glimpse of the still painfully crude and primitive attitude of the world's greatest imperialist power. "Uncle Sam" must save mankind from itself ! No wonder the Russians who have been taught both by Lenin and by bitter experience to look behind words for the things which they actually represent, are outspokenly cynical, at this crude twentieth century Calvinistic version of the "chosen race !" Soon, they too will have the Bomb, around which human history now turns, and then . . . the Deluge ? The Third and greatest World War to save civilization by making its contribution impossible ?

How soon this last catastrophe may become imminent, according to the author, depends on our second threat to world stability : the coming economic crisis in the U.S.A. For, the United States, today, represents a spectacle of glaring political and economic contradictions upon a scale never previously witnessed in the history of the world. The New World is now evidently destined not to "correct" but to breakdown the "balance of the Old."

An economic crisis is on the way which will also upset all previous records : a crisis which, as Middleton Murray recently expressed it in *Peace News*, in a striking phrase, will be a crisis "worthy of the Atomic Age itself". Asserting that this crisis is inevitable, Ridley writes :

Consider the current contrasts between America's phenomenal economic output and her infantile political outlook. At one and the same time the U.S.A. is speeding up production to fantastic heights, whilst, simultaneously, removing all controls, and turning its back on all planning, and like an economic "Rip Van Winkle," is running the age of super-technics and the atom bomb according to the "political economy" of the remote days of Adam Smith. Truly a giant with seven-league boots . . . and the brain of a child ! Her contempt for economic theory will infallibly land her in the greatest crash in history.

For what result can possibly accrue from such a basic contradiction except an economic crisis as unparalleled in human annals as is the super-productivity which will be its motivating cause. In probably about three years' time the world will be in the grip of a crisis compared with which that of 1929-33 was a mere storm in a tea-cup. That storm produced, among other things, Hitler and the Third Reich ; what will its greater successor produce in relation to a far more exhausted world-economy ?

The American crisis is bound to be a crisis for the whole capitalist world. World economy, which is capitalist economy, is today even more dependent on American economy than was the world economy of the

nineteenth century on that of Britain. Hence the coming crisis will be a world crisis and it may come in 1948, exactly a century after the great world crisis of 1848, which gave birth to the doctrine of socialism.

Lastly, dealing with the Indian revolution, Ridley says :

A recent writer described Spain, not unjustly, as "the moral touchstone of world-politics". But actually, this description applies even more accurately to India, which has a world importance denied to Spain. In particular, India will prove the moral touchstone for the third Labour Government. In this last connection, let us say outright and right here that a Party which resorts to violence against the greatest colonial movement of an oppressed people in the world in order to deny it its legitimate aspirations to political and economic self-determination, has forfeited all claim to the status of an international socialist party : the place of such a party is in the ranks of the imperialist enemies and oppressors of mankind.

In particular, a British Labour Government, which denies freedom to India has no more claim to represent that great champion of Indian freedom, Keir Hardie, than, say, the present nationalist and imperialist Russian bureaucracy has to represent that other great anti-imperialist, Lenin.

Ridley warns Britain, and specially the Labour Party, to do away with the humbug and self-deception in this matter and points out that all Asia today is stirring, as never before, from the Red Sea to the Pacific Ocean and "of all the Asiatic movements of national liberation that of India is the greatest. The liberation movements which are battling today for freedom in Annam and Java will go into action in India on a far vaster scale tomorrow. And such movements, if long frustrated, will inevitably turn to violence. For in this last connection, the influence of Mr. Gandhi, the last great figure of the pre-industrial age in India, cannot long survive in a country undergoing such rapid industrialisation as in present-day India ; any more than the very similar pacifist influence of Tolstoy could survive in the Russia of 1917. A modern India will inevitably look to modern leaders and methods."

The events cannot be long in coming to pass. The supreme test for Labour Party will come soon : the irrevocable parting of the ways between international Socialism and Imperialism.

The Sapru Committee Report

The Report of the Sapru Committee has been published. The Committee has recommended a single union of India including the whole of British India and the Indian States and has summarily rejected the demand for Pakistan. The Committee has, however, recommended, as the basis for Hindu-Muslim settlement, a parity of representation between Muslims and Caste Hindus in the Lower House of the Indian Legislature and the Central Executive but subject to the important proviso that joint electorates with reservation of seats would be introduced for all elected bodies in the country. The important point to note here is that this parity has been proposed between Muslims and Caste Hindus only, and not between Muslims and all Hindus. As such, we think, it does not go much further than the representation conceded to the Muslims in the Lucknow Pact.

No doubt there would be criticism of some of the Committee's recommendations, specially where they have gone into details. But for the matter of that we do not think that the Report deserves a summary condemnation as "out of date" as the Anglo-Indian daily of Calcutta has done. The Report has been drawn up by some of the best legal brains of India whose profound knowledge in Constitutional Law and Procedure are in no way inferior to the acknowledged world authorities on the subject. The general problems have been dealt with in the Report which cover burning topics of the day and a critical and attentive study of them will certainly be helpful in removing the deep distrust that now separates the two main bodies of the Indian national life.

In the chapter on Pakistan, the Report examines the theoretical basis and the practical possibilities of a division of India. Applying the objective tests of nationality to the two provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, the Committee points out that a separate nationhood for Muslims cannot be established on grounds of race, language and culture. Hindus and Sikhs who are in substantial numbers in these provinces also consider these areas as their homelands. Stalin's definition of a Nation may be cited here. He defines Nation as follows : "A Nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. It is only when all these characteristics are present that we have a Nation. It must be emphasised that none of the above characteristics is by itself sufficient to define a Nation. On the other hand, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be absent and the nation ceases to be a Nation." The Muslim claim for Nationhood is untenable in terms of this definition as well. The Muslim communities do not form a stable unit, since religion is dependent on conversion. Secondly, language of all the Muslims of India is not the same. It covers a wide range from Pushtu on the Western Frontier to Bengali and Assamese on the Eastern front. Urdu is not a common language for all Muslims in India. In Bengal, where the Muslims who have a five per cent majority over the Hindus, cannot, through any argument, claim the whole of Bengal as their Pakistan. But all of Mr. Jinnah's demands have not followed the path of reason, he has claimed Bengal with its present boundary and Assam, where Muslims are barely thirty per cent of the population, as the Eastern Pakistan zone.

The Committee has traced the history of the theory of self-determination as enunciated by President Wilson and has pointed out that in Europe after the last war nationality was found to be an indeterminate criterion and gave little assistance in deciding frontiers. The principle became "loaded with dynamite" and later became a term of sinister German propaganda ; it thus ended by being turned into a weapon of war. The history of the Succession States in Europe for the two decades, 1919-1939, have amply demonstrated that whatever might have been the intention of President Wilson, his doctrine of self-determination benefited none but the Imperialist powers. In India, under British Imperialism, there is no reason why things would be different. The Committee says in conclusion that Pakistan "solves no communal problems and only raises fresh ones ; that on grounds of defence, leaving apart other major considerations, a division of the country

into two independent States will endanger the safety of both and that there is no justification for the British Government to support such a revolutionary scheme if they have genuine faith in that unity of India which they themselves have built up and fostered."

The Committee has also examined Reginald Coupland's Regional Scheme which recommended a division of India into four regions, the underlying idea being to create artificially two regions in which Muslims will be in a majority and another two in which Hindus will be in a majority. The Report characterises this scheme as fantastic, unreal and academic.

Rejecting all schemes of partition and division, the Committee concludes, "We are convinced that the partition of India would be an outrage justified neither by history nor by political expediency. It is incompatible with the greatness, safety and economic development of the country and will lead either to constant internecine war or perpetual foreign domination. It multiplies and complicates the problem of minorities without solving it and threatens to plunge India back into the dark and dismal days of the eighteenth century."

The Sapru Committee has hit hard at the very root of all our complicated problems in clearly declaring that joint electorates must be made the basis of all elections. We consider this as their most important and most vital recommendation. The breaking up of our joint electorates into separate communal ones has been a deliberate policy of the ruling power in India and it has been followed with a clear purpose. Communal electorates have been multiplied and pushed forward down to the village electorate of a local or a district board. The result has certainly been conducive to the interests of Imperialist Britain. Britons of the progressive schools have themselves condemned the introduction of this sinister device in the Indian constitution. Barely two weeks ago, H. N. Brailsford, writing in the *Reynold's News* condemned the communal electorate. He said, "Much worse than narrow franchise is the rigid division of Hindus and Muslims in distinct constituencies, which vote separately. *This fatal arrangement has done, more than anything else, to divide Indians on medieval lines of religion.*" The Committee have done well to emphasise the re-introduction of joint electorates as the very basis of any future communal negotiation. Parity or a three-fourths majority in the Constituent Assembly will lose its sinister sting as soon as joint electorate is re-introduced.

Lord Wavell on India's Political Future

Lord Wavell has delivered his annual address at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. As is customary, he has dealt with a long series of problems including those of reconversion from war to peace economy, wartime controls, black market, cloth shortage, troops in Indonesia, government planning, agriculture, industry, I.N.A. trials and so forth, in the presence of the British multi-millionaires. The Viceroy compared himself and his councillors to the beggar in the proverb and said, with reference to Sir Renwick Hadow's tribute, "We get more kicks than half pence; but you, Mr. President, have given us quite a generous six pence." The Viceroy and his councillors have thus succeeded in eliciting praise not from the people of the land but from a group of foreign merchants with vested interests in India and have waxed eloquent on it.

In the portion of his speech dealing with the political situation, Lord Wavell has, as he had done last year, ridiculed the Quit India slogan. Here is what he said:

I can assure you unreservedly that the British Government and the British people honestly and sincerely wish the Indian people to have their political freedom and a Government or Governments, of their own choice. But there are certain elements of the problem which we must recognise. It is not a simple problem; it cannot and will not be solved by repeating a password or formula. "Quit India" will not act as the magic "Sesame" which opened Ali Baba's cave. It cannot and will not be solved by violence. Disorder and violence are in fact the one thing that may check the pace of India's progress. There are various parties to the settlement who must somehow or other reach a measure of agreement amongst themselves—Congress, the largest political party in India; the minorities, of whom the Muslims are the most numerous and most important, the Rulers of Indian States; and the British Government. The objective of all is the same—the freedom and welfare of India. I do not believe an agreed solution between the parties is impossible: I do not believe it would even be very difficult, given goodwill, commonsense and patience on all sides.

Quit India is no catchword. It is neither the quack's pill nor the magician's wand. It does not connote race hatred. Quit India does not mean expulsion of British people as such from India; it means an end of British rule in this country. For Indians, it is not a mere slogan, it is an ideal written in letters of blood in the heart of hearts of every politically conscious citizen in this country.

Two points in Lord Wavell's speech deserve special notice. First, his utterances hitherto about the geographical unity of India had been quite clear and explicit. For the first time we find this straightforward soldier-Viceroy treading in tortuous paths covered with a mist characteristic of British Imperialist politicians. The long asserted geographical unity of India has been made completely vague. In this speech, Mr. Jinnah reads meanings which, according to him, convey an idea that the British Government is gradually coming to realise the force behind the demand for Pakistan. Lord Wavell's words are so vague that they admit of any interpretation that might be put upon them.

Secondly, we had so long heard that there were two main parties in dispute on Indian constitutional problem—the Hindus and the Muslims. For some time past, the Native States had been sprung upon as a third party. Lord Wavell has made the whole thing completely vague by adding a fourth to the list—the British Government. A measure of agreement amongst these four parties has been made a condition precedent to the framing of the Indian constitution by the Indian people. We wonder why such an impossible agreement is called for. The interests of the Indian people and the British Government run counter to each other, any agreement between them seems hardly possible. Sixty years of negotiations, since the birth of the Congress in 1885, have failed so far to bring about an agreement between these two parties advantageous to both. The path of negotiations was followed right up to 1942 when the string finally broke. Here also the coup came from the

British Government and not from the Congress representing the Indian people.

The interests of the Native States lie in the enjoyment of feudal advantages under the protection of the paramount power. It is the British Government upon whom they depend for the perpetuation of their overlordship in backward areas carefully segregated from political India. Here the personal interests of the Rajas and Nawabs, whose enthronement, dethronement and tenure of lordship depend upon the will of the Paramount power, run counter to the people's interest. We wonder how Lord Wavell expects to find a measure of agreement between these conflicting interests so long bayonets are available to maintain the present political and economic structure.

We can well understand the sanctimonious "Guardian Angel" attitude that is usually taken by British Permanent officialdom with regard to Native States and the semi-feudal zemindary states, but we did not expect that Lord Wavell would so soon fall from grace and join the ranks of the *pukka sahibs*. To illustrate the real motives of these guardians of mediaevalism we would cite the case of the Ramgarh Raj during the minority of the present holder of the estate. The Ramgarh State is a semi-feudal estate in Behar with vast lands rich in forests and mineral deposits. During the period when the State was in the Court of Wards, that is when the "Guardian Angels" were in charge, great mineral concessions were given, *sub-rosa*, to an European concern on terms that are usual in such cases. We learn that the "Guardian Angels" of the Native State of Bastar are now similarly desirous of transferring the rights of the gigantic iron-ore deposits of the State, while the young prince is still a minor.

As for the Muslim minorities represented by the Muslim League the position has been made quite clear. They must oppose the Congress in its endeavour to earn political power; when any measure of political rights is earned through the untold suffering and sacrifice of the Congressmen, the Nawabs of the League must jump forward to demand their share, often with a very large weightage. For decades, this unseemly demand has been propped up with the British bayonet concealed at the back. As soon as this bayonet is withdrawn from the back of the League, the mainspring of the Hindu-Muslim cleavage will vanish and the largest common measure of agreement will be reached between them in no time. Let the third party withdraw, and the Indian political problem will be no problem at all.

Wavell has reminded us of the horrors of civil strife and has advised us to avoid it. But may we ask who engineered it? It is now a historical fact that communal passions have been carefully roused by the third party in India in the interests of Imperialist domination in this country. We need not recapitulate but we must point out that if anybody has steered India to the path of civil war, it is the very people who now tell us of its horrors. The genial relations that existed between Hindus and Muslims for over a century, has been disturbed so widely on the principle of *divide et impera* by the British politicians during the last fifty years. Immediate efforts to avoid civil war must be made but not at the cost of freedom from British yoke. America, England, France, Russia all had their civil wars before they could draw up their constitutions. China is having it. We never fostered it nor do we want it. If civil war comes, it will not be of our creation.

Mahatma Gandhi in Bengal

Mahatmaji has at long last begun his visit to the real Bengal. Although he has been in this province now for nearly a month he had hardly seen anything at all that is significant of Bengal. He has previously visited the Governor of Bengal on many occasions, to what purpose we do not know. Perhaps we might be excused if, in the light of what little experience we have of our home province, and its executive, we venture to express our pessimism regarding the results of Gandhiji's exertions while he sojourned at Sodepur Ashram. All ashrams are detached from the world of realities and Sodepur is affectionately regarded by most of us as being even more so, and further we have neither seen nor heard of any knowledgeable person who was near Mahatmaji during his stay there to supply him with ready reference to the realities of the Bengal of today. Gandhian alchemy has before now transmuted base metal, we know, and so we have a lingering hope that we are wrong in our misgivings. After Sodepur followed a visit to Santiniketan which, after the passing of Gurudeva, is now being slowly converted into a Sleepy Hollow, inhabited mostly by disgruntled Rip van Winkles and Lotus-eaters. It is only now that Gandhiji is in touch with problems and ailments of a Bengal that has been long expecting his visit with hope and expectation.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Youth of Bengal

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to Bengal and his lightning tour of Assam, has been inspiring indeed. His welcome insistence on discipline has been the first correct directive to the youth of Bengal in two decades and if they take it to heart, really and truly, then, indeed, there is some ray of hope for this suffering province. If there is anything that is needed most for the days of trial that are ahead of us, then that is discipline in the rank and file of nationalism. There have been errors of leadership galore in this province—and in other provinces too—but nothing so tragic as the wrong ideas put in youthful minds regarding their role in the building of a nation.

The I. N. A. Trials

The Government of India by its latest ordinance permitting the Court-Martial to inflict prison terms of lesser duration than life-sentences, has followed in line with the concluding arguments of the prosecution, in which it was virtually admitted that whatever the results of the trial, the accused would leave the court with their honour untarnished. The effect of these trials has been the reverse of what might have been expected by officialdom and although the trials have so far taken a course quite different to what was chalked out in the beginning, it cannot be denied that it would have been much better if they had been stopped, from all points of view. The world is changing fast from what it had been in the days of Colonel Blimp and it is about time that it was understood that those that fight for the honour and liberty of their fatherland must be deemed to have fulfilled their most supreme duty. There is a supreme code of honour that is above all laws, civil or military, that concerns all those who fight for liberty and equality.

Parallel Government in Midnapore

The happenings in the Tamluk Subdivision of the district of Midnapore during the period August, 1942 to September, 1944 are contained in the report of a non-official committee composed of Sj. Satish Chandra Samanta, President, Tamluk Sub-divisional Congress Committee, Sj. Syamadas Bhattacharya, Advocate, Calcutta High Court, Sj. Ananga Mohan Das, Joint Secretary, Tamluk Sub-divisional Congress Committee, and Sj. Prahlad Kumar Pramanik, President, Tamluk Thana Congress Committee. The report gives a connected story of the mass upheaval in the district and the acts of cruelty and repression amounting to arson, loot and rape which were perpetrated on the people. The most noticeable feature of the Report is that the people of Midnapore had established a Government of their own and ran it for two successive years in the teeth of a terrible repression which only Satan in a human form could conceive. The detailed accounts of the repression are now widely known. We need not dilate upon them. We quote below that portion of the report which deals with the work programme that was held on for two consecutive years undaunted by the fury of nature and the wrath of a vindictive government. The National Government of Midnapore was dissolved and the workers surrendered only when Gandhiji had advised them to do so in his statements, dated, July 29, and August 6, 1944.

The following is the summary of an account of how the Tamralipti Jatiya Sarkar (Tamluk National Government) functioned :

The Tamralipti Jatiya Sarkar was formed on December 12, 1942 ; and on January 26, 1943, in each of the thanas of Suthata, Nandigram, Mahisadal and Tamluk, a Thana Jatiya Sarkar was set up subject to the control and supervision of the Tamralipti Jatiya Sarkar. On account of the exceptional circumstances, elections could not be held. A Sarbadhinayaka (Director) was appointed by the Congress Committee. The Sarbadhinayaka acted within the limits set by the Congress Committee. He was empowered to appoint, subject to the approval of the Sub-divisional Congress Committee, Ministers to take charge of different departments. He was himself the War Minister. Other important departments were Law and Order, Health, Education, Administration of Justice, Agriculture and Propaganda each in charge of one Minister.

Vidyut Vahinis (Lightning Corps) were formed. In each of its corps, there was one G.O.C. and one Commandant. It had three divisions, (1) Fighting Branch, (2) Intelligence Branch, and (3) Ambulance. The Vidyut Bahini was the National Army of the Jatiya Sarkar. Three more branches were later added, viz., (1) Guerilla Detachment, (2) Sisters' Army and (3) Law and Order. The last named department did noteworthy work in arresting thieves and dacoits let loose to create disorder. These thieves and dacoits were produced before the Court of the Jatiya Sarkar and dealt with according to law. The Government publication, *Some Facts about the Disturbances in India 1942-1943* pays a tribute to this organisation thus, "In Midnapore in Bengal the operations of the rebels indicated considerable care and planning ; effective warning system had been devised, elementary tactical principles were observed, for instance, encirclement and flanking movements

clearly on pre-arranged signals. The forces of disorder were accompanied by doctors and nursing orderlies to attend the casualties and the intelligence system was efficient.

A short description of the working of the different departments of the Jatiya Sarkar is given below :—

(A) *Department of Justice* : This was the most popular department of the Jatiya Sarkar. Each thana Jatiya Sarkar had a department of justice in charge of a Minister of Justice. The fee for filing a case was Re. 1 later increased to Rs. 2. An additional fee of Rs. 2 was charged from January 1, 1944, for emergency cases. Both civil and criminal cases were adjudicated. Against the order and judgment of the Thana Jatiya Sarkar Court, an appeal lay to the Sub-divisional Court of Jatiya Sarkar. Against the order and judgment of this latter court, an appeal lay to a Special Tribunal consisting of three judges.

The court used to move and sit in different places to suit the convenience of the public. The public were allowed to be present at the time of the sitting of the court. Sometimes as many as 200 to 300 persons would be present. Many long-standing cases of the Sub-divisional and District Courts and the High Court were adjudicated successfully by the Jatiya Sarkar Courts. Sometimes, lawyers and mukteers were present. They always expressed their satisfaction at the working of the Courts. In criminal cases, the accused who were found guilty were given different punishments according to the nature of the offence. Warning, fine, detention till the rising of the court, whipping, etc., had been resorted to in order to meet the ends of justice. Property of absconders was sometimes attached and in some cases, sold in public auction. In execution of decree, property was in some cases attached. But attachment and sale were allowed only in a few rare cases, for instance, where persuasion failed. The prestige of the Jatiya Sarkar was, however, so high as to bring about settlement through its courts in most cases and get a ready obedience to its decisions. In Suthata Jatiya Sarkar Court, 836 cases, in Nandigram, 222 cases, in Mahisadal, 1055 cases, and in Tamluk, 794 cases, i.e., a total of 2,907 cases were instituted. Out of these, 1,681 cases were adjudicated. A few cases came up for decision before the Sub-divisional Court, and a few before the Tribunal. Before dissolution of Jatiya Sarkar, the depositors of fees of pending cases were given back their money. So high was the Jatiya Sarkar's prestige that many people were reluctant to take back their fees and wanted that the Jatiya Sarkar Court should try their cases when it might be revived.

(B) *War Department* : It was of course mainly concerned with resistance movement for checking the offensive measures of the Government. As however the distress caused by the cyclone and famine became acute, aggravated by a deliberate policy of bungling and mismanagement by the authorities, the War Department paid greater attention to relief work.

(C) & (D) *Health and Public Safety* : These departments tried their utmost to combat famine and pestilence. Clothings, paddy, rice and money were collected at different places and distributed among the needy. The rich hoarders and profiteers were served with notices by the Jatiya Sarkar to stop

exploitation and they were made to pay fair sums of money and paddy which were distributed among the distressed people. In the acute days of famine the members of the army camps of Jatiya Sarkar first subsisted on one meal of boiled gram and one meal of rice, and then for nine continuous months, they lived on one meal of 3 chataks of rice and another meal of half *poa* of boiled or fried gram. Medicines of many varieties were distributed. In all Rs. 79,000 worth of clothings, medicines, paddy and rice were distributed.

(E) *Law and Order*: This department with the help of the Intelligence Branch maintained peace in the Sub-division. This department was responsible for arresting and getting punished a good number of thieves and dacoits. Notorious dacoits had been released and encouraged to commit all sorts of offences and on many occasions, the Police Station refused to give any aid to persons suffering from depredations of these people. On Jatiya Sarkar taking up firm steps to prevent the crimes, these crimes stopped and very few cases of thefts and dacoities were reported, which received prompt attention from the Jatiya Sarkar. The Jatiya Sarkar's remedy was speedy, effective, inexpensive and to the entire satisfaction of all sections of people.

(F) *Education Department*: Many schools received regular grants in aid. Schools were regularly inspected by competent inspectors.

There were also Propaganda Department and Finance Department each in charge of a Minister.

Mr. Jinnah Replies

We are informed through the medium of the daily press that Mr. Jinnah has replied to Master Tara Singh's statement in the Urdu Press as reported in our issue of December, 1945. The reply which is in the characteristic fashion typical of Mr. Jinnah, is as follows:

Bombay, Dec. 20.—"This is a downright falsehood and an absolute fabrication", said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, when his attention was drawn to the editorial notes of the *Modern Review* of December, 1945, wherein has been reproduced the report purported to have been circulated by Master Tara Singh and published in a section of the Urdu press to the effect that "Mr. Jinnah is receiving a sum of rupees six lakhs annually from the Government of India through a Muslim State."

Mr. Jinnah added, "I am not getting a single pie from any State for Pakistan propaganda."—U.P.

The League Ministry in Bengal and Boat-Contracts

In the *Prabasi* (our Bengali Monthly) for 'Pous', which came out on the 15th of December, we published an editorial regarding the boat-building contracts that were given out by the administration of Sir John Herbert and his pet Muslim League Ministry headed by Sir Nazimuddin. A few days after the publication of this editorial a local daily published a re-arranged translation of our Bengali editorial as its first editorial. There were some very important omissions made regarding certain names, and of course there were some garnishing at the beginning and at the end. We are,

however, thankful that the matter obtained further publicity in this curious fashion and further that our staff has been spared the trouble of translating this important editorial into English. We give below the translation appending the omitted portions in their proper places.

The full story of the "denial policy" and its connection with Bengal famine has yet to be told. The Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress has told only a part of it. We propose to give an account of the sequel to that policy in relation to the destruction of about 40,000 country-boats by the order of the Government of Sir John Herbert. Bengal, particularly lower Bengal, is a riverine province. The only means of communication in a large part of the province is the country-boat. In fact the internal trade of the country largely depends on this particular conveyance. One of the staple foods of the people is fish and Bengal, therefore, has a much larger population of fishermen than any other province. The construction and repair of boats give employment to thousands of carpenters who have for generations specialised in the line. The then Governor and his advisers of the Muslim League Ministry, did not give any consideration whatsoever to the likely effect of the boat-denial policy on the lives of the people. Lakhs of people lost their employment as a result of this policy. Majority of them were Muslims and of the scheduled classes.

When, therefore, Sir John Herbert's Government launched on a policy of purchase of foodstuffs and their removal or their destruction they made the advent of famine inevitable. So panic-stricken were they at the imminent prospect of a Japanese invasion that they became utterly indifferent to what would happen to the people. It is the rural population that was naturally far more affected than the urban in this man-made famine. The village artisans, the boatmen, the landless labourers, the petty traders and the fishermen formed the bulk of the fifty lakhs who died of starvation. And they were mostly Muslims and the "scheduled" people. The boats having gone, there was no means of the distribution of foodstuffs which were stored in the city and which eventually became unfit for human consumption. The Muslim Leaguers called to office by Sir John Herbert aided and abetted their patron and were thus responsible for the calamity. By resort to hooliganism they are now preventing the Nationalist Muslims and others from telling that story in full detail to the electorates. And if they are being assisted, directly or indirectly, by some of the local officials, the reason is not far to seek.

Tragic as is the story of the famine, the sequel so far as it relates to the boat-denial policy is interesting. The famine and the Muslim League's responsibility in relation to it made the position of the Ministry precarious. Many members of the League Party were hard put to it to face their constituencies. The League Ministry realised that something had to be done. An amount of six crores of rupees was provided for the construction of boats. The scheme was wonderful. A provision was made for 10,000 boats, each with a loading capacity from 100 to 1,000 maunds. There was provision also for a few 2,000-maunds boats. Fishing boats or ferry boats had no place in the scheme. The excuse was that big boats were necessary for the purpose of the Civil Supplies Department for the distribution of food. It was a false excuse as at that time contractors for

big boats were complaining that their boats were lying idle.

What was the fate of the six crore-rupee scheme? The amount was divided into two equal shares. Three crores were placed at the disposal of Minister Sahabuddin, brother of the Chief Minister Sir Nasimuddin. The responsibility of distributing contracts on behalf of Sahabuddin's Department was undertaken by Mr. Satish Mitter, the faithful servant of the League. The balance was made over to the charge of Major-General Wakely, the then head of the Civil Supplies Department. An average of rupees six thousand was earmarked for big boats and Rs. 23,000 was assigned for each of the bigger boats. Who got the contracts? Not the small carpenters but men who had never in their lives done any work in the line. A Marwari Rai Bahadur secured some ten items of contracts in different names. Satish Mitter and Minister Sahabuddin are the only persons who can explain the reason for taking out the contracts in different names, it is not for others to understand. Large sums were advanced to them. Many members of the League Party in the Legislature headed by Khwaja Sahabuddin's own brother-in-law Mr. Salim got contracts as prizes, others also got them, the only persons who did not get any contract were those whose profession was boat-building. The Ministry stood in need of their support. Thus the hope that there would be some compensation for the survivors of the professional boat constructors was completely defeated.

The loot for it was nothing else, did not end here. The contract was that the boats would be of at least two-year old *sal* wood but when the construction began the authorities permitted wood of much inferior fibre to be used as material. The excuse was that the construction had become urgent. The contract, however, was not modified in any case. Not only this, the size of the boats was reduced. A pretty large number of these boats are to be seen on the *Dhapa* canal near Calcutta. We are told that their maintenance is costing the Government a lakh of rupees per month. So rotten is their build that there are no purchasers for these boats nor are there candidates to take some of them on hire. It is said that these boats are altogether useless for any purpose. The Government of India are reported to have deputed Brigadier Ames some time back to inspect the boats and he has submitted his report. Will the Government publish that report?

Sind Leader Criticises League Election Policy

Mr. G. M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League and a member of the Working Committee and Committee of Action of the All-India Muslim League, has tendered his resignation from the All-India Committees of the League and in a statement has denounced the Fascist tactics of the League High Command. He makes the open accusation that the "entire progressive element in the Sind Provincial League has been eliminated from the list of candidates selected by the Central Parliamentary Board for the Sind Assembly." He has accused Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Chairman, Central Parliamentary Board, with violation of promise and with having monopolised the Board for the preservation of the League Leaders' own vested interests.

Outlining the actual differences, Mr. Syed says:

(1) In determining the course of conduct, we are required to subordinate the good of the people of Sind to the undefined and constantly fluctuating requirements of the League High Command's all-India policy, which is now being influenced and controlled by Muslim leaders in Muslim minority provinces. While claiming to liberate us from Hindu domination, these friends are bringing us under their own dominance; and in order to maintain their own leadership at the Centre, they are encouraging reactionary forces in the province.

(2) No efforts are made to purify the organization and deliver it from the forces of corruption and bribery which have marred the good name of the province. On the contrary, no opportunity is lost to push the reactionary elements to the forefront and all our attempts to serve the masses are ruthlessly frustrated. In order, however, to distract the attention of our people from these failings, they have recourse to the easier method of singing hymns of hatred against the Hindu community. This scheme of activity has only rendered us totally useless for the service of the Muslim masses.

(3) With the view of safeguarding the interests of the privileged classes those in authority in the organization are, moreover, anxious to ensure that provincial legislatures are so composed as to make certain the return of reactionaries to the constituent Assembly—those who would perpetuate the dominance of vested interests.

One of the main grievances of Mr. Jinnah against the parliamentary methods of the Congress had been that its Central Parliamentary Board exercised control over provincial ministries and interfered in provincial matters when any of them were considered to be in conflict with all-India interests. During the Congress regime, such interferences had not been many. Mr. Jinnah's followers are now making the same grievance against him with the difference that the Congress High Command was never accused of having done anything except in the interest of the nation, while the League High Command is charged with having employed Fascist methods for the furtherance of their vested interests. Mr. Syed says, "In the name of Muslim solidarity we are called upon to swallow everything that is calculated to ensure perpetual power for the vested interests. If some one raises the fundamental issues and demands that even at this stage it is essential and incumbent to decide and define who the beneficiaries under Pakistan would be, he is most effectively silenced as an enemy of Islam."

Mr. Syed utters a bitter truth when he says that the High Command's attitude towards the Sind Provincial Muslim League or the Muslim minority provinces is more or less the same. It is to patronise the vested interests, to strengthen their iron hold over the Muslim masses, to support title-holders, office-hunters, self-seekers and persecutors of the poor and poverty-stricken Muslims. This attitude of the League Leaders have been fully demonstrated in Bengal during the famine year when a League Ministry coined money on the corpses of the Muslims. Mr. Syed has expressed his determination to put an end to this policy and the forces that are at its back. He is certain of his ultimate success, whatever temporary setbacks and obstacles he may have to encounter. Time is certainly needed

to defeat the League-British coalition, but there is no doubt that forces of progress will ultimately be victorious over the forces of reaction.

League Stabbing Islam at the Back

Allama Mashriqui has issued the following statement from Lahore on December 9. We quote it in full as published in the *National Call* of Delhi:

Events of the past three months have laid bare the fact that satanic forces let loose by those in power are coming to grips with godly powers in the present elections. A body of tried, trusted and titled individuals who established British power in India from the days of the Mutiny and who stabbed at the back of Islam have come forward under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and under the garb of Islam to stifle the growth of Muslim aspirations for the freedom of India and kill the entity of hundred millions of Mussulmans. Recent events of rank hooliganism with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq in Bengal and Mr. Rashidi in Sind conclusively prove that Mr. Jinnah's announcement that he desired to fight the elections constitutionally was deliberate humbug. As a matter of fact, Mr. Jinnah has been ordered by his masters to wean away the Mussulmans of India from the idea of freedom at the point of lathi, and in this way bring about the utter defeat of Congress and other freedom-loving organisations.

It is well-known that Mr. Jinnah charged the Mussulmans Rs. 10,000 plus Rs. 1,000 munshiana for one appearance for a few minutes in Court in the well-known Ilmuiddin case and extorted the deficit of Rs. 250 by means of a legal notice. In the Shahid-gunj case he showed a clean play of heels. Such a leader is now thrust upon the Mussulmans by the power that be and the idea is to crush the Mussulmans politically for all time.

The most recent offer of Mr. Jinnah to me is that he is ready to join hands with me provided the matter of the Khaksar Constitution is not brought under discussion. It is a most ridiculous offer, but meaningful in the sense that the Muslim League is out to exploit the Mussulmans for the sake of the British unconditionally. I am ready to join hands with Mr. Jinnah only on the condition of free and unadulterated stand for the freedom of India, and on his readiness to sacrifice all he has got, even his life, if freedom is not obtainable by gift. I can promise satisfactory settlement with the Hindus side by side with the attainment of freedom and Mr. Jinnah can exact any fine from me if a settlement is not obtained. Mussulmans of India may get overpowered by his hooligan methods to secure seats for the Muslim League in the coming assemblies, but I warn him that there is a coming storm that he may not be able to face altogether.

The force of Mashriqui's arguments cannot be passed over in silence. The success of the League at the Central Assembly elections does not, of itself, prove that League represents the entire body of Mussulmans. It only proves that at a higher suffrage consisting of actual and potential profiteers and job hunters, Mr. Jinnah's influence is great. The open activities of the Khaksars and the Nationalist Muslims prove that in spite of their defeat at the Central Elections, they are a force to reckon with. The Lucknow correspondent of the *Leader* has exposed the methods of League

propaganda in the U.P. through which Mr. Jinnah succeeded. Methods followed in the Frontier Province has already been dealt with. The correspondent writes:

Now that the Central Assembly elections are over, it would be interesting to investigate how the Muslim League swept the polls.

While the Nationalist Muslims held a large number of meetings to explain their stand and to examine the implications of Pakistan, the Leaguers resorted to a whispering campaign. The arguments advanced by Jamiat leaders against Pakistan in crowded meetings of Muslims, were too weighty to be refuted by the Leaguers. So they did not answer them in open air meetings, but chose the alternative of explaining their case to each voter.

With a list of voters in their hands drawn mohalla-wise, they went from house to house. It was whispered personally into the ears of each voter that the Muslim League's mission was to save the Mussalms from Hindu tyranny which would be at its worst after the British had walked out of India. Hindus were described as atrocious towards the Muslims and examples were manufactured to carry conviction to Muslim voters. The League was represented as the saviour of the Mussalms in 'the hard times ahead'. Those who spoke against Pakistan were dubbed as paid agents of Hindus, and in this way a sort of strong prejudice was created against them.

In this whispering campaign the election manifesto of the Congress too was described as a Hindu affair. It was said that the Congress was anxious to abolish zamindari only because it sought to finish the Muslim Rajas, Nawabs and landlords who were the only protection for the poor Muslim community.

Thus communal venom was poured into the ears of voters, and their feelings were aroused in favour of the League. Needless to say that all this travelling and running about needed money and it was made available to the propaganda agents in plenty.

The Muslim taluqdars and zamindars look upon the League as the saviour of their class and would willingly invest in the League's election fund if that helped them to retain their present position in rural economy. Surprisingly enough even some Hindu zamindars of the Mahasabha school with 'Akhand Hindustan' on their lips agree with the way the Muslim zamindars are helping their cause.

Too much is being made of the 100 per cent success of the Muslim League at the Central Assembly elections on the issue of Pakistan. The inconvenient fact is very conveniently forgotten that barely one per cent of the population has been sounded, even if Pakistan is conceded as the issue of the election. Only 2 per cent of the population are voters for the Central Legislature and the number of Muslim voters are much less than one per cent.

Another inconvenient fact that needs mention is that the Muslim League has not issued any election manifesto setting forth its objective and outlining its programme. The only manifesto that has so far been issued clearly defining the objective and the programme comes from the Congress.

Mullas and Money Mobilised Against Congress

The Lahore correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* has given an account of how Mullas, money and

official antagonism have been mobilised against the Congress by the Muslim League. The correspondent gives a good account of the methods of League-propaganda in the Frontier Province. It had been stated that the League did not set up any official candidate in that province because it enjoyed a joint electorate. The League shuns joint electorates wherever they may be found. For the Frontier, however, separate or joint electorates mean little difference from the League standpoints. This province enjoys a 92 per cent of Muslim population. Joint or separate, whatever might be the electorate, the Muslim candidate returned here will be nothing else than the representative of the Muslim population.

The correspondent writes that Mr. Jinnah utilised his visit to the Frontier Province to contact the Pir of Mauki Sharif who, according to the *Dawn*, prayed for the success of Mr. Jinnah's mission. The Pathans are intensely religious. It is on this sensitive chord of their being that the Mullahs, some of whom have dignified themselves into Pirs and Faqirs, have played against the Congress which is represented as anti-Muslim (not anti-Muslim League) organisation. The overwhelming majority of votes secured by the Congress candidate, Khan Abdul Ghani Khan, fully proves that all these League propaganda have failed to take root on the Pathan soil.

The correspondent gives an account of Mr. Jinnah's candidates and supporters which deserve notice. This proves that the League methods of propaganda and the character of the League supporters are almost the same all over the province. Only a separate electorate among an unlettered and politically backward population can maintain these persons in power. In the Frontier, the landed aristocracy called the Khans, who have been enormously enriched by the war boom in agricultural prices and the contractors who have made immense fortunes have placed their financial resources at the disposal of the Muslim League. They figure prominently on the list of Mr. Jinnah's candidates for the Frontier Assembly. Exactly similar is the case in other provinces as well where the war contractors and war profiteers are the main prop of the League. It was given out in the Muslim daily *Ngvajug* (Calcutta) that the houses of two of the main props of the Bengal Muslim League, ex-Ministers Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy and Khawaja Sahabuddin had been searched by the police.

The reason why the Khanate of the Frontier and the wealthy contractors and black-marketeers have chosen to join the Muslim League is the same everywhere. They believe that they can continue to be loyal to the British if they have an effective voice in the Muslim League. They have found to their benefit that such loyalty pays, not unoften very heavily. The success of the League in the Central Assembly elections through a middle class and wealthy electorate shows how deep this greed has gone.

The Frontier is a province where non-Muslims do not constitute more than eight per cent of the population. Naturally the services are mainly manned by Muslims. They had a good time during the short-lived regime of the Muslim League headed by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan. The charges of corruption against a number of them were never challenged or answered. The officials, or a large number of them, dislike Khan Sahib for being a rude and honest man. They have,

therefore, thrown in the weight of their influence on the side of the Muslim League.

The greatest handicap of the Frontier Congress is that it has no money to spend on elections. It is merely banking on the superiority of its programme and its record of service and sacrifice. The methods of League canvassing have been illustrated by the correspondent. He says that the League technique of canvassing public support is to send an agent to a village with half a dozen sheep and many maunds of good quality rice and to invite peasants to a *polau* feast. The entertainment is intended to end in a mass prayer for the success of a particular candidate. In this fashion considerable sums of money are being spent by the League.

The *Bombay Chronicle* correspondent, summing up, writes :

Curiously enough the 'Pushtu'-speaking districts which may be called a Pathanistan are more in sympathy with the Congress than the districts adjoining the Punjab where even the language of the people is Punjabi spoken with a different accent. The Punjabi-speaking districts are League-minded. Their politics bear a family resemblance to the politics of men like Sir Firoze Khan Noon. Indeed the reaction on these people of Sir Firoze's resignation from the Viceroy's Executive Council was salutary for the Muslim League. They began to say: "If Noon can join the Muslim League it must be backed by the British".

British Goods Advertised at Indian Tax-payers' Cost

The special representative of the *National Call* at New Delhi has given an account of how at the expense of the Indian taxpayer colourful publicity is being given to the British firms in and outside India. This is being done through pamphlets prepared under the joint auspices of the Department of Food and the Department of Labour of the Government of India. A pamphlet entitled *Feeding the Worker* is prepared on excellent art paper so scarce in the country and withheld from the press and the public to enable government experts to play havoc with it in publishing British goods and firms.

Mr. Kirby, the Rationing Expert of the Government of India who has suspended his lecture tour on the benefits of rationing, brings out a series of well-got-up pamphlets on nutrition, etc., which contain facts and things known to children of elementary intelligence and knowledge and thereby earns over three thousand rupees a month. These British "experts" whose services are "lent" to us by the "benign" British Government eat Indian salt and advertise British goods.

The following portion of the report is interesting :

In *Feeding the Worker*, on page 33 of the December issue is published under attractive headline, 'Canteen Equipment'—Buyers' Guide—Overseas Manufacturer is given a long list of British firms—as if overseas only British manufactures exist—where one can have complete equipment, water boilers and tea urns, dishwashers, refrigerators, cutting, slicing, peeling machines, services trolleys, cash register and ticket machines, food products, tables and chairs, cooking and warming apparatus, water softeners and overalls. Why should Mr. Kirby advertise the British firms in India at the expense

of the Indian taxpayer and give them hints about buying tables and chairs from Britain is understandable. As someone said, "What is the earthly use of having India under your heels if you do not get thousands from it and carry on a campaign of 'Buy British'." A footnote says, the list is supplied by Industrial Welfare Society—London and names and addresses of Firms (misspelt and giving another instance of official efficiency at high cost level) in India representing any of the British firms are being obtained and will be included in a subsequent issue—thus ensuring double dose of publicity for British firms.

This same trick of publicising British products at the cost of the Indian tax-payers has continued for all these years. In the name of price control, British goods and their brands have been lavishly advertised in newspapers at public cost. For months together we failed to discover the name of a single Indian product in the continuous flow of advertisements of "controlled" goods in newspapers. Some member of the Central Legislature will do well to ask the Government of India to state how much public money they have spent in this sort of open and covert publicity of commodities manufactured in Britain and by British firms in India working under the cloak of (India) Limiteds.

The M. P. Delegation

The *Roy's Weekly* of New Delhi has discussed the coming M. P. Delegation to India. We are in full accord with the views expressed by Wayfarer in its columns. He says that Lord Wavell has been reporting every third day to London. He is also presumed to be in daily telephonic communication with No. 10, Downing Street, even as Lord Linlithgow did daily at midnight during the Cripps visit. Apparently Mr. Atlee is not able to satisfy Parliament on the Indian issue. There are too many interpellations shot out during question time in the Commons which are not liked by the Treasury Benches. Hence a decision to send a delegation of M.P.'s to India.

Newspapers in India have given too much prominence to this discussion in the Commons about this delegation. The facts that emerged from it are all of the negative variety. It will not now be sponsored by the Empire Parliamentary Association, but represent Parliament itself. It will not be something like a Royal Commission. It will not be charged with making any official inquiry. It will not make any formal report. Its visit will not be much more than a fortnight. On the positive side there is only this much news that the delegation on return will be agreeable to meet the representatives of the British Government, to discuss their impressions, views and opinions. They are being sent, but not without a purpose.

Seventeen years ago when the Simon Commission came, even the Moderates joined hands with non-cooperating Congressmen and there was a complete boycott. That impressed the commissioners. They reported as they had to do. Three years ago, Sir Stafford Cripps came, sensed and abruptly flew back to tell the Britishers, "There is no real passion for freedom. In any case Indians would not join hands with any Japanese sponsored Indian National Army."

Today British M.P.s. are coming equally to sense, sound and later informally to report. The *Roy's Weekly* has termed them as "Informal Simon Commission with

the methods of Cripps." The concluding remarks of Wayfarer given below deserve special attention :

We should be on our guard. If any one of them wants to discuss any internal politics like Socialism, Communism, Pakietan, Sikhistan, Anglo-Indianistan, etc., every son and daughter of India should frankly tell them, *We do not discuss Indian politics with foreigners*. There is nothing new in this piece of advice. M. Clemenceau told Mr. Churchill in Paris when the latter went to sense and sound the French leader : "Excuse me, I do not discuss French politics with foreigners." This is recorded by Mr. Churchill himself.

But the Indian characteristic is so different. We are so volatile. Any foreigner is only to ask a simple question. Out comes the Indian mind and heart from A to Z. We have not developed the quality of reticence. If any word is to be uttered, it must be *Freedom*. If any argument is advanced, *Freedom* must be reinforced. To this effect, every Congress leader and sub-leader might be given a directive. At a conference table, even a third-rate Britisher is superior to the first-rate Indian. Let us not, therefore, gush out before the M.P.'s who will be in our midst next month.

Mineral Resources of India

A strong plea for the nationalisation of the vast mineral resources of India was made by Dr. Cyril Fox in an interview to the *Associated Press of India*. In his opinion the development of mineral resources could be entrusted to a private enterprise under Government control. Dr. Fox made ten other basic suggestions, first, that the aim in exploitation must be to turn out processed product as far as possible and secondly that a number of first class Research stations should be opened throughout India with a strong Government backing, whose job should be to strive new ground by constantly investigating new processes.

Dr. Fox admitted that India has the world's largest resources of iron ore both quantitatively and qualitatively and yet India's annual steel production stands at only one million tons as compared to the much higher figure for Belgium whose iron ore resources are only a fraction of those in India. India's coal resources are sufficient to warrant an ultimate annual production of ten million tons of steel. Even without making any fresh demand on our coal reserve, Dr. Fox says that we could reach a five-million-ton figure for steel production, simply by conserving coking coal.

Of non-ferrous metals special mention should be made of copper, lead and zinc. The working of these metals has, it has been openly alleged, been kept in suspense in the interest of British concerns working on the same line in Burma. Indian capital has not been shy to flow into these channels but its course has been blocked or diverted through racial favouritism. The grant of prospecting licences and mining leases have been open to strong public criticism.

Dr. Fox made a very important announcement regarding radio-active elements found in India. Bihar has resources of uranium. Uranium is the main ingredient for the manufacture of atomic bombs.

Regarding coal, Dr. Fox says that India has vast resources of it but our coking coal resources are limited. He expressed the view that unless immediate measures are taken to conserve coking coal, India may have

none left after 45 years. Wastage of coal through unplanned and unscientific raising has long been a grievance. But this industry being in British hands, nothing has so far been done to protect Indian national interests which might conflict with British vested rights. A suggestion for internal gasification of coal, as the U.S.S.R. has done, was made but it fell on deaf ears.

Dr. Fox has suggested nationalisation of India's mineral resources. We agree. But at the same time we want to point out that this nationalisation should be made only when a truly National Government is established at the Centre. Before that nationalisation would mean only an additional accession of strength for the British capital.

Expansion of the Calcutta University Controller's Office

Closely following the appointment of an Additional Controller of Examinations by the Calcutta University, a circular letter to all the Heads of Affiliated Colleges has been issued which seeks to shift on the College Principals a fair slice of work hitherto done by the Controller. We have seen the circular letter. We consider the instructions contained in it as unjust demands on the slender resources of the Colleges which have to eke out a precarious existence through private aid and tuition fees. We are not prepared to believe that the University offices are under-staffed. If it is the desire of the University to make expansion at the top and retrenchments at the bottom, they should in all fairness extend financial assistance to the Colleges in respect of the extra work demanded from them.

Land Settlement in Kenya and Its Effect on Indians

Indians in Kenya are vitally affected by the comprehensive proposals for land utilisation and land settlement in the colony covering all races. The proposals have been published in a Government paper at Nairobi a summary of which appears in the *Leader*. Declaring that the problems are not only fundamentally important but desperately urgent, the paper states that a bill will be introduced by the Government in the Legislative Council as soon as possible. The bill will make provision for the establishment of a statutory central settlement board with functions of advising government on policy and on schemes for settlement or re-settlement of all races on land in Kenya. Subsidiary boards will be set up to deal with Indian, African, Arab and European settlement.

An Indian and Arab Settlement Board will be created under an Indian Chairman to enquire into the demand among Indians for agricultural land and to examine certain areas that may be suitable. The duties of the Board will be as follows :

First, report on the activities and economic position of Indian farmers in those areas at present occupied by Indian agriculturists.

Secondly, discover what demand exists among local Indians and Arabs for opportunities to take up an agricultural career and particularly to ascertain the demand among locally born Indian and Arab youths.

Thirdly, suggest to Government what land in those areas of the colony which are open to occupation by persons of all races it considers to be suitable for Indian and Arab settlement in order that

the Government may appoint technical officers to examine and report on this land.

Fourthly, when Government has received reports from its technical officers and has made available suitable area or areas for Indian and Arab settlement, to devise schemes including financial recommendations for beneficial occupation of land by Indian and Arab farmers.

Fifthly, administer under the direction of the proposed central settlement board such financial provisions as may be approved and arrange the training of prospective farmers.

The Pegging Acts have succeeded in driving Indians out of the good localities of the urban areas reserving them for the White people. Attempts are now being made to oust them from good agricultural land that they might have been enjoying. It is no use pleading to the Government of India for the protection of the rights of the Indians abroad. We look forward to the day when a truly National Indian Government will stretch out its firm hand to redress all encroachments made on the rights of Indians overseas.

Verdict on the Hallett Administration

Sir Maurice Hallett has ceased to be the Governor of the United Provinces. On the day of his retirement, December 6, the *Leader* featured the verdicts of the provincial leaders on the Hallett Administration, which are worth recording. In a short article, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote :

The last five or six years in India have been extraordinary years in many ways. There was the war, of course, and continuous conflict and nationalist upheaval and its suppression.

During these years we have had what might be called the culmination of authoritarian rule by the permanent services in India.

War and other events facilitated this development and we had the curious spectacle of, on the one hand, India being on the verge of freedom, and at the same time having a government which was and is the complete denial of freedom, such as even India has not had for a long time past.

Perhaps a crisis brings these extremes together and all half-way houses are swept away. In this period of undiluted authoritarianism the old members of the Indian Civil Service have not only reverted to their old traditions but improved upon them.

In India certain personalities stand out, as emblems of this authoritarianism and Sir Maurice Hallett is one of them. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has become the symbol in Indian eyes of the worst type of British Imperialism and colonialism. He declared that every one who was not with his Government was to be treated as an enemy. He announced his determination to crush and kill the Congress and the nationalist movement. He did his best but, as he himself must realize now, he was up against a rock which could not be shattered. For Indian nationalism and desire for freedom are too big and powerful to be crushed by anybody. Sir Maurice Hallett thus becomes the symbol of the failure of British rule in India and of the complete futility of that rule today.

Babu Purushottamdas Tandon, Speaker of the U. P. Legislative Assembly, has characterised Sir Maurice Hallett as "a most reactionary Governor and a heartless individual" and has pointed that his place in history is by the side of Sir Michael O'Dwyer of the Punjab notoriety. He also charges him with unconstitutional practices and discourtesy.

Dr. K. N. Katju charges Sir Maurice Hallett with "shooting and looting". He writes :

Any one having the remotest connection with the Congress was arrested and detained and all these prisoners and detenus were classified under his orders as 'Q' class prisoners. 'Q', I presume, stood for 'Quit India'. Deliberate efforts were made to wreck these men in mind and body. The prisons may not have been called concentration camps, but virtually they were concentration camps.

While India's war-effort was being boosted to the outside world as wonderful, the national leaders were being treated as worse than prisoners of war, completely segregated and cut off from all outside contact. What was done to suppress the national uprising in 1942 is common knowledge. Nothing was left undone. Indiscriminate shooting, looting of houses, cruel collective fines, summary trials which were no trials but mockeries of trials, in effect drum-head court martials—all these took place. The people seemed crushed and beaten. Civil liberties had already ceased to exist. The entire press was further absolutely gagged. Nothing could be published relating to the movement and along with all this came the era of food famines and scarcity of consumer goods of all varieties with the resultant controls of every kind and description.

Babu Sampurnananda, Ex-Minister of Education, U.P., charges the Hallett regime with shamelessly attempting to demoralise the youth. He writes :

Not only have students been kept in prison for long periods but they have been subjected to lathi charge and gun-shot. They have been cruelly interned, not allowed to rejoin, asked to comply with humiliating conditions. Some are still in prison. A Government which claims to be able to rule efficiently over fifty million inhabitants of this province has confessed its inability to arrange for detainees appearing at departmental and university examinations. Mean vindictiveness is the only expression which can describe the attitude of the Government towards the students. That it has been equally vindictive wherever it has been able to pounce upon a teacher engaged in anything that might be called a patriotic act goes without saying. Teachers and students have been encouraged to act as spies and heads of institutions and inspecting officers to act as hangmen. This shameful attempt to demoralise the character of youth, this effort to corrupt the atmosphere of educational institutions, is the strongest indictment of Hallett rule. The recent performance of the police at Lucknow is a pointer that Hallett has not mended his ways yet.

Hallett has gone, but the Civil Service whose correct manifestation he was, still remains. It still drags on its precarious existence. Nothing but a complete elimination of British rule in India can liquidate this ruling corporation which passes under the name of the "Indian Civil Service."

Lift for Firoz Khan Noon's Stooze

India Today, published monthly by the India League of America from New York, is responsible for the following news :

Sir Firoz Khan Noon's stooze, Khurshid Ahmad Khan, who earned notoriety by trying to create a disturbance at a Press Conference held by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit in San Francisco, has been rewarded for his anti-Indian activities. Mr. Khan has been appointed as an Assistant Director of Civil Supplies in Delhi.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon was one of the British appointed delegates to the San Francisco Conference and it was generally known that he instigated Mr. Khan.

Mr. Khan's appointment to such a responsible post has caused a good deal of surprise. He is stated to have superseded several senior officials in the Department.

We on this side of the Suez Canal have not been surprised at this appointment. This is not an exception but a typical method of recognising and rewarding anti-national activities of slavish Indians.

U. S. Balance Sheet in Race Relations

A little coloured girl, asked to name a fitting punishment for Hitler, said, "Paint him black and make him live in America." With all their talk of democracy in human relations many Americans forget both morals and ethics in their behaviour towards the Negroes. This clash between American creed and American practice has been brought to light by Mr. Edwin R. Embree, the noted American expert on Racial Relations, in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He writes that the Negroes want to fight for democracy but they see the issues quite as plainly in America as abroad. They are no longer satisfied with the epitaph suggested by one coloured soldier, "Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the glory of a white man." Negroes want democracy at home right now. Many thoughtful Americans agree and are working with a zeal not shown since the movement which abolished slavery.

Other Americans are equally perturbed for opposite reasons. Fighting for the *status quo*, they are determined that the Negro shall "stay in his place." Here is the current balance sheet in race relations as submitted by Edwin R. Embree :

The most spectacular signs of the rising tide of intolerance are outbreaks against various minority groups : anti-Semitic attacks in New York, Boston, Chicago, the zootsuit clash with Mexicans in Los Angeles ; manhandling of Japanese-Americans. But the chief victims were Negroes : riots in Detroit, Beaumont, and Mobile ; outbreaks in Newark and Dayton ; violence on all kinds of public carriers throughout the South.

In many cities Negroes were mauled by the police and stoned by 'neighbours' for moving into new districts. A Negro in Mississippi was tortured and murdered by white men because he refused to sell his farm to one of them.

Housing, always inadequate in black ghettos, has become intolerable with the new crowding. A million Negroes have migrated from the rural South since 1940, some of them to Southern cities but most to already congested centres in the North and West. In Chicago, with 350,000 Negroes, areas of the South Side Black Belt have 55,000 to 90,000 inhabitants per square mile herded into houses abandoned by their former owners, with poor sanitation and scant facilities for recreation. School buildings are so congested that many Negro children have to get their education in half-day shifts. With restrictive covenants and other quasi-legal devices keeping Negroes from any other quarters, landlords pile up the rents and let the buildings run down.

Funds available for housing for Negro defence workers in more than 25 Northern cities could not be used for over a year because of objection from white residents. In Detroit, where the 150,000 Negroes of the 1940 census have increased by 10 per cent every year during the war years, coloured tenants could move into public housing built expressly for

them only after crashing a picket line of white rioters. In Baltimore, where the numbers have jumped from 165,000 in 1940 to over 200,000 in 1944, an angry citizenry has refused to let Negroes move out of the established ghettos or have public housing.

Employment of Negroes in America

Embrece has discussed at some length the problem of Negro employment in America. Negro employment has been a constant fight. In spite of the President's orders and the vigilance of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, employers were slow to hire coloured workers.

Upgrading of Negro workers has brought on hate strikes and riots in dozens of centres, notably in Philadelphia, where the whole city's transportation were tied up for six days because eight Negroes were given jobs as motor men on trolleys; and at the Wright Aeronautical Plant in Lockland, Ohio, when 12,000 workers walked out because seven Negroes were transferred to a "white" department.

Minority groups themselves have not been guiltless. Catholics and Jews have often discriminated against Negroes.

The police and the courts have not always shown fairplay or justice. In riots Negroes have been arrested and punished in far greater numbers than white offenders. Police brutality against Negroes, even when they are in uniform, has become an open scandal. In Southern Courts, judges often treat coloured defendants with disdain or amusement, refuse to accept Negro testimony against white and tend to assume a Negro guilty until he is proved innocent. Juvenile delinquency has become alarming. White and Negro gangs have clashed on streets and public carriers in many cities.

In connection with the suppression and distortion of news about Negroes, Embree writes:

In the news there has been suppression and distortion: the pamphlet, "The Races of Mankind", an authentic, scientific statement, was banned by the USO and the Army. "Strange Fruit" the powerful novel by William Smith, was censored in Boston as "obscene"; Gene Talmadge featured his (losing) campaign for Governor of Georgia by bonfires burning copies of "Brown America"; the USO press agent suppressed a photograph of Mrs. Roosevelt with the very dark Mrs. Bethune as "controversial."

Treatment of Negroes in America

Embrece has described the galling insults and uncertainties that individual Negroes face every day, never knowing when they may be admitted or thrown out at a theatre, a restaurant, a hotel, a bathing beach. In Washington, a Negro who had lost a leg in Italy was refused service in Thompson's restaurant, two blocks from the White House. Negro troops in Paso, Texas, were refused food in a station dining room where they could see German prisoners of war seated and receiving courteous service.

Dealing with the employment of Negro soldiers in war service, Embree writes:

Resented most of all is discrimination in the armed forces. Negroes—and millions of other people the world over—simply cannot understand a war for democracy fought by an army organised on segregation and prejudice. *Time* states that 70 per cent of

Negro troops have been used for labour rather than combat. The training school for Negro pilots had to be built by private funds, and in spite of brilliant records abroad, Negroes are still little used in any of the air services.

On leave, coloured soldiers and sailors have been herded into restricted areas for their play, even in the combat zones of England they were Jim Crowed in the Red Cross recreation centres and insulted and sometimes beaten by their American fellows.

An Englishwoman whose village had quartered chiefly coloured troops said, "Oh, we all like the Americans, but those white folks from the States are terrible."

Most shocking is the lethargy of the United States Army in allowing civilians to mob and sometimes murder soldiers in uniform if the soldiers have dark skins. Three soldiers from Camp Van Dorn, Mississippi, were killed, one by the sheriff of Center ville and two by white civilians after one of the soldiers answered "Yes" instead of "Yes, sir". Private Raymond McMurray was shot in a general roundup of "suspects" near Birmingham, Alabama. A soldier in Charleston, South Carolina, beaten and threatened with death by two civilian policemen, shouted,

"Hell, shoot me! It's *your* country I'm supposed to die for, anyway."

The last war has, in many ways, been significant for the Negroes. It has given them opportunities they have never had, but at the same, it has sharpened their sense of the clash between American creed and American practice. The Balance Sheet in race relations has been presented. Coloured peoples all the world over will watch how it is honoured.

Bertrand Russell Visualises Third World War

Bertrand Russell visualises the outbreak of a third World War and says that a war between America and Russia might well last for thirty years, and end, not in victory for either, but in the extinction of civilised ways of life. All large towns in Great Britain would be wiped out by atomic bombs at an early stage. Russell writes:

The present difficulties arise through Russian imperialism. I know that many people deny altogether that the Soviet Government is imperialistic. They say that imperialism is an outcome of private capitalism, and since private capitalism has been abolished in Russia, there cannot be imperialism in that country. This argument is scholastic and a priori, the facts refute it. Russia has annexed Eastern Poland and the Baltic Provinces, has established subservient Governments in Poland, Bulgaria, and Rumania, and is demanding Port Arthur and a half share of the Chinese Eastern Railway. If this is not imperialism, what is it?

This is not the end of Russia's ambitions. Ancient designs against Turkey and Persia are being revived. There are reasons for suspicion as to Russian intentions in Eastern Germany.

Russia's immense military strength, as revealed by the war is held in check for the moment by the atomic bomb, but before long Russia, no doubt, will have as good (or bad) a bomb as that of the Americans, and as soon as this has happened it will be possible to have a really serious war. Such madness must be prevented if possible, but it is not easy to see how.

Russell on Policy of Appeasement

Discussing the policy of appeasement, Russell says :

I do not think peace can be permanently preserved by a policy of appeasement such as we pursued toward Germany until after Munich. Such a policy encourages continually greater demands on the other side until a point is reached where further yielding is thought rightly or wrongly, to be impossible ; then war results in circumstances made more unfavourable by previous concessions. In the case of Russia, this point would be reached, at latest, when attempts were made to establish a Communist Government in France by unconstitutional means. What is wanted is not vague appeasement but a clear policy publicly proclaimed, making clear in advance what issues we consider vital.

We should, I think, concede a free hand to Russia in Eastern Europe (excluding Greece and Turkey), on the ground that in that region we cannot effectively intervene ; but in return we should have an acknowledgement of our interest in the Mediterranean. To this degree, spheres of influence, though undesirable, seem impossible to avoid. But our main policy should be guided by motives of principle, not of national power.

Russell on British Democratic Leadership

Pinning high hopes on the possibility of a British Democratic Leadership in post-war Europe, Russell says :

The advent to power of the Labour Party in Great Britain has given hope throughout Europe to those Socialists who have remained faithful to democracy. In almost every country of the Continent there are strong Left-wing movements which hitherto have had to look to Russia for support. Our policy should be not to support the Left where it is in a minority but to secure democracy wherever Anglo-American influence is sufficiently strong, and to accept whatever Government, whether of the Right or of the Left, may result from free elections.

The first step should be to see that this policy is genuinely applied in Greece, where the Conservatives left us an evil legacy. I do not know what is possible in regard to Spain, but whatever can legitimately be done should be done to hasten the fall of Franco. We should make it clear, if possible in conjunction with America, that we should not be tolerant of unconstitutional attempts to substitute dictatorships for democracies in countries where a democratic Government had been established.

All this, however, should not be attempted within the Russian sphere. Any concessions to America and Britain in Poland, Bulgaria, or Rumania are likely to prove illusory and to generate more irritation than they are worth.

The present British Government can, and I hope, will, acquire great moral prestige by abandoning certain imperialist claims. *In regard to India, dramatic and unequivocal pronouncements should be made embodying what is in fact our policy, but stating it in a manner to appeal to the imagination.* Hong Kong should be restored to China by the peace treaty.

Russell considers these things as essentially necessary if Britain aspires to the moral leadership of socialist Europe. By this means, Britain can build up a Western European bloc which, while by no means

hostile to Russia, will also be not subservient and susceptible to political penetration by Communist totalitarianism. In this way an equilibrium may be established which, though at first precarious, may gradually become more stable as war passions cool and common sense revives.

Russell emphatically says that what is evil in the Soviet system is very largely the outcome of the fear generated by Western hostile intervention after the last war. If this fear is allayed a willingness of co-operation with the West may be gradually strengthened in Russia and the present difficulty may steadily grow less.

According to Russell, another world war is not improbable but he says that it can be avoided by a combination of firmness, patience and forbearance on the part of the Western Powers, together with a vigorous assertion of the ideals of democratic socialism.

The British Labour Government's policy towards India and the subject peoples of South-East Asia, however, does not inspire much confidence in their capability to lead Europe and the world out of the present turmoil. Instead, they seem to be steadily and quickly drifting towards a third world war, more devastating and catastrophic than the one which has just come to an end.

Kalinath Ray

Death occurred in Calcutta of Sj. Kalinath Ray, Editor-in-Chief of the *Tribune* of Lahore. Sj. Ray was associated with the *Tribune* for nearly three decades and the progress that the *Tribune* has made and the prominent position it has come to occupy in Indian journalism during this period was mostly due to him. In announcing his death the *Tribune* makes feeling references to his services to the Punjab and writes, "Though a Bengalee by birth, he made the Punjab his home ; and understood its problems very intimately. He served the Punjab with untiring devotion and today when he is no more his services to the province will be gratefully remembered by all Punjabees irrespective of caste and creed."

Sj. Ray took his schooling in journalism while serving in the *Bengalee*, under Sir Surendranath Banerjee. Sir Surendranath was famous for his florid, gusty and gushing style. The disciple possessed a temperament different from that of the guru. He learned the devastating method of demolishing the strongholds of obscurantism and reactionarism through the force of logic. His motto was, "Strong words are no substitutes for strong arguments." He could not be at ease with himself unless he had poured out all the arguments in his possession and had buried his opponents' thesis under them. His method of work had been a combination of caution and precision. His honesty of conscience and intellectual illumination were reflected on it. Although he was not an extremist, he always refused to sacrifice the right patriotic impulse at the altar of moderation. He never feared to incur the wrath of Sir Michael O'Dwyer during the Martial Law days. *Blazing Indiscretion*, *The Vicious Circle*, *Out-Heroding Herod*, etc., were some of his memorable articles written in those days. The Punjab Government did not spare him, they sent him to prison for two years. Sj. Ray never wrote with a pen dipped in poison, but when it collided with a flinty regime it emitted sparks.

POST-WAR ECONOMIC DEPRESSION IN INDIA

By **R. C. JAIN, M.A., M.Sc. (Econ.)** London,
University of Allahabad

As Government of India's war expenditure ceases and the wartime demand for Indian goods slackens the existing conditions of industrial and agricultural 'boom' in India will give place to economic depression, widespread unemployment, and fall in people's purchasing power. This change-over will not take place all at once and its impact on some industries will be harder than on others. But there is no doubt that the chaos will be worse if conditions are allowed to drift by themselves and the situation gets out of hand. It is true that even an all-out effort by the Government of India will not be able to save the Indian economic system from this depression, but a timely and systematic effort can very considerably reduce the intensity and tempo of this catastrophe. For this purpose it is necessary for the Government of India to adopt a vigorous programme of post-war development.

DEFLATIONARY PROCESS

Between 1938-39 and 1944-45 the Central and Provincial Governments in India spent a huge sum of Rs. 3910.77 crores out of which Rs. 1346.71 crores were spent on defence and Rs. 1393.88 crores on behalf of the British Government. The Central and Provincial Budgets for 1945-46 provide for an expenditure of Rs. 1215.93 crores as against only Rs. 160.91 crores actually spent in 1938-39. These phenomenal figures show that the Government of India cannot afford to spend such huge amounts in the future and this would set in motion a powerful deflationary process. The prices of agricultural commodities, consumers' goods, and raw materials will fall. This would reduce the money income of producers and wage-earners. The Government, however, can and should make this process gradual by reducing its expenditure in easy stages so that industry will have time to adjust itself to the changed conditions. Moreover, sooner or later the military demand for goods will be replaced by increased civilian demand. The Government of India can hasten this process by enforcing schemes of post-war economic and industrial development, which are already under consideration of the Central and Provincial Governments, without further loss of time. These schemes will increase people's purchasing power or, looking at it differently, will prevent as much fall in their money income as would otherwise take place. This combined with Government measures to remove all wartime restrictions on civilian expenditure, and a reduction in the crushing burden of taxation which has very seriously reduced people's capacity to spend, will bring enough purchasing power into the market. These efforts cannot save the Indian economy from post-war depression, which in any case is inevitable, but they will surely shorten the deflationary period and will reduce its evil consequences.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Another aspect of the problem is that in transition from war to peace many persons will be thrown out of employment. In 1944 the large-scale factories employed 2.4 million workers, the armed forces had a strength of 2.5 million, and small-scale and cottage industries

provided work to over 15 million workers. It is expected that the cessation of wartime activity in large-scale industries will make nearly half a million persons idle. The railways, Government offices, and similar other establishments will throw between one-quarter and one-third of a million persons out of employment. It has been announced that 850,000 men will be demobilised from the fighting forces within the next eight months and, although the future stages have not yet been revealed, it is expected that an equal number will have to meet the same fate subsequently. The military provided direct employment to about one million persons in building and maintenance work and indirect employment to between five and seven million persons in small-scale and cottage industries for the production of goods required by the defence forces. These persons will now be thrown out of work. In this way in all nearly 10½ million persons will be thrown out of employment and, though all will not become unemployed at once, new employment will have to be found for them by the end of the transition period, which might extend from three to five years.

The Government of India and the different provincial Governments have as yet done nothing to solve this difficult problem. A number of Regional Directorates of Resettlement and Employment with employment exchanges have been set up all over the country. A number of Information Bureaus have also been opened to give guidance and information to demobilised soldiers. This organisation will register the requirements of Government departments, industry, and other private employers and would assist the unemployed persons in getting the available jobs. But at best this organisation can make adjustments between supply and demand of labour more smooth. In no case can it provide fresh avenues of employment which alone can be useful in solving the unemployment problem. It is necessary to create fresh sources of employment in order to improve the net situation. The Regional Directorates of Resettlement and Employment can do nothing of the kind.

PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAMME

New employment can be provided by a systematic plan of public works development. The different provincial Governments have prepared schemes of post-war reconstruction which are capable of providing employment to demobilised soldiers and others made idle by the end of war. But the chief defect of all these schemes is that they are not yet ready while demobilisation has already begun. If and when these schemes come into operation, it might be too late and the little relief which they would give might then prove ineffective. The Government of India has recently announced that, subject to a maximum of Rs. 50 crores, it would contribute 25 per cent of provincial expenditure on works of unproductive nature undertaken by the provincial Government to relieve unemployment in the transitional period. Such schemes will prove futile though they would cost the tax-payer much money. A better alternative would be to put long period provincial plans into operation at once even if all the details

are not yet complete. As these plans unfold themselves necessary changes can be made in the details. This would make it possible to utilise the tax-payers' money in the best possible way while providing new avenues of employment to demobilised soldiers and others out of work. Similarly, the central schemes of railway, road, and building construction should be introduced as quickly as possible. It is unlikely that these plans would provide employment to more than a small proportion of the unemployed but whatever relief they give is worth having.

TARIFF PROTECTION

The Government plans of 'post-war reconstruction' will have to be supplemented by efforts to encourage and develop India's large and small scale industries. For this purpose it is necessary for the Government to have a definite policy of tariff protection, in the absence of which many new industries which came into existence during the war are likely to be ruined. These industries have not yet been able to consolidate their position and would not be able to stand the onslaught of cut-throat competition from imported goods. It is only with the help of a liberal tariff protection that they might be able to bridge the difficult transitional period. The Government of India has recently appointed an interim Tariff Board for a period of two years in the first instance. This Board will examine the case of Indian industries which were started or expanded during the war period. The cases of certain chemical, metal, and rubber industries have already been referred to the Board. The Tariff Board will also examine the claims of bichromates, steel pipes and tubes (up to a nominal bore of 4 inches), aluminium, calcium carbide, calcium chloride, and starch manufacturing industries which were started directly on the basis of Government encouragement and were given an assurance of protection against unfair competition in the post-war period. According to the terms of reference, the Board will examine the case of each industry as it thinks fit and will report whether the industry satisfies the following conditions :

"(1) That it is established and conducted on sound business lines ; and

"(2) (a) that, having regard to the natural or economic advantages enjoyed by the industry and the actual or probable costs, it is likely within a reasonable time to develop sufficiently to be able to carry on successfully without protection or State assistance ; or (b) that it is an industry to which it is desirable in the national interest to grant protection or assistance and that the probable cost of such protection or assistance to the community is not excessive. Where a claim to protection or assistance is found to be established, i.e., if condition (1) and condition (2) (a) or (b) are satisfied, the Board will recommend : (I) whether, at what rate, and in respect of what articles, or class or description of articles, a protective duty should be imposed ; (II) what additional or alternative measures should be taken to protect or assist the industry ; and (III) for what period, not exceeding three years, the tariff or other measures recommended should remain in force."

These conditions are more liberal and comprehensive than those of 'discriminating protection' recommended by the Indian Fiscal Commission in 1922

and used as the basis of Tariff Board enquiries ever since. But the conditions now laid down by the Government are necessarily vague and whether they would give adequate protection to Indian industries or not will depend upon the interpretation which the interim Tariff Board places upon them. But if the Tariff Board does the work in right spirit and the Government of India does not sabotage its recommendations by prevarication or by dilatory tactics the proposed conditions are capable of safeguarding the interests of Indian industry. This would make it possible to expand industrial employment in India in the transitional period and after.

TAX CONCESSIONS

Apart from tariff protection, the Government should make it possible for industries to spend money on scientific research, renovation of machinery, and improvement in methods of production. For this purpose suitable changes will have to be made in the existing tax system. The excess profits tax will have to be withdrawn with immediate effect, greater depreciation allowances granted on new machinery, and expenditure of money on technical research will have to be exempted from taxation. These measures will help in the reorganisation of Indian industry and in reducing the costs of production. This would increase the competitive power of Indian industry and would enable it to expand and provide employment to some of the persons made idle by the end of war.

Efforts should also be made to encourage and develop small-scale and cottage industries and, as they provide employment to a large number of persons per unit of capital invested, the potential capacity of these industries for solving the unemployment problem is much greater than that of large-scale enterprise. They take less time to start and organise than large-scale industries and this relative advantage has recently increased because of difficulties in importing the required amount of machinery and technical equipment for large-scale factories. If Government plans of industrial development give small-scale and cottage industries their due place, unemployment in the transitional period will be reduced, the income of the cultivators will be supplemented, and it would be possible to secure a more balanced industrial development of the country.

INDIAN CULTIVATORS

The cultivators will probably be the worst sufferers in the forthcoming depression. The prices of agricultural commodities will fall as normal conditions return and the fall in agricultural prices in India will be faster and greater than the fall in prices of industrial goods or agricultural prices in most other countries of the world. The prices and costs in India, due to uncontrolled inflation during the last six years, increased many times more than in the U.K., U.S.A., and other western countries and the balance will inevitably be restored as, with the return of normal conditions, the internationally traded commodities begin to flow freely.

It has been wrongly suggested in some quarters that in order to safeguard the interests of the cultivators the Government should fix agricultural prices at existing, or slightly lower, levels. This would be possible if the Government were to buy the entire produce of all the major agricultural commodities, such as wheat, raw cotton, oilseeds, and raw jute at fixed prices and sell it in the market at the prevailing prices. In order to make this practicable the Government will also have

to assume control over production so that only a 'normal' quantity may be produced. Such a policy, however, would lead to at least two serious difficulties. The financial loss inflicted on the Government by these operations might be unduly heavy and it is extremely doubtful whether the Indian economic system, after six years of grinding taxation, would be able to bear the strain of such huge expenditure of money as this policy involves. Moreover, India is not and cannot afford to be a self-sufficient economy. We depend on imports for machinery, technical skill, certain scarce chemicals and raw materials and in order to pay for these it is necessary to export Indian raw materials and manufactured goods. Exports provide demand for surplus raw materials which cannot be utilised in India. But these exports would not be possible if prices in India are

maintained at artificially high levels, out of touch with international price-levels.

The danger of falling prices is that thereby the cultivators' money income is reduced. But it is possible to keep up the cultivators' money income even with falling agricultural prices if the yield (per acre) of agricultural crops is increased, crop planning is introduced so that there might not be overproduction or short supply of essential raw materials and foodstuffs, and the cultivators' money income is supplemented by cottage and small-scale industries. These would reduce the evil effects of post-war depression on the Indian cultivators. These methods have the advantage of increasing the cultivators' money income without increasing their costs of living, thereby safeguarding the real income.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Special Lecturer on Oriental History and International Relations, College of the City of New York

I am writing this Open Letter to the Government of India, to draw the attention of the authorities, specially those Indian statesmen and educators who are associated with the Government of India with the express purpose of serving India, by raising national efficiency of the people by spreading proper kind of education, that the recent well-intentioned policy of sending thousands of Indian students to Great Britain, the United States and other countries for advanced studies as adopted by the Government of India* is at best inadequate and wasteful.

According to the information available from the abovementioned official document, the programme has been summed up as follows :

"With a view to increasing the supply of properly trained technical personnel who are likely to be required in connection with the various plans for post-war developments, the Government of India have decided, pending the extension of facilities for advanced technical instruction in India, to make arrangements immediately—

"to send abroad a certain number of students, at Government expense, for advanced courses in technical and scientific subjects directly related to the probable post-war needs; and

"to establish a properly equipped organization in this country and also in the United Kingdom and the United States of America for providing advice and guidance and also assistance in regard to admission to courses of studies etc. for those students who may desire to proceed overseas for study at their own expense or who may be sent for this purpose by firms and private bodies. It is hoped that, if war conditions permit, it will be possible to make arrangements for 1,000 such students this year."

Regarding *Stipends, Travelling Expenses, and Equipment Allowance* for these students, the following provisions have been made :

"The value of the stipend will be fixed in the light of ascertained requirements in different countries (the average value in the U. K. will be about £300 per annum), but will be sufficient to cover all the normal maintenance expenses which a student is likely to incur, including expenses during vacations. The stipend will be payable from the date of a student's arrival in the country where he is to receive instruction up to the date of his departure from that country on the return journey, and it will be paid in advance in quarterly or monthly instalments. Any tuition fees or other charges in connection with the course of study will be paid by the Government of India.

"Students will be allowed a II Class fare or, where there is no II Class, the fare next below I Class from their normal place of residence to their place of instruction and back, together with a sum of £5, or its equivalent in Indian or other currency, to cover incidental journey expenses each way. The sum of £5 will not be paid to those who are in the Government employ and in receipt of their pay during the voyage.

"Each selected student will be given before his departure from India an equipment allowance of Rs. 500 to enable him to provide himself with suitable clothes and other necessary articles as he is likely to need on the journey or immediately on his arrival in the country to which he is being sent."

It is indicated that students will on the average receive the stipends for two years. All selected students will be required to enter into a bond, or undertaking to serve the Government of India, on their return after the completion of their course of instruction, for a period of five years, if required to do so in a gasetted post, or to take up for a similar period other comparable employment, if so directed by the Government of India.

II

It is my opinion that living expenses, travelling expenses, college tuitions, etc., for each student annually will be at least £500. Therefore, for the first batch of

* See the booklet entitled *Information for Students Desiring to Proceed Overseas for Advanced Studies, 1945*, published by Department of Education, Health and Land.

one thousand students to be sent to foreign countries for advanced studies will cost at least £500,000 or seventy-five lakhs of rupees a year and £1,000,000 or one hundred and fifty lakhs of rupees for two years. The net result of this expenditure will be, training some government officials and not strengthening Indian educational system which will provide the required facilities for raising national efficiency. But if this one hundred and fifty lakhs of rupees were capitalised and invested in improving Indian educational institutions and also hiring the very best type of foreign professors, if need be, then thousands of Indians of all classes would be able to secure higher education annually and there would be permanent facilities for research and scientific work, as being carried on in Great Britain, the United States and other lands.

The craze for sending Indian students to foreign countries is the reflex of the job-hunting psychology that was created through Indian Civil Service Examination which used to be held in England. The idea that is dominating Indian mind is that to get the best even in the field of education, Indians must go to foreign lands. They do not think in terms of creating facilities in India for the highest type of scientific education and also hiring the best brains of the world, in connection with Indian universities for a number of years to train a large number of young scientists.

III

Sending thousands of Indian students in foreign lands so that they will get better government jobs after their return to India is not the best way to raise the standard of Indian national efficiency. Indians should at least take into consideration the experience of other nations which in recent years have risen from backwardness to the position of foremost scientific nations.

In Asia Japan was the first country to realise the necessity to acquire all that is best in the West and utilise them to strengthen the nation. The Japanese Government sent first-rate scholars to foreign lands with the express purpose that they would learn their subjects of study in such a fashion that they will be able to teach those subjects in Japanese institutions. These pioneer students had to prepare text-books for their subjects in Japanese language. Then the Japanese Government employed American, German, French, British and other experts and educators to serve the Japanese nations in various capacities. For instance, to train the Japanese army on the basis of German efficiency, the Japanese did not send thousands of Japanese annually to Germany, but they invited German military men, generals of the highest type to organise their army and the staff college and sent a certain number of the very best type of Japanese military officers to study in staff colleges in other lands. Japanese universities employed foreign professors who worked with and under Japanese educators and developed the very best type of universities and technological institutions. Japanese industrialists as well as the Government employed a large number of foreign experts to teach the Japanese technicians in Japan. They adopted this method because this was the cheapest and the best method of creating in Japan such institutions as will meet Japan's national needs.

In India many educators and statesmen point out the enormous progress that has been made by the Russian people in the field of education and scientific and technical development. In fact, it is the opinion in

America that today Soviet Russia and the United States of America are the two countries where the greatest efforts are being made for scientific and technical progress. How did Soviet Russia achieve this success? Not by sending thousands of Russian students to British and American universities; but by bringing into Russia, some of the best technical and scientific men to serve Soviet Russian educational and technical institutions and enterprises and also by providing means to develop facilities for scientific and industrial researches of all kinds by promising Russian scholars. Why does not the Government of India apply the lessons learnt from Russian achievement in developing Indian institutions by Indian scientists aided by the best scientists and experts of the world employed in Indian institutions?

Turkey is possibly the most progressive of Asian countries, next to Japan. It may interest the Government of India and Indian statesmen that the Turkish Republic to strengthen its national life, has been increasing the efficiency of Turkish universities and establishing new institutions. I happen to know that when Hitler began to drive out Jewish and liberal professors from German universities, during the year 1934-35, (if I am not mistaken), the Turkish Government employed some fifty German professors of great distinction to teach in various Turkish institutions of higher education. They were to teach at least for five years and by that time they were to teach through the medium of Turkish language. The Turkish Government has recently employed an American as adviser to the Ministry of Education.

When the United States Government remitted the Boxer Indemnity money to educate Chinese scholars to raise Chinese national efficiency, for the first few years a large number of Chinese students were brought to the United States. But later on, a large part of the fund was used to establish a University near Peking which has trained thousands of Chinese scholars who have become the backbone of the Chinese Nationalist Movement.

In India, the late Jamshedji Tata, one of the greatest Indian patriots, did his best to establish an Indian Institute of Science which would provide facilities for training Indian scientists and technicians. It is the fault of the administrators of the institution that it has not developed into an institution of the type of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The late Reverend Rash Behari Ghosh and Tarak Nath Palit gave a few lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University and this sum properly utilised by late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, gave substance to the Science College of the Calcutta University and this Science College with the superhuman efforts of the pioneers of the type of Sir P. C. Ray, Sir J. C. Bose and others have produced a large number of scientists in India.

Following these examples, the Government of India should aid in equipping the existing Indian universities and technological institutions with the most up-to-date laboratories. India should retire the third-rate Indian professors from Indian Universities and Graduate Schools and employ the very best talents of the world, Indians and foreigners, so that they will be able to make the best of the knowledge in various scientific fields available in India. This will be most effective and less wasteful; and will afford equal opportunity for Indians of all classes to acquire knowledge.

Lest I be misunderstood, I wish to make it clear that I am not opposed to Indian scholars going to

foreign lands. In fact to break up India's cultural isolation and to make the Indian scientists and educators conscious of the actual position of backwardness of India, it is imperative that the best of Indian educators should go to foreign lands, not for flying trips as they do now-a-days, but for study-trips: so that they will get new inspiration and new efficiency to raise Indian institutions to the level of the best ones in the world.

Regarding the employment of the best type of scientists and experts from foreign lands in India, Indians have some objections. I was told that Indians feel that they should have the best positions and thus foreigners should not be employed. This is a short-sighted policy in practical fields. It may interest Indian educators and statesmen that the United States, the most progressive of all countries of the world, in the field of technical education, during the recent years have employed the very best of European professors in various educational institutions and government research projects, including the study of Atomic bombs.

Today the United States government have brought from Germany a large number of German scientists for special scientific studies. Similarly German scientists are being used for special work by Soviet Russia and Great Britain. I am not suggesting that foreign educators should be given preference as used to be the case when third-rate British educators were given higher positions in Indian Educational Service while the best of Indian talents were made their subordinates. What I am suggesting is this: By employing the best type of foreign scientists in Indian universities, Indians give opportunity to a larger number of students to learn certain subjects with the least possible expense.

The only way and the cheapest way by which Indian national efficiency can be attained is to raise the efficiency of the teaching staffs of Indian institutions and also to have the required equipments for the highest type of research in India. A few crores of rupees spent for these purposes will be the best type of *National Investment* which will pay the highest type of dividend for India.

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DRINK CONTROL IN GREAT BRITAIN

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

THE Temperance Movement in Great Britain which has gone from strength to strength has been conducting an unremitting campaign against the drink evil so that today the damage resulting from the use of alcohol has come to be a recognised fact almost universally. Realising that the introduction of Prohibition in their country presents very great difficulties on account of reasons which need not be mentioned here, the governing classes have tried to meet the situation by imposing the highest possible taxes on alcoholic beverages consistent with discouragement of their illicit manufacture and sale.

While, as an Indian, I am not entitled to criticise the wisdom of the British technique which may be summed up as one ensuring maximum revenue with minimum consumption, on which plea Prohibition has been gradually withdrawn by the British administration in all those provinces in which it had been introduced by Congress ministries, I feel that I am perfectly within my rights if I draw the attention of my readers to the failure of this policy in Great Britain so far at least as the demoralising aspects of the liquor traffic are concerned.

As I have dealt elsewhere, in a general way, with the intimate connection between drinking and deterioration in physical and intellectual efficiency, economic wastage, prostitution, social diseases, etc., I do not propose to say anything further on these aspects of the problem so far as Great Britain is concerned. I shall confine myself to reports of police cases published in British periodicals for the latter part of 1939 and the earlier months of 1940, so that I may show my readers the tragical results of indulgence in alcohol in a land which claims that it has kept the use of intoxicants within reasonable limits and, at the same time, benefited public finances.

It would fill me with great regret if anything I have said here has the effect of suggesting, even remotely, that I have the slightest desire to belittle the British

nation if only for the reason that I yield to none in my admiration for the Briton for standing up to Germany single-handed after the defeat of France and before the entry of the U.S.S.R., and the United States into the war. I feel and feel very strongly that the almost desperate struggle, against overwhelming odds could have been carried on with still greater resourcefulness and efficiency if Great Britain had been a totally "dry" country.

And what I regard as most disappointing in the situation is that even the very modest suggestions put forward by the British Temperance Movement, reference to which is made below, were not found acceptable at a time when Great Britain was almost daily expecting a sea-borne invasion by her apparently victorious enemy—clearest evidence, in my view, of the wide prevalence of the drinking habit and the lack of a sufficiently strong public opinion assigning the first place to national well-being. And the thought comes to me that when the Briton criticises Indian communalism for its selfishness, he should not allow himself to forget the equally reprehensible absence of that spirit of self-sacrifice on the part of many of his countrymen which made them unwilling to give up the use of liquor at a time when it was their obvious duty to subordinate their personal enjoyment to the larger interests of the nation as a whole.

OVERCROWING IN PUBLIC HOUSES

I shall begin with the following extract from a London daily which gives a picture from real life very clearly revealing the demoralisation that attended the traffic in drink in pre-war England. It is quoted on page 257 of *The School of Health* by Dr. A. B. Olsen, M.D., and M. E. Olsen, M.A.:

"A public house, used principally by dockers, was watched one Saturday night for an hour and a half. The watchers saw during that time 795 persons

enter its doors. Of these 209 were men, 390 women, 83 youths and girls, and 123 very young children and babies in arms. Seven perambulators were taken in, some of which had in them two children. Outside there was scarcely an uneventful moment. Three women were turned out and five men. There were one very bad fight and six disturbances. Three girls about seventeen came out quite drunk. Twenty-four men, including a postman in livery, and nineteen women left the house helplessly drunk. Two of the women had babies in their arms. At 10-50 the house had to be closed, with the exception of one small door, on account of a frightful row. A policeman had to stay outside after that until closing time."

It does not appear from the above extract that any one among those who came out drunk or was turned out from the public house or any one involved in the 'bad fight', 'the frightful row' and the 'six disturbances' which may be regarded as brawls in the descending order of seriousness, was arrested, proof of the disinclination of the police to interfere unless absolutely necessary. This view is supported by the following extract from a letter which appeared on the 7th June, 1939, in the *Birmingham Post* under the signature of the Rev. C. H. Williams, Bishop Ryder Vicarage, 40, Old Cross Street, Birmingham :

"Those charged represent only those incapable or disorderly, and countless numbers are taken home drunk in cars or by 'friends' or manage to reel home safely."

The above has been quoted to prove two things. The first of these, as stated repeatedly, is that each and every one of the cases mentioned below can be easily paralleled so that they may be regarded as representative ones and the second that even if I had at my disposal the space required to give an account of each instance reported in the papers for the period to which I have confined myself, the picture thus presented would fail to reflect the true situation so far as the extent of drunkenness is concerned.

It is common knowledge that as soon as the recent war broke out, tens of thousands of adults left public houses at least slightly the worse for liquor. This not only increased greatly the danger of accident but, in the event of an air-raid, such persons were only too likely to be not only a menace to themselves but to the whole community. An editorial in the *Evening Standard*, dated the 7th September, 1939, put the whole matter in a nutshell when it observed :

"There is one manifestation of war conditions, which we cannot altogether applaud. As you push towards the counter in the public house, you cannot fail to notice that there is a boom in drink. Perhaps it is only natural. Public amusements are suddenly cut down to nil. Each man wants to talk to his neighbour, yet we should watch this new tendency. . . . We certainly want no one staggering out into the dark streets risking their own necks and endangering others !"

How necessary the warning was may be easily realised by the following two cases selected out of hundreds. On the 15th September, 1939, the *Kentish Mercury* reported that Frederick Reilly, aged 39, of Endwell-road, Brockley, was found lying on the pavement with his legs in the roadway. He was taken into custody by Police Sergeant Sherman, at Loampit-vale,

Lewisham, at midnight and charged with being drunk and incapable. Reilly who pleaded that he had lost his gas-mask and £3 was fined 5s. by the Magistrate.

On the 9th December, 1939, the *Evening Standard* reported that Robert Mark Abrams, aged 59, of 8, Gasting-place, Finsbury, pleaded guilty at Old-street Police Court to having been drunk at Nile-street, Shoreditch. He had been arrested by Police Constable Melvor who, giving evidence, stated that Abrams had been found lying on the road in the black-out and that he had failed to notice him till he had been told by a passer-by who, it was suggested, was also under the influence of liquor. The following observation of the Magistrate as reported in the above paper is worth pondering over giving as it does some idea of the frequency with which such cases occurred :

"It's a marvel that these people don't get run over. To my personal knowledge only from cases brought before me, police officers have saved ten peoples' lives in this way since the black-out began."

That all drunk and incapable persons lying on the road do not always escape so easily as Messrs. Reilly and Abrams will be shown presently. To continue the story, about five months after the warning administered by the *Evening Standard*, the Staff Reporter of the *Daily Express* writing from Bristol on the 16th February, 1940, stated as the result of his own observations that

"Some of the public houses have become so popular that it is impossible to get inside the doors in the evenings."

This gentleman also drew attention to the risks incidental to the overcrowding in public houses but the warnings thus administered were not heeded even when A.R.P., and the black-out became the normal life of Great Britain the result being an immense increase in the number of road casualties.

ALCOHOL AND ROAD CASUALTIES

To come to details, here are only four instances where death followed as the result of intoxication of drivers of motor cars. They are selected out of hundreds of similar cases reported in British papers. The first of these reported in the *Alliance News* for December, 1939, proves how sensible is the advice given to its members by the Automobile Club of Southern California, "If you must drink, don't drive. If you must drive, don't drink." And it is noteworthy that Mr. Justice Macnaghten who tried the case at York Assizes on the 9th November, 1939, took the same view.

"Stanhope Charles Hutchinson (aged 47), of Norton, Malton, employed as a traveller by Charles Rose and Co., Ltd., brewers, was found guilty of the manslaughter of Mrs. Kathleen Grayson, who was crushed by his car when it collided with a wall at the end of the lane leading from the Rosedale-Pickering Road to her home at Dykes Farm, Hartoft, on 20th June, 1939. It was alleged that Hutchinson was under the influence of drink.

"Hutchinson said he had a glass of beer in Pickering, two glasses of sherry at Newton-on-Rawcliffe, one baby bottle of ale at Pickering, a sandwich at Lastingham, two glasses of beer at Rosedale. This was between 11 a.m. and 3-45 p.m. The drink did not affect him, and was no more than he usually took on a business round.

"John Edward Eastwood, Director and Secretary of Charles Rose and Co., Ltd., said they allowed Hutchinson to drink at the houses at which he called; they did not place any limitation on the number of drinks he had at each house; they had the highest opinion of him.

"The Judge: 'The employers do not seem to be aware that if their employees go round from public-house to public house and drink at each place, they should supply them with chauffeurs who do not drink. I feel very strongly on this matter, for this is the second case in this country where a brewer's traveller has killed a person on the footpath because he was under the influence of drink.'

"Passing sentence of 18 months' imprisonment, with seven years' disqualification from driving dating from release from prison, the Judge said he would have sent Hutchinson to penal servitude but for the fact that he thought blame attached to Hutchinson's employers. He hoped that if travellers were allowed to take drink at places of call, the employers would forbid them to drive and provide chauffeurs."

The second and third cases reported in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* were as follows. On the 7th December, 1939, Mr. Justice Oliver, at Leeds Assizes, sentenced Henry Hill, aged 40, surveyor to the Oldham District Planning Committee, to three years' penal servitude for the manslaughter of Leonard Cowen who was crushed to death between a wall and Hill's motor car on the 4th June, 1939. His driving license was suspended for seven years. Other charges against him for injuring John Alfred Whitehead, who was thrown over a wall on to a river bank, and for driving a car under the influence of drink were not proceeded with.

Edward Barr Thompson, aged 35, described as a man of independent means was charged on the 15th December, 1939, at Leeds Assizes with the manslaughter of Frank Barker, printer of Rawdon and with driving under the influence of drink on September 24th, 1939. He collided, head on, on the wrong side with Barker's car. He admitted having five pints of beer.

The last case reported in the *Alliance News* was as follows: Haydon Barrow, an officer in the Royal Army Service Corps, aged 27, appeared on the 18th December, 1939, before Mr. Justice Macnaghten at Leeds Assizes, charged with manslaughter of Victor George Atkinson, coal merchant, near Ripon on the 9th August, 1939. The accused who had had some drink at a Harrogate hotel, was driving on his wrong side when he ran down and killed the coal merchant motor-cycling on his correct side. The officer claimed that he was leading a convoy, which was non-existent, and imagined it was his corporal with whom he had had a collision.

In the first two cases, we find middle-aged and, presumably, respectable men occupying responsible positions, in the third, a gentleman of independent means and, in the last, a responsible King's officer causing death to sober people going about their business. It is not unreasonable to take for granted that, normally, such people are what may be called alert and cautious drivers. These incidents are more than sufficient to prove the correctness of the opinion expressed by Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, that

"Just a drink or two and the safe driver is turned into a reckless traffic menace."

Here are two other instances, also taken from the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, where people, under the influence of drink, were knocked down and injured fatally by motorists also equally intoxicated and who failed in their very clear duty of rendering them assistance. Such moral turpitude in a country like England where the sense of duty in this particular direction is so strongly developed, is yet another proof, if proof is required, of the degrading influence of alcohol on character.

At the inquest of John Smith, aged 46, dyer's labourer at Bradford, held on the 12th December, 1939, the widow stated that her husband returned home from an inn on December 2nd injured. He could not say how he had fallen, but thought he had been knocked down by a motor-car. He had had some drink.

It was reported on the 18th December, 1939, in the above-mentioned paper that James Ward, aged 59, tram driver, was knocked down and fatally injured by a van in the black-out on December 12th. He had just left the Desmond Club, Hull. A bottle of whisky was found broken in his jacket pocket.

Here is still another incident reported on the 20th September, 1939, in the *Times* which proves how people under the influence of drink lost their lives though the motor vehicle responsible for their death was driven by a perfectly sober man. A glance through British periodicals will convince any one that this is a representative case and that it is quite easy to parallel it. *The Times* reported as follows:

"A verdict of 'Accidental Death' was returned at the inquest on September 19th, (1939), on the bodies of four soldiers who were killed on Saturday night. Another soldier, in evidence, told how he and the other soldiers visited an inn, leaving about 10 o'clock. None of them was drunk, but they were just merry and in a singing mood. As it was doubtful whether they would be returning, they sang 'Auld Lang Syne' outside the public house once or twice. The party was breaking up when Simpson, one of the men killed, suggested singing a hymn. Then some one suggested that they should make it realistic and sit in the middle of the road, which the four of them did. The black-out that night was exceptionally good, and while they sat on the white line, the witness and another soldier were on the pavement.

"I saw two lights coming around the bend in the road, and I shouted to the men in the road to get up, but before I knew what had happened, the bus struck them."

"The bus was definitely under control and its speed was about 20 to 25 miles an hour."

That quite a large proportion of road accidents where the fault lies either with the driver or the person involved or with both is really due to drinking was made clear in the course of a discussion on "Alcohol and Road Accidents in the Black-out" held on the 14th February, 1940, at the rooms of the Medical Society of London. As reported in the *Christian World*, dated the 29th February, 1940, in the course of this discussion, Mr. W. McAdam Eccles, M.S., F.R.C.S., stated that in Sweden, Norway, and Germany, the blood alcohol content test had established that at least 40 per cent of persons involved in road accidents are "under the influence of alcohol", and that if this percentage is correct for all countries, 3,250 deaths in Great Britain in 1939, "were closely associated with alcohol."

After quoting statistics which are too long to be given here, this learned medical man also proved that the experience of four weeks' closing of licensed premises (selling liquor) in the city of Glasgow at 8 p.m. instead of 10 p.m. revealed such a decrease of arrests for drunkenness and of the number injured or killed on the roads as to suggest that a return to the later hour, as demanded by representatives of the liquor traffic, would imply that in one full year, Glasgow would have 5,161 unnecessary arrests for drunkenness, 104 people unnecessarily killed and 2,262 people unnecessarily injured.

Mr. Eccles suggested the following remedies, reduction in the number of hours during which alcoholic liquor could be sold in licensed shops, voluntary abstinence "for the duration" of all motor drivers and voluntary determination of all, including pedestrians, not to drink during black-out hours when the largest number of accidents occur. The prohibitionist, however, would suggest the much more efficient remedy of complete stoppage of the traffic in liquor, a remedy which most probably was not advocated by Mr. Eccles who knew that it would not find acceptance from his countrymen who were prepared to permit unnecessary arrests, injuries, and even deaths rather than forego the enjoyment derived from drinking.

ALCOHOL AND IRRESPONSIBILITY IN PRIVATE LIFE

The incidents narrated below prove how correct is the view that drinking is the direct cause of a sense of irresponsibility detrimental to both personal and public interests and how they are inevitable in a country like Britain where there is no Prohibition. The first two paragraphs quoted from the organ of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Temperance Union show how alcoholism leads, in at least certain cases, to the neglect of children by presumably responsible persons who had undertaken to look after them and even by mothers.

"Several cases have been reported of people drawing the allowance for the children, spending it in drink and neglecting their charges. A man and his wife who took four evacuees, went to the public house until closing time, when they staggered home drunk. The children who had been locked out were met by a policeman who took them to make other arrangements for them . . .

"A country vicar had 12 evacuees, children and mothers, billeted on him. The mothers when having tea produced bottles containing rum. After tea, they adjourned to the village inn until closing time."

The utter negligence in regard to taking adequate precautions for ensuring the safety of children in circumstances where this is the clear duty of adults in charge of them was clearly shown in the following case reported in the *Birmingham Mail* on the 26th March, 1940.

"A remarkable story of a motorist's 50 m.p.h. dash in the black-out with a four-year-old child in the car, culminating in a collision with another car was told to the Birmingham Magistrates on March 26th, when John Henry Garbett, junior (aged 32), of 30, Beeches Road, Perry Barr, was sentenced to two months' hard labour for being drunk in charge of a car in the Walsall Road, Perry Barr, at 10-20 p.m. yesterday.

"His father, John Henry Garbett (aged 56), who was in the car with him was fined £11 for being drunk in charge of a child.

"Mr. E. Hooton (prosecuting) described it as a very wicked case of a motorist being under the influence of drink, particularly since it was during the black-out.

"There was a collision near the canal bridge on the Walsall Road, after which the accused's father got out of the car and staggered about the road with a four-year-old child in his arms.

"Sentencing the younger Garbett, the chairman (Alderman H. E. Goodby) said: 'We should be shrinking in our duty if we did not take a very serious view of your conduct.'"

The *Yorkshire Evening Post* reported on the 28th December, 1939, that the police found Edward Cramshaw, aged 62, lying on the pavement in Dewsbury with an infant aged 18 months in his arms. "I had had only three gills of beer", he pleaded before the court.

I can quote many authenticated instances but shall content myself with referring to one more reported on the 3rd November, 1938, in the *Christian World* : —

"A Birmingham salesman fined for being under the influence of drink was alleged to be 'indifferent and very callous about the matter' when his wife fell out of the car he was driving."

ALCOHOL AND DERELICTION OF PUBLIC DUTY

That the sense of irresponsibility created by drink is not confined to private life where it is injurious to individuals but also leads to dereliction of duty in matters of very serious moment becomes clear from the following among numerous other authenticated cases. The *Sunday Express* reported on the 17th September, 1939, that

"William Beynon, thirty-four, of Tendes-street, Walworth, S.E., and Thomas Debuinn, twenty-three, of Orient-street, Kennington, S.E., both air raid wardens, were accused at Tower Bridge Police Court on September 16th of being drunk and disorderly.

"They and others it was stated, who were shouting and swearing in a cafe, were all turned out and the two were arrested when they refused to go away.

"Mr. W. H. S. Oulton, the Magistrate: 'It is a shocking thing that men who hold such positions should get drunk at a time like this. You will both pay 15s. costs, and the charge will be dismissed.'"

In its issue dated the 3rd January, 1940, the *Star* of London reported as follows:

"An air-raid warden, Robert Leishman, aged 47, of Old Kent Road, Camberwell, was fined 10s. at Tower Bridge Court on January 3rd, for being drunk and disorderly.

"The driver of a police car said that Leishman suddenly stopped in front of his car, and said, 'Why don't you blow your horn?'

"It was noticed that he was drunk, and he was arrested.

"Mr. Campion (the Magistrate): 'Fancy you, an air-raid warden, going about at night drunk?'

"Leishman: 'I was not on duty. I am on three days' leave.'

"Mr. Campion commented, 'That does not matter. An air-raid warden should not be a man who takes too much to drink at any time.'"

The excuse put forward by the above individual that he had indulged in drink when on leave was not, however, applicable to the following cases reported in the *Christian World* in its issue dated the 4th January, 1940 :

"During the last few days an Air-Raid Warden, two women Ambulance drivers, a Borough Chief Air-Raid Warden and his Assistant have been charged in London with drunkenness. All the offences took place during the black-out. The drink habit is becoming an increasing menace to national safety."

The *Yorkshire Evening Post* reported on the 18th December, 1939, that Captain Ernest C. Smith, Chief A.R.P. Controller together with a prominent Company Director whose name will be found there and who is not utterly unknown in India was fined at Hendon for being drunk and disorderly.

But the following case reported on the 1st January, 1940, by the *Evening Standard* appears at least to one, an old-fashioned Indian, still more disgusting.

"Patricia Wilde, 45, the L.C.C. ambulance driver who was fined £2 at Lambeth on Saturday, December 30th, for being drunk, was before the same court on January 1st, this time for being drunk and disorderly at 12-15 a.m. in Gurney-street, Walworth.

"On Saturday, when she admitted upwards of 20 convictions for drunkenness, Wilde wore beach pyjamas in court. Today she was wearing loose navy-blue trousers.

"Police witnesses said she roused the neighbourhood by continually banging on the door of the house in which she used to live. She had to be removed in a police van.

"Mr. Bertrand Watson directed her to find two sureties in £10 for her good behaviour for a year or go to prison for 2 months."

What surprises me, as it must surprise all Indians, is that a person with such a record should have been given employment as an ambulance driver who, presumably, should be one possessing, if not some amount of kindness, at least reliability, the absence of which would expose the patient to risks which certainly do not enter into any one's calculation when a sick person is sent to hospital for treatment. Those uncharitably inclined might go even so far as to insinuate that indulgence in alcohol has grown so common in Great Britain that the authorities are forced to employ even people of the above type because it is only too likely that those who might be substituted for them would behave in very much the same fashion!

ALCOHOL AND CRIME

The following incident reported on the 11th January, 1940, in the *Daily Telegraph* which, fortunately, did not have any outward results, clearly indicates how even middle-aged, educated, and fairly well-to-do individuals occupying responsible positions are not, when under the influence of drink, above behaving like hooligans. Bernard Brown, aged 41, of Park Mount, Harpenden, Hertfordshire, a works-manager, while intoxicated steered his car into a ditch. The people who went to his assistance were threatened with a loaded automatic he was carrying. Flourishing it above his head, he said, "Clear off or I will shoot the whole lot of you full of holes." He denied that he was drunk and

pleaded that being engaged in war work, he was entitled to be armed. Apparently the Magistrate did not believe him for he was fined £25 for having charge of a car when under the influence of drink and £2 for possessing a loaded automatic pistol when drunk.

Deterioration of character under the influence of drink is illustrated by the following instances reported in the *Yorkshire Evening Post*. According to it, William J. Upson, aged 24, was sent to prison for two months and disqualified for one year. The police stopped the car as it was being driven in a zig-zag manner. The car had been taken without the owner's permission. Upson was accompanied by a 21-year-old soldier and two girls who had treated them to beer.

Frank Caldecott, a soldier, was fined £3-12-0 and disqualified for one year on the 18th December, 1939, for taking, while under the influence of drink, a car without the owner's permission.

Still another case indicative of the demoralising influence of drink, was that of an Air-Raid Warden who was sent up for trial for looting beer from a public house during an air-raid warning!

The *Alliance News*, the organ of the Temperance Movement in Britain, reported that Jack Humphreys, an 18-year-old soldier, was committed at Leeds to stand his trial for the murder of his aunt on the 26th November, 1939, while in a state of intoxication.

As the result of a quarrel over a card game at Batley Working Men's Club on the 17th November, 1939, Ernest Broadhead was charged on the 2nd December, 1939, with stabbing Charles Grace with a clasp knife and inflicting a wound 2½ inches deep. Both were intoxicated.

HABITUATING CHILDREN TO DRINK

Here is extract from the *News Chronicle*, dated on 19th November, 1938, to prove the existence of the custom, prevalent among some British parents, of giving liquor to their children thus preparing them to become full-fledged drunkards in later life.

"Because his five-year-old son insisted on having 'something like everybody else', Harry Carlisle Hammond, licensee of the White Swan, Ash, near Dartford (Kent), gave him a shandygaff (a mixture, according to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, of gin and beer).

"Admitting at Dartford police court on November 18th, that he gave the boy intoxicating liquor, Hammond was fined £1 on each of two summonses.

"Evidence was given that Hammond was seen to give the child beer.

"Mr. Harold Tuffee (defending) said, Hammond gave his son a small glass of ginger beer 'with enough mild beer in it to colour it.'

"Mr. Tuffee said a great number of people thought a little beer was good for children. He described the boy as 'the apple of his father's eye'. A letter from a doctor referred to Mr. and Mrs. Hammond as model parents."

It is not suggested that the children of tender age to whom alcoholic beverages are given by their parents become drunk in the technical sense of the term, but there is no disputing the fact that craving for liquor is imparted to them by this objectionable practice.

The following extracts from the *Workers' Onward*, the organ of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Temperance Union, are the clearest possible evidence

that there are large numbers of parents in Britain who, as late as December, 1939, when these incidents were reported, were in the habit of giving beer which contains 5 to 8 per cent alcohol to their children and that while they did not become drunk in the technical sense of the word, the craving for liquor was thus undoubtedly implanted in them.

"From one northern district, scores of people report that children openly ask for a drink of beer or stout which they say they have been used to having. Many children have told their hosts and hostesses that they have been used to waiting outside public houses until closing time.

"In a southern county, reports were presented to a meeting of the local Education Committee showing widespread requests for beer from children billeted in the area. The reports, say the press, produced much surprise.

"In another district, one (a schoolmaster) who has not taken any previous interest in the alcohol question, said 'Our district is seething with indignation at the number of children who clamour for drinks of beer and evidently were accustomed to have it at home. This experience makes me furiously to think.'

"In a midland district where eleven youngsters aged from 9 to 12 were billeted, five of the children when offered cocoa or milk for supper declared 'they always had beer' and one of them who had some money by him said if the hosts didn't give him some, he would buy a bottle himself. Great consternation has been caused in the villages and small towns of our district, among drinkers and non-drinkers alike, by the requests of children for beer at night-time."

JUVENILE DRUNKARDS

When the taste for liquor is created among children in the above manner, it is only natural for some at least among them, to get out of hand and to indulge in excessive drinking as soon as they feel that they are old enough to act in defiance of their parents' wishes whom we must hold responsible for their degradation. The following extract from the *Daily Express*, dated the 28th October, 1938, bears out the correctness of the opinion expressed above.

"A twelve-year-old girl, beyond her parents' control, had to be carried home from school drunk, said the head teacher of the girls' school at London-derry Police Court on October 27th."

The *Nottingham Guardian* reported a similar incident on the 2nd March, 1940, where the girl concerned was older. When Indians read of such events, what surprises them is the utter callousness of the mother who, it seems to them, must be regarded as being utterly indifferent to the very grave consequences which might follow when a young girl finds herself in the circumstances narrated below.

"A Saturday night escapade of an Eastwood hosiery hand, a 16-year-old girl, who was found drunk in Parliament Street was described at the Nottingham Juvenile Court on March 1st.

"When asked whether she pleaded guilty or not guilty she replied, 'a true.'

"Miss Moseley, probation officer, said she had heard many complaints about the girl going out

with her mother to public houses. The girl told her she had 2s. 6d. a week pocket money. On being told that 2s. 6d. would not get her drunk, the girl answered that the boy friends she mixed with, and also soldiers, gave her drink.

"Inspector Devey said that on February 24th at 9-30 p.m., the fire brigade received a call for an ambulance to go to Parliament Street, and they found the girl unconscious on the pavement. At the General Hospital she was certified to be suffering from alcohol. As she gave her age as 17, she was locked up for the night, but when the question of bail arose, her proper age was discovered and she was then sent home.

"The Magistrates, complying with a strong plea on the part of the mother not to send the girl to an approved school, placed her on probation for two years."

That uneducated working class girls are not the only young females who, at least occasionally, invite very serious risks through intoxication is abundantly evident from the following incident narrated in the course of an article captioned "Thank You, I'd Rather Not Drink" by Mr. Arthur Lockwood, Secretary of the Leicester Temperance Society, which appeared in the *Illustrated Leicester Chronicle* on the 25th February, 1939. The only explanation for occurrences of the type mentioned below seems to be that either parents and guardians of the young girls concerned are unable to control them or that they have little inclination to take effective steps to put a stop to such behaviour. Mr. Lockwood wrote:

"At lunch recently in one of the city's popular restaurants, I sat opposite two girls who described conditions and experiences at a dance which both had attended in the former evening. The younger of them confided to the other, 'When I'd had a couple of ports, I felt 'lighted up'. I didn't feel a bit shy.'

"But later in their conversation, the older of the two said she was worried because she did not remember going home or who accompanied her."

Without even remotely suggesting that most girls who attended such entertainments take so much liquor as to have no recollection whatsoever of what had happened later on, I feel compelled to point out that Mr. Lockwood, holding the position he does, deemed it necessary to refer to the matter most probably because incidents like the above are fairly common.

The above incidents are paralleled by another reported in the *Birmingham Post* dated the 21st March, 1940.

"At Birmingham Juvenile Court, on March 20th, a fifteen-year-old boy was charged with being drunk and disorderly.

"Police-constable Leyden said that on Friday evening he saw the boy in Summer Row. He was swearing and reeling about, and he was drunk. The boy was taken to the police station, and there he drew a sabre from a scabbard and attempted to strike witness. He was searched and a 'life-saver' (defined in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* as a 'short stick with heavily loaded end') was found in his possession, together with two bottles of beer. The boy admitted being drunk, but said he was not disorderly. He had obtained the drink at a public bar.

"In fining the boy £2, the Chairman (Mr. H. H. Howard) said the Magistrates were ashamed of him."

I shall conclude my discussion of this particular aspect of Britain's drink problem with the following extract from the *Times*, dated the 22nd May, 1939, just to prove the depths to which, at least now and then, English youths descend under the influence of liquor.

"A boy of 16 who stabbed a girl of 16 in the back with a penknife was put on probation for 12 months at Liverpool Juvenile Court on May 1st on a charge of felonious wounding. A condition was that he touched no intoxicating liquor during that time, and he was also ordered to pay 30s. compensation. Mr. W. Culshaw for prosecution, said, 'Attacks with knives are becoming far too prevalent in Liverpool. In this case I suggest that it was an entirely unprovoked attack. The attacker was a boy who on his own admission had drunk 7½ pints of beer the same evening.' The boy, in evidence, said that the first blow was an accident; the others were deliberate. He had been drinking intoxicants since last Christmas and added 'I average about five pints a week.' The Chairman (Mr. A. N. Denara): 'You are only 16, yet you come to this court and boast of being drunk.'"

The police take into custody only those who become incapable or disorderly under the influence of liquor and though a majority of juvenile drinkers escape arrest because public house-keepers in their own interests supply liquor in limited quantities to young people mainly to avoid cancellation of their licenses, still the number arrested and proceeded against is mounting, a fact noticed and commented on by leaders of the Temperance Movement in Britain. Thus the Chairman of the Birmingham Temperance organisation writing to the *Birmingham Post* on the 5th June, 1939, observed that more than a third of the number charged were, in his experience, comparatively young.

I am not in a position to offer documentary evidence that this high percentage of juvenile drunkards is to be found all over Great Britain but there does not seem much doubt that inebriety is menacingly on the increase among the young people of that country as also that it is mainly accounted for by the disgraceful practice of their elders of accustoming them to the use of liquor from a tender age.

DRINKING IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The reprehensible habit of giving beer which, in spite of its alcohol content, is regarded, of course wrongly, as innocuous is not confined to comparatively uneducated people. On the 15th November, 1938, one Mr. Alexander Ross Wallace, Headmaster of a West of England school, the name of which was not revealed at any stage of the proceedings noted below, wrote a letter to the *Daily Herald* quoted in the *Alliance News* for January, 1939, from which the following extract is made:

"Beer? why shouldn't the boys have beer? It's a very good drink. I have it myself every afternoon. It used to be an old custom at the school. I revived it three years ago. The senior boys at School House have a glass for lunch every day. I lunch with them at the high table. I drink my beer from a pewter tankard. In most of the other houses, the senior boys

have beer for lunch too. There would be about 50 to 60 senior boys at the school who have beer for lunch. And why not? If they don't like it, they have water. But that is not a great number."

One of the ex-pupils of this gentleman, nineteen-year-old Frederick Clifford Victor Martin, then a freshman on Pembroke College, Cambridge, was charged with kicking a policeman on Guy Fawkes' night. In explanation of his conduct, he told the Magistrate that he had had a glass or two of beer. Mr. Wallace travelled up to Cambridge to help him in getting off. When Mr. C. R. Parker, the prosecuting solicitor, asked him, "Did he drink at school?", the Headmaster's reply was "I provided it, Sir." He, however, withheld the name of the school which was, according to the newspaper reporting the trial, "handed on a piece of paper to the Magistrate and not revealed to the public."

Personally speaking I see but little difference between the behaviour of the boy who stabbed his girl friend and the Cambridge freshman who kicked a police man except for the fact that the less violent character of the attack made by the latter was due to the influence of birth in a more prosperous, cultured, and educated family and the advantages derived from it.

It may be that Britons would not attach much importance to an incident of this type, but we, in India, have other and quite different views as regards the manner in which teachers should discharge their responsibilities towards their pupils and however old-fashioned they may be, we prefer them and regard with the gravest disapproval an attitude such as the one described above. And we are surprised that with full knowledge of such facts, there are to be found presumably well-to-do, cultured, and educated parents in Britain who send their sons to institutions where facilities for drinking are provided. The only explanation seems to be either that the youths carry there the custom prevailing in their own homes or that their guardians do not view indulgence in liquor by even immature persons in the same light as we do.

It has been suggested, perhaps not quite wrongly, that the unpleasant experience referred to just now is not the only one as also that it is not confined to Cambridge. Realising that intemperance among undergraduates is likely to increase unless those among them who drink are provided, with facilities for the purpose under proper conditions, the Vice-Chancellor of the Manchester University opened a club in connection with the University Union. The following extract from the Manchester University Union Handbook (1939) should prove interesting to my readers.

"The Lounge Bar, which has been installed in the old Silence Room on the first floor of the Union, was opened on October 17th, 1938, the intention being to provide for those members who are desirous of obtaining alcoholic refreshments in an environment more suitable to the undergraduate than is afforded by the average public house.

"The Bar is in the capable charge of 'Vincent' and his assistant 'Charlie', and is managed by a Sub-Committee of the Union. Draught and bottled beer, stout, cider, wines and minerals are available for consumption at club prices, spirits being sold only on special occasions. Sandwiches, cold pies, sausage rolls, and bread and cheese can also be obtained, and the satisfactory and steady support

that has been given to this latest Union venture is adequate proof that the demand for such a Bar was eminently justified. (Italics mine).

"The Bar is open for business from 11-30 a.m. to 3 p.m. and from 5-30 p.m. to 10-30 p.m. each week day but is closed on Sunday. All drinks must be consumed on the Lounge Bar premises, there being no service from the Bar to any other Union rooms. Darts and dominoes are provided free, but gambling is strictly prohibited.

"Members may introduce visitors to the Bar, subject to the usual restrictions; and it is hoped that this room will continue to develop as a centre at which past and present members and their friends may meet for recreation and reminiscence in their less busy hours."

The comment of the Organising Secretary of the United Kingdom Alliance, the largest and the strongest of the temperance organisations in Britain, is as follows:

"If this is the standard of University education, the future of the graduates is not a very inspiring one."

As one who has been connected with education for over 40 years, I not only fully endorse the opinion expressed but also feel gratified that we have not, in spite of our admiration of the many and valuable achievements of Western Universities, followed in the footsteps of the Manchester University and trust that, on this matter at least, we shall continue to stick to our old policy.

Officers are generally drawn from members of those classes which are sufficiently well-off to send their sons to public schools and universities where the expenses for educating them are high or fairly high. The opportunities for taking alcoholic beverages afforded in some of these educational institutions tend to create such a craving that they not only persist in the habit after finishing their education, but also break the law of the land either to indulge in liquor themselves or to make it easy for their friends and acquaintances to do so. The following two extracts from the *Yorkshire Evening Post* and which may be easily paralleled by similar other cases, prove the correctness of the above views.

"On December 4th, 1939, officers and members of the British Legion Club, Mirfield, were fined for selling and consuming liquor out of hours.

"On December 14th, 1939, officers and members of Shearbridge Conservative Club, Bradford, suffered fines totalling £29 for similar offences."

That some among the clergy, all highly educated and cultured men, do not refuse to have any truck with the Liquor Trade is proved by the following incident reported on the 11th November, 1939, in the *Daily Mail*. It is probable that the lenient attitude of some among those who might be presumed to set their faces against the traffic in alcohol is due to the circumstances under which they are brought up and educated. In the case given below, the gentleman concerned appears, in addition, to have been inspired by his sympathy for a widow who apparently decided to earn her living by making it possible for the married among her patrons to make the lives of their wives and children miserable.

"The Rev. B. C. Foulger, dressed in cassock and stole, blessed the Horse and Groom, a new inn at Blackbourn (Oxfordshire), a few minutes before

opening time yesterday, and then led the villagers to the bar for a drink.

"Thirty parishioners and the church-warden of Blackbourn were present with their vicar at the service which was held in the saloon bar.

"All drinks were on the vicar, who after paying the bill took part in a game of darts.

"Mr. Foulger's wife told a *Daily Mail* reporter: 'The publican, a widow, Mrs. Emily Farmer, asked my husband to take the service, and he agreed at once. You see, he believes that a good publican and a properly run pub can do as much good in a village as a priest.'

"He (Mr. Foulger) was granted special leave to take the service in the Horse and Groom."

DRINKING AMONG MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

That drinking even to excess is not regarded by all Britons with the abhorrence it would provoke in India becomes evident from the following extract from an article which appeared on the 3rd April, 1940, in the *Daily Sketch* of London under the caption "Hats and Flowers." The writer, Mr. Beverley Nichols, author of some charming books, like *Cry Havoc* and *The Fool Hath Said* in which he has ventured, not always with marked success, into the realms of moral and spiritual philosophy, and of the much talked of *Verdict on India* said:

"Sometimes I am tempted to believe that if the Cabinet could be made roaring drunk once a month there might be a little more inspiration in the conduct of public affairs. The country might get a few shocks as a result of measures passed during the period of hilarity, but would that matter?"

I am not in a position to state whether members of the Cabinet, no matter what their political complexion, go about their work in a far from sober condition but I find that when in the war of 1914-18, our King-Emperor announced that liquor would be banished from his table for the duration of the war and when the House of Commons and the House of Lords were invited to follow the praiseworthy example set by the Royal House, this request, after some discussion, was rejected, proof of their independence as well as of their inability to dispense with liquid refreshments! The same failure in leadership, I understand, was displayed by the two Houses of Parliament during the war which has just concluded for their liquor bars were not closed though requests to that end were made by many leaders of the British Temperance Movement. While it is not suggested that there is more drinking than is proper among the members, the evidence which is being placed before the reader makes it clear that inebriety is not uncommon at least among some members of the Parliament.

Dr. Alfred Salter, a former Labour Member of the House of Commons, who was a teetotaler accused other members of his party of "soaking themselves until they were stupid." He also claimed, according to an editorial which appeared in the *Statesman* of Calcutta, dated the 17th September, 1945, that,

"He had seen many members of Parliament drunk in the House and held that no party was exempt from the failing."

An explanation for this may be that these people found the long hours of parliamentary debate so uninteresting that they flew to alcohol as a means of

relieving the tedium. This plea, however, cannot be urged in the case noted below where an aged member of the House of Commons was taken into custody by the police for, in technical language, being found "drunk and incapable" in the public streets, and discharged by the trying Magistrate as a first offender. The case was reported in the following terms in the *News Chronicle* on the 12th October, 1939 :

"Mr. Thomas Henderson, M.P., aged 72, of Croxted Road, West Dulwich, was charged at Lambeth on October 11th, (1939), with having been drunk and incapable.

"When asked to plead, Mr. Henderson replied : 'I was not drunk. I was disorderly, all right.'

"There was no charge of disorderliness.

"Special-Constable Bennett stated that soon after 1 a.m. yesterday he saw Mr. Henderson walking along Norwood Road waving a bottle of whisky. Mr. Henderson said he had 'nowhere in particular to go,' and that he 'did not know his address.'

"He was taken into custody, and on the way to the station fell twice. On the second occasion he (the officer) signalled to a motorist, who helped to put Mr. Henderson into the car.

"In the witness-box Mr. Henderson said he had been to an old friend—a doctor. All he had to drink was one glass and a half of whisky, with water.

"Mr. Watson (the Magistrate) : 'I am satisfied that you have been properly charged. But as you have arrived at the age of 72 without previous trouble, you are discharged under the Probation of Offenders Act!'

A SUGGESTION

The failure of the British Government to take any drastic steps to combat the drink menace leading to incidents of the types mentioned above seems inexplicable when we remember the statement, based on actual experience extending to hundreds of cases in different parts of Great Britain, of that very distinguished leader of the Peace Crusade, the late Dick Sheppard who said, that there was

"Hardly a family in the country without either at the centre or the circumference one member ruined by drink."

Premier Lloyd George at the time of the war of 1914-18, also said,

"We are fighting Germany, Austria, and Drink, and so far as I can see, the greatest of these three deadly foes is Drink . . . Drink is doing more damage in the war than all the German submarines put together."

All that the British Temperance Movement demanded consisted in restrictions in drinking hours and on publicity aimed at stimulating the sale of liquor, compulsory abstinence in national interests on the part of air pilots, motor drivers, etc., and the prevention of waste of foodstuffs through the control and regulation of such among them as are used in the manufacture of liquor leading naturally to a gradual diminution in the amount available for consumption. But these very modest measures which, it was suggested, would be operative for the duration of the war, did not find acceptance.

For generations we have been listening to and often trying to follow the advice given to us, no doubt

with the best of intentions, by Britons, official and non-official. These have rarely failed to point out sometimes in such a manner as to cause little or no offence and on others, bluntly, our innumerable faults and failings, national and individual. It is also admitted that, generally speaking, we do deserve the condemnation underlying the advice, often given unasked. May an Indian, an admirer of the wonderful achievements of Britain in literature, philosophy, art, and pure and applied science, venture to suggest and that in all humility that if the cases reported above have any lesson for the Briton, it is that the policy of trying to diminish the evil results of the use of alcohol through various devices aimed at reducing its consumption has achieved such a poor measure of success that it is preferable that, for once, and by way of change, he should give at least a chance to a more drastic measure which we tried to implement and that with some amount of success so long as we were in control of the experiment.

If incidents like those documented above are common occurrences in a country where Christianity has been preached and practised over a thousand years, where it has produced its great leaders, exponents, and martyrs, where even today there are millions who freely, sometimes even excessively, give out of their means for its propagation, and from which non-Christian countries are supplied with self-sacrificing evangelists, teachers, and medical men in their thousands, where there is cent per cent literacy, and, lastly, where the Temperance Movement has been most efficiently organised, and has been conducting an unremitting campaign against the use of alcohol for nearly three-quarters of a century, then Great Britain, which has hitherto stood for moderation through the control of liquor, provides the strongest possible argument in favour of the compulsory imposition of Prohibition and is the country par excellence where it is bound to succeed.

Above all, it is not for Britons in India with such a record behind them so far as their countrymen are concerned, to condemn the large-scale effort to remove the drink and drug evil from our motherland the Congress Ministries had initiated.

According to the *New York Times*, dated April 2, 1937, Mahatma Gandhi is said to have told Lord Lothian in the course of a conversation with him :

"You English committed one supreme crime against my people. For one hundred years you have done everything for us; you have given us no responsibility for our own government, nor enabled us to learn by making mistakes."

Is it not a tragedy that when, under Provincial Autonomy, some measure of responsibility did come to us and when, as one of its results, Prohibition was imposed in a majority of the British Indian provinces at the instance of overwhelmingly large majorities of the elected representatives of the people, it should, under various pretexts, have been gradually withdrawn in the Section 93 provinces governed by aliens who take little interest in, and have rarely felt much solicitude about the success of this great social experiment which neither they nor their predecessors had sufficient courage to initiate or to carry through? The old psychology of looking after us persists. We are, however, waiting for the time when we shall be free to do what seems good in our eyes so far as our own affairs are concerned.

INDIAN SHIPPING—PAST AND PRESENT

By PROF. SHRI NARAYAN AGARWAL, M.A., B.COM.

INDIA for centuries had been a world-famous sea-faring nation. She ruled the waves. Her ships sailed across the seven seas. In her golden and glorious past she was as great and flourishing in shipping as in several other diverse spheres of human activity. The brave sons of the soil—the merchant princes—travelled and traded with distant lands such as Egypt, Babylon and China; colonised and civilised far-off countries like Java, Sumatra, Philippines and South America¹ and fought naval and land battles triumphantly against the strange and hostile peoples. When the rest of the world, barring China and Egypt, was slumbering in barbarity enveloped by all-round darkness and backwardness, India could take legitimate pride in her democratic governments and Panchayat Rajya, and her benevolent and spiritually towering monarchs encouraged both internal and external trade thereby adding immensely to the material prosperity of the masses. They also sent missionaries to the neighbouring countries to propagate true religion of truth and non-violence, to enlighten them and to bring them out of the slough of despondency. All these feats of valour and organisation could not have been possible without the aid of a stupendous fleet of merchantmen and men-of-war.

In his *Glimpses of World History* Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru aptly remarks :

"I have told you already of the great trade which South India had from the remotest times with the West. It's not surprising, therefore, to find that from early times ship-building existed in India and people crossed the seas in search of trade or may be adventure. Vijaya is supposed to have gone from India and conquered Ceylon about the time Gautama the Buddha lived here. The little crossing from South India to Ceylon was of course no great feat. But we have plenty of evidence of ship-building and people going across the seas from the many Indian ports which dotted the coast line from Bengal to Gujarat. Chanakya the Great, Minister of Chandragupta Maurya, tells us something about the navy in his *Arthashastra*. Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador at Chandragupta's Court also mentions it. Thus it appears that even at the beginning of the Mauryan period ship-building was a flourishing industry in India."²

The following are a few more facts proving this claim, if a proof were required:

After Alexander's invasion of India in 325 B.C. a large part of his vast army returned homewards from the Punjab via the Indus and the Persian Gulf. For the purpose of this famous voyage a stupendous fleet of 2,000 vessels was formed. This river fleet continued to expand during the succeeding centuries. In the reign of Akbar 40,000 vessels were engaged in the commerce of the Indus alone.³

In oceanic traffic and ship-building India was second to none. When Vasco da Gama first reached India in 1498, he found some local seamen on the west coast

of India who knew more about navigation than he did. When he tried to impress them with his navigational instruments, they instantly produced their own, which he found to be similar but much superior to his own instruments. Moreover, such was the abundance as well as durability of raw materials for ship-building in India that the Sultan of Turkey found it cheaper to have his own vessels built in Dacca rather than at Alexandria.

From 1714 to 1749 Kanhoji Angre, admiral of the Maratha fleet with his sixty vessels gave a gallant fight to the East India Company's marine often working in combination with the Dutch and the Portuguese. Even as late as in 1800 the Governor-General said :

"The port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping built in India, strong enough to carry cargoes to England. The teak-wood vessels of Bombay are greatly superior to the oaken walls of old England."⁴

In the year 1800 A.D., Jamshedji Wadia built *Cornwallis* with fifty guns on it. The quality of Bombay-built ships was so good that the British admiralty ordered the construction of more vessels in Bombay. Between 1810 and 1821, thirteen vessels were built for them of which the largest was the *Ganges* of 2,289 tons. The steamers and sailing ships constructed at Bombay were the most serviceable of any in the possession of the East India Company, while the steamships built or purchased in England were generally a failure. Up to the year of Grace 1850, India was well advanced in shipping and ship-building as is conclusively proved by the above instances. But later on Indians gradually and slowly but steadily lost this position due to a variety of causes, the more important of which are given below.

After the War of Independence of 1857, miscalled Mutiny, the East India Company was abolished and along with that the Indian Navy. That brought about the end of Indian ship-building. British interests put all sorts of hindrances in various manners to ruin it so that they may get a free field without any competition from Indians. The British shipping arose on the ruins of Indian shipping. The political slavery of India is the main cause of the decay of this prosperous key industry. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi :

"The cottage industry of India had to perish in order that Lancashire might flourish. The Indian shipping had to perish so that British shipping might flourish. In a word, we were suppressed in order to enable the British to live on the heights of Simla."⁵

The operation of the British Navigation Acts from 1651 to 1850, the partiality in fixing export and import duties in favour of goods carried in British bottoms, the callousness and jealousy of British Shipping Companies that resorted to rate-wars and deferred rebate system and even combined with and helped the Japanese and the German Companies to throttle Indian ventures; the injustice of the British Insurance Companies in fixing the premiums, the hostility of the

1 Chamaelal : *Hindu America*.

2 Letter No. 36. P. 99.

3 *Ain-i-Akbari*.

4 Digby : *Prosperous India*, pp. 85-6.

5 *Young India*, 26th March, 1931.

Foreign banks in the form of not allowing credit on the goods carried in Indian ships, the introduction of iron-built vessels with mechanized sea transport and the rapid improvement in naval architecture due to scientific and engineering progress consequent upon Industrial Revolution in the West, were further causes that hastened the rapid decay, almost the precipitous fall of this once flourishing and glorious national industry. Some of the interested Western writers give too much importance to the scientific backwardness of India which prevented her from replacing wood by iron and sails by steam. But the naked and unpleasant truth remains that this scientific black-out was purposely fostered and systematically pursued as a fixed policy of the vested interests in England for their own imperialistic aggrandizement, and with a view to making her wholly dependent on the mother country for all her industrial and transport needs. Thanks to the unholy persistence of the British in this direction, India was transformed, within a century, from an industrial nation catering to the wants of world markets into an agricultural country producing raw materials and food stuffs only for the supply to her political masters. Thus a great and ancient nation was doubly enslaved by the followers of Christ !

THE PRESENT POSITION

The present position of Indian shipping is most deplorable. In 1940, out of the total world tonnage of 80 millions India possessed only one lakh sixty-three thousand tons or barely .24 per cent of the world tonnage. Look at it ! Twenty per cent of the world population not possessing even one per cent of world shipping. Even the tiny countries like Chile, Latvia, Estonia, Turkey, and Portugal were and are far ahead of this sub-continent in this respect. The United Kingdom was, of course, the biggest sea-power possessing 18 million tons or 24 per cent of the total world shipping. Next came U.S.A. with 17 per cent, Japan with her 8 per cent, Norway with 7 per cent, Germany with her 6½ per cent and Italy with 5 per cent of world tonnage.

As regards the carriage of her own foreign trade 98 per cent is handled by the non-Indian Companies such as the British India Steam Navigation Co., the P. & O., and the Asiatic Steam Navigation Ltd. The remaining insignificant 2 per cent of the overseas trade is left to poor Indians who ply the ships as far as Haj at the most.

While the coastal trade of every country is reserved for her own ships, the vast Indian Coast of over 4,000 miles has been thrown open to all and sundry to drive away the infant Indian Companies. Even in coastal trade 75 per cent of the total is handled by non-Indians leaving 25 per cent only to her nationals. The total annual shipping earnings on account of Indian trade and passenger service, before the outbreak of World War II were estimated to be Rs. 57 crores of which Indian Companies got no more than 7 crores, thus draining away a huge amount of Rs. 50 crores annually from this starving country for transport alone !⁶

The advantages of possessing a strong mercantile marine are varied and many. It serves as a naval auxiliary and a second line of defence during war time. If it is indispensable during peace for civilian use, it is

much more so during war for the quick haulage of munitions and the transfer of lakhs of soldiers over vast distances at a minute's notice as all of us have witnessed recently. The urgency of transport was poignantly brought home to us during the Bengal Famine. While wheat was rotting in Canada and Australia in lakhs of tons, the Bengalis were starving and dying like flies in the Calcutta streets as it could not be brought to their doors for lack of shipping space !

Shipping and ship-building opens fresh avenues of employment to the youngmen. At present the higher paid jobs are reserved for Europeans only by their own companies while the low paid drudgery is given to Indian seamen. The grievances of the deck passengers, the hardships of the Indian crew, the humiliation to which the passengers are put by the arrogant British officers, the inconvenience of the merchants and shippers in not getting space when they want it, are further reasons justifying an imperative need of a strong and up-to-date mercantile marine for India. Along with shipping go insurance and banking. All these are highly remunerative branches of business. But to-day their doors are barred and bolted against us. Let us hope the vocal and the powerful public opinion will throw open these in the near future by bringing the necessary pressure to bear upon the recalcitrant bureaucracy.

No information about the Indian shipping will be worth anything unless mention is made of the valiant Scindia Steam Navigation Co. who has been fighting single-handed against the foreign interests and the apathetic Home Government since its inception. Started in 1919 to take advantage of the boom period, it has gone through thick and thin, braved all the hazards and kept the national flag flying. To-day it has come to control more than 80 per cent of Indian tonnage with a modern ship-building yard at Vizagapatam and bids fair to make India independent in the matter of marine transport under the aegis of its patriotic and enlightened directors. On 2nd November, 1945, its veteran chairman, Mr. Walchand Hirachand, made historic remarks at the 26th Annual General Meeting of the Company. He revealed :

"It is common knowledge that every maritime country of importance, in addition to reserving the coastal trade to its own national vessels, is also anxious to carry at least 50 per cent of its overseas trade. Nothing less than that can or will satisfy India as a first step towards the expansion of her merchant navy. I hope the Shipping Policy Committee will do justice to the task and the Government of India will now rise equal to the occasion and take such steps as may ensure the early development of an Indian Merchant Navy owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of the country."

He complained that they lost four ships during War while under Government requisition and that the amount of compensation was also not decided yet. The Company was not allowed to carry out the repairs necessary to keep its ships in efficiency and up to proper standard during War nor were any facilities extended to build new ships while both these things were encouraged in Britain.

We are now passing from war economy to peace economy. It is a transition period which should be made as smooth as possible with the least possible dislocation and retrenchment. All the man-power and

⁶ Haj : *Economics of Shipping*, pp. 317-32, 375.

the material resources that were mobilised on a grand scale to win the War should now be switched on boldly to win the peace and its blessings in the form of abundance and plenty for all. This cannot be achieved without a national transport system. Let us pray that the hopes expressed by Mr. M. A. Master, the President

of the Indian Merchants Chamber, on the eve of his departure to Copenhagen to participate in the Maritime Conference, and the promises given by the Hon'ble Sir Azizul Haque, the Commerce Member, to develop the merchant navy will come true and be realised in actuality in the near future.

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THE ALL-INDIA WRITERS' CONFERENCE

Some Impressions

By K. S. VENKATARAMANI

Nestling in the midst of an encircling chain of low hills, well-planned Jaipur is probably the most beautiful city in India. Sir Mirza Ismail has given it many touches of beauty that give life even to mere stones when an architectural vision is applied. Recently the All-India Writers' Conference, the first of its kind, met at Jaipur. It seemed befitting in many ways that votaries of art should congregate in a place of beauty. The conference was the strenuous pioneering work of Madame Sophia Wadia.

The nightingale of India, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presided though the heat, dust and turmoil of Indian politics have hushed the authentic voice of the bird these years. Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru were the outstanding figures. Sir S. Radhakrishnan with his refined, attractive intellectual face seemed ostensibly lost in philosophic calm. But he was really alive to the sound of every foot-fall. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presented a real contrast to the scene of bustle and excitement in the conference. He moved like a stranger on earth as if on special duty to analyse the ills of life. Many years of hard work in the sterile field of our politics and the long terms of imprisonment have made him deeply introspective and imparted a sadness to the handsome features of his face. He never looks at people in the face even while conversing. The crowd that he attracts seems to hurt him—the crowd that shouts slogans but rarely disciplines its own life into planned action as work resulting from worship. He seemed a dreamer-thinker in action at the call of duty away from the charms and pleasures of solitude. Perhaps as an off-set to the scene, Sardar K. M. Panikkar was there, with his Trotskyian beard, puffing a cigar into militant curls of smoke which seemed to say, "All life is a venture, perhaps an adventure." Last but not the least, was Mr. E. M. Forster himself. His face showed the incisive intellectual quality of the man rejoicing more in the embroidered marginalia of life. He moved about freely in the conference, especially in the by-roads, with a shy innocence and the soft tread of assurance, like a pleasure yacht in costal waters. No wonder, all eyes masculine and feminine, were eager to catch his eye and shake his hand.

But the real charm for this somewhat effete masculine setting came from a silent group of fair listeners. Srimati Padmaja was there with her rolling eyes, a gift from her mother (Sarojini Naidu); Srimati Indira Gandhi was there with the grace and refinement and the chiselled features of the Kashmiri Brahmin, but with a certain measure of precocious seriousness, perhaps a gift from her father; Srimati Bharati Sarabhai was there whose quick steps and clear accents spoke eloquently of the early success of her first work of art; and Miss Masani was there with an upward look, not

of philosophy but of a conscious intellectual family tradition. This little group, real stars, radiated warmth and presence to the whole conference and made it cheerful and gay.

Now let us come to the work of the conference. The President was not at her best except in snatches of interludes. I missed the customary literary aroma, the happy and inspired diction and the fervid eloquence embroidered with poetic fancies and flights. Nor her address gave the direction and the constructive mood to the deliberations of the conference wherein so many Indian authors met together for the first time.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan delivered the best speech and Professor A. S. Bokhari read the best paper—he still calls himself a professor though years of Broadcasting have given his professorial face many administrative wrinkles. Sir S. Radhakrishnan's was an elusive subject, "Moral Values in Literature." But he caught it, in a true angling style, by covering it up promptly in liquid waters by a philosophically well-knit fishing basket. His eloquence was magical for it beautifully blended both substance and language with the wisest economy in selection which is at the base of all art.

The conference was a great success as a social gathering but did not realise its real purpose in any tangible measure. The causes were many. The Indo-Anglians, exotic flowers in pot, dominated the scene and the presence of Mr. K. M. Forster greatly helped the tilt in the wrong direction. The medium was English though there was an inevitability about it in that background. The agenda for the conference were fixed already like a school time-table for boys with work from 10-30 a.m. to 6 p.m. The conference itself should have been asked to prepare its own agenda. It knows its own needs better and thereby it would have gained the necessary contacts in a free and open discussion of the work before the conference. The symposium on the eighteen Indian literatures was a waste of time which bored the audience. When we meet again next year we must freely explore the ways and means by which the grand unity and prosperity of Indian authors working in the several Indian languages may be achieved.

Meanwhile, I venture to offer a few suggestions. India, true to her traditions, should offer a new type of publishing on a co-operative and not on a competitive or commercial basis. For which (1) a first class Publishing House with a directorate partly made up of authors themselves, must be established for each linguistic area. (2) Endowments which would help promising authors to lead an inter-provincial life and enrich their experience so that the fundamental unity of India may be more clearly grasped and rendered. (3) A Nobel Prize for each linguistic area.

FAMED U. S. ARCHITECT CONDUCTS AN EXPERIMENT IN LIVING AND TEACHING

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT, the dean of modern architecture in the United States, is conducting a unique experiment in living, working and teaching. In the hills near Madison, capital of the midwestern U.S. state of Wisconsin where he was born 76 years ago, Wright

natural setting of his buildings. Violently opposed to copying the architecture of earlier periods, Wright has long been an outspoken critic of many contemporary architects for refusing to strike out along new lines of design and for adhering to the use of unnecessary



Frank Lloyd Wright stands beside a scale model of museum that will house the Solomon R. Guggenheim collection of non-objective paintings



Exterior of the Wright-designed factory administration building of the Johnson Wax Factory in Wisconsin

directs a group of 40 apprentices. Their activities include the study of architecture along with the theory and practice of other related arts.

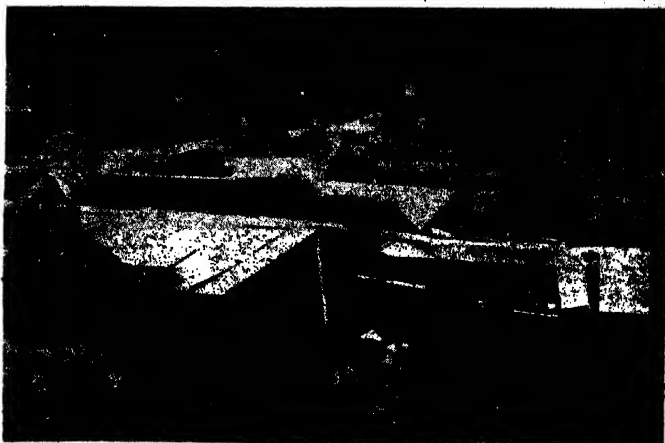
The "Taliesin Fellowship," as the group is called, is housed in the unusual and beautiful "Taliesin," named after the mythical Welsh bard. "Taliesin" includes a group of buildings constructed around the original workshop home which Wright designed and built for his own use in 1915. Among the buildings is a playhouse, which was formerly the gymnasium of a nearby Hillside School. It was converted by the apprentices into an auditorium where concerts are held and movies shown. Films on architecture and allied subjects are frequently shown as part of the curriculum. Since 1938 a new "Taliesin West" in the sunny mountain region of the southern state of Arizona has housed the school during the winter months.

In addition to their architectural studies under Frank Lloyd Wright, the apprentices learn weaving, farming and actual

building techniques with collateral study in music. Each member of the fellowship pays a nominal annual tuition and is privileged to remain as long as he wishes.

Wright first gained recognition abroad for his genius in harmonizing clean, functional design with the

ornament. His use of line and material for industrial construction has been a notable feature of Wright design. It is illustrated in the Factory Administration



Wright discusses plans with one of his apprentices as other members of the "Taliesin Fellowship" lean over their drawing boards in the drafting room

building of the Johnson Wax Factory erected in 1938. Windowless, and of horizontal planes and curves, light enters the building through translucent glass rods set horizontally in the walls and in the roof.

Wright urges an economy of form with a careful

use of materials and precise lines of simple, balanced repeat patterns. Functionalism is the keynote of his designs for both industrial and residential buildings. Wright believes that the materials used should be suited to the location of the building as well as to the

modern living have made him one of America's foremost architects. His work and the concepts with which he



"Falling Water" in Pennsylvania is Wright's best known piece of architecture

personality of its tenants and also that the architect of the future must be "a more creative individual, capable of going through from start to finish with his own building as a master-builder."

Although Wright's unconventional buildings have been erected in many parts of the world, the \$1,000,000 spiral-shaped museum that will house the Solomon R. Guggenheim collection of non-objective paintings will be the first Wright-designed building to be erected in New York City.

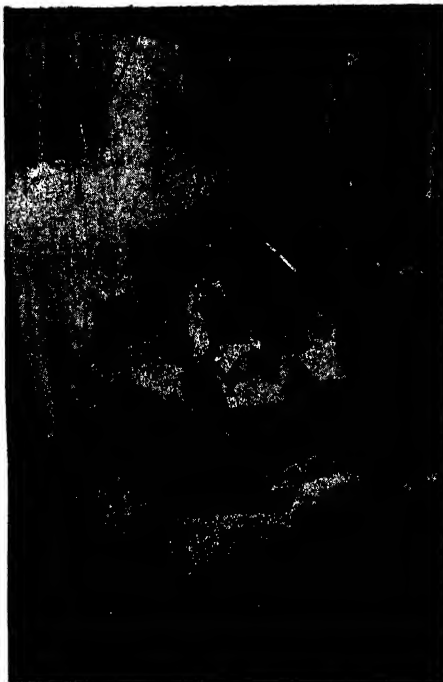
Discussing post-war homes, Wright declared that individual residences should be simpler, more durable, and of greater variety. He said that much of the furni-



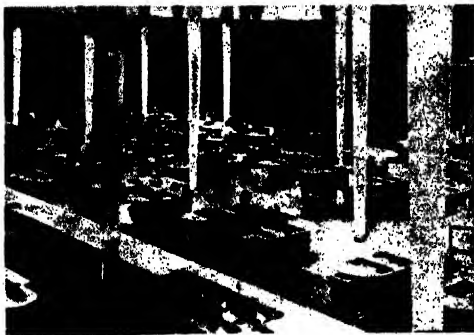
Draperies, chair covers and other house furnishings for the buildings at Taliesin are made by hand on these looms

ture should be built as an integral part of the house, in materials and designs which conform to its style.

The courageous individuality of his buildings and his search for media of construction better adapted to



Fellows at Taliesin and members of their families practise playing music together at the Taliesin Playhouse



The interior of the windowless administration building at the Johnson Wax Factory in Wisconsin is lighted by means of translucent glass rods set horizontally in the walls and in the roof

has imbued his students point the way toward functional, simple beauty in the buildings they will design in the future.—USIS.

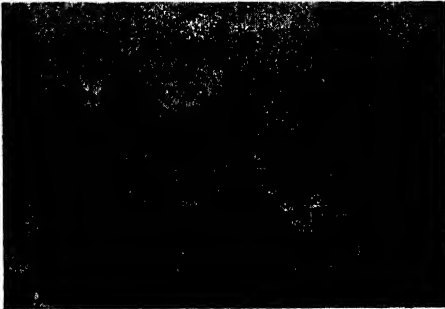
THE MARVELS OF MOHEN-JO-DARO

By PROF. K. N. VASWANI, M.A., LL.B. (Bomb.), F.R.E.S. (London)

"Five thousand years ago, before even the Aryans were heard of, the Punjab and Sind were enjoying an advanced civilization, closely akin but in some respects even superior to that of contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt. This is what discoveries at Harappa and Mohen-Jo-Daro now place beyond question."

—Sir John Marshall in *Mohen-Jo-Daro and Indus Civilization*.

"Though much is known yet much abides"—how very true of Ancient History this is! Recent archaeological excavations at Mohen-Jo-Daro in Sind and at Harappa in the Punjab, have brought to light an ancient civilization which the archaeologists have unhesitatingly declared to be earlier than the Aryan civilization of India. The finds at Mohen-Jo-Daro, revealing a marvellous culture, surpassing in many respects the splendour of Egypt and Mesopotamia, have revolutionised our ideas of the antiquity and origin of Indian civilization; and our Indian civilization which was formerly supposed to be only 3,500 years old—the Aryans came to India about 1,500 B.C.—is now held to be at least 5,000 years old, contemporaneous with the civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Our history has thus been pushed back by no less than 1,500 years; and we are to be counted among the most ancient civilized peoples of the world.



Unexcavated mounds at Mohenjodaro

To begin the story of this ancient civilization unveiled at Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Punjab in 1921, and at Mohen-Jo-Daro in the Larkana District of Sind in 1922, we note that this civilization is called the Indus civilization, for both Harappa and Mohen-Jo-Daro are found to lie in the old bed of the river Indus which has been a capricious river, having changed its course no less than 18 times. Mohen-Jo-Daro, more than Harappa, is the source of information about this ancient civilization; for while Harappa was used as a quarry for bricks during successive ages and therefore not much was left of it, such was not the fate of Mohen-Jo-Daro. Mohen-Jo-Daro, which name means mound of the killed—as in Babylonia, so here in the Indus valley, the city mounds seem to be the treasure-house of information—tells the story of a wonderful civilization. It comprises of two principal mounds, the larger 1,300 yards long and 670 yards wide and the smaller 440 yards by 330 yards. Layer after layer of buildings superimposed one over another like the nine cities of Troy—seven cities have been found here—has been unearthed; and the life of a forgotten people has been brought to light, in all its rich variety.

The city of Mohen-Jo-Daro with its broad streets, straight rows of buildings, the cross roads cutting at

right angles, which can be seen even to-day, was a model of town planning. The houses were spacious and were built of bricks. They had court-yards, bath-rooms which were well-paved, staircases and upper storeys. Each house had its own well which supplies water even today.



Musing on the splendour that was Sind from the famous Stupa at Mohenjodaro

An elaborate system of drainage and sanitation "better than any thing that was usual in Europe till the nineteenth century" existed. *The drains were all covered.* The perfect drainage system revealing co-ordination between private and public construction indicates a high class civic organisation—an enlightened municipality. Among the buildings discovered are: some pillared halls; certain remarkable buildings which some think are temples—no images have been found;



The famous Stupa at Mohenjodaro

a market square with lines of shops, and a great tank which it appears served as a bathing place for the public—chambers for bathers are to be seen around it. Dr. Mackay suggests that "bathing was a ritual of the people of Mohen-Jo-Daro." But this is only a surmise. Much cannot be said about the religion of the people.

1 Brailsford in an article in the *Manchester Guardian*.

2 Dr. E. Mackay in his book *The Indus Civilization*.

The figures on their seals and amulets tell us something of their gods and goddesses. One seal shows a humped bull of great size, another a nude, three-headed deity with horns, in a Yoga pose—supposed to be Shiva. Tree worship, water or river worship and animal worship also seem to have prevailed. The dead were buried;



Underground drainage at Mohenjodaro

in several cases first cremated and then their ashes put in urns or jars which were buried. Some of these urns or jars and some skeletons have been found. The skeletons and measurements of doors of the houses show that the people were not tall. Men wore beards and sometimes shaved the upper lip; razors and mirrors have been found. It is doubtful whether the Mohen-Jo-Daro people believed in a life after death.

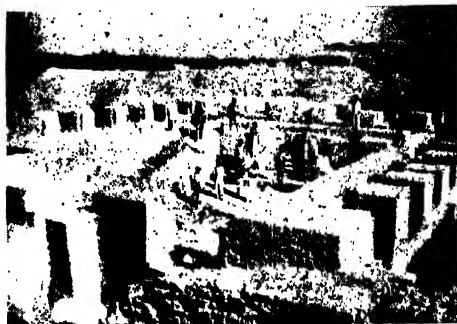


Ruins revealing a well at Mohenjodaro

Implements and utensils were made of polished stone, copper or bronze; gold, silver, even tin and zinc were known, but not iron. The people seem to have been devoted to peace rather than war. They had simple weapons—axes, spears, bows and arrows. Only two short swords have been found. Spinning and weaving were known and clothes of cotton, even wool, were worn. Wheat, barley and oats were grown. The cow, the buffalo and the goat were domesticated for milk and

the fish formed part of food. The seals show even the tiger, the elephant and the rhinoceros but neither the camel nor the horse. The people were rich and had a high standard of living which is seen in their fine furniture and beautiful jewellery. They even used cosmetics. Gold and silver bangles, ear and nose ornaments, rings, necklaces, bracelets and precious stones of 23 varieties have been found. "The gold ornaments are so well finished and so highly polished that they might have come out of a Bond Street jeweller rather than from a prehistoric house of 5,000 years ago", writes Sir John Marshall.² Not many specimens of the art of the sculptor have been found but the few portraits which have been discovered and sculptures and carvings in alabaster and marble, indicate the great progress that had been achieved in this art. Female figures showing that the art of dancing was then practised, have been obtained. Glazed pottery, decorated with beautiful animal and human figures, has also been found. Pottery work was put to many uses. There were pottery drain-pipes, toys, vases, bird-cages, candle-stands and several other things.

Seals are the cream of the fascinating finds at Mohen-Jo-Daro. As many as 558 specimens have been found; some are made of copper but most are of ivory. They are of all sizes and shapes—square, cube,



The spacious public tank with rooms for bathing

cylinder, round and rectangular. Many have animal and human forms on them; and on many there are inscriptions in a pictograph. Some seals appear to have been worn as amulets. The pictographic seals prove that the people were familiar with the art of writing. It has not yet been possible to decipher this writing. But a great resemblance has been noticed between it and that on Sumerian seals. It has been suggested that the people of the Indus Valley were great traders and carried on trade with Mesopotamia both by sea and the old land route running through the Bolan Pass. The weights and measures of the Mohen-Jo-Daro people were very delicate and ran down to very small units—this supports the suggestion that they were great traders. "These Indian weights are made with greater accuracy and consistency than those of Elam and Mesopotamia", says Mr. A. S. Hammy. Gold which has been found in Mohen-Jo-Daro, is said to have come from Mysore and precious stones have been obtained which are said to have come from the Nilgiris. It thus seems clear that the Indus civilization did not flourish in

² Sir John Marshall in an article in the *Illustrated London News*.

isolation but had close links with different parts of India and even with Western Asia.

Toys are trifling things, but the toys in Mohen-Jo-Daro, what a tremendous importance they possess! They tell us a lot about our ancestors 5,000 years ago. Wheeled carts must have been common for toy models of them have been found. They were very like the modern farm carts of Sind. Toy birds with holes in them, served as whistles for children. A toy-bull wags his head when his tail is pulled. Clay models of men and animals have also been found. The children had beautiful marbles to play with; and other people amused themselves with board games. Numerous dice have been found.

Our attempt to reconstruct, from the marvels discovered at Mohen-Jo-Daro, a picture of the life of the Indus people 5,000 years ago, leads us to the conclusion: "That the amenities of life enjoyed by the average citizen at Mohen-Jo-Daro, were much in advance of anything to be found at that time, in Babylonia or on the banks of the Nile"—says Sir John Marshall. The same is the opinion of V. G. Childe, who writes: "Judging by the domestic architecture, the seal cutting and the grace of pottery, the Indus civilization was far ahead of the Babylonian at the beginning of the third Millennium B.C." It gives me a great joy and a great pride to know and to feel that India has been one of the pioneers of civilization, perhaps the earliest cradle of culture and that this little province of Sind, our own Sind, was the spot where this civilization first rose, where this ancient culture first flowered; and that the remains of this ancient civilization were first discovered by an eminent Indian archaeologist, R. D. Banerji.

The discovery of the marvels of Mohen-Jo-Daro has had a miraculous effect not only on the history of India but also on that of the world. "With a single flash the civilization of Sind and the Punjab gleams before

our eyes—the civilization which is the most ancient", wrote Sir John Marshall in *London Times*, and in the *Illustrated London News* of 20th September, 1924, he wrote: "At a single bound, we find that five thousand years ago, the people of Sind and the Punjab were living in well-built cities and were in possession of a



Walls showing cities one under the other

civilization with a high standard of art and craftsmanship and a developed system of writing." It has been a momentous archaeological discovery—this, of Mohen-Jo-Daro, which has opened out a new historical vista to the world and provided a vast field of research to India's large army of history students.

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U. S. MUSEUM TEACHES USE AND WORKING OF MODERN MECHANISMS

THE Franklin Institute in the U. S. city of Philadelphia exhibits devices that its visitors—including children—can operate. Working models of many machines teach

the use and construction of modern mechanical equipment. Others explain in simple terms fundamental physical and chemical laws and principles.



A group of boys inspect the "Rocket" locomotive; built in England in 1837, and a section of the original track



A demonstration, which visitors to the Franklin Institute can operate themselves, explains how iron is tested

The Institute was founded in 1824 by Samuel Vaughan Merrick and a group of Philadelphia citizens, and named after the famous 18th Century American

inventor and statesman, Benjamin Franklin, who was interested in educational projects.

The Institute includes one of the largest U.S.

scientific libraries, several research laboratories, a planetarium and many exhibits of rare historical value. Most of the exhibits, however, are demonstrations of scientific principles and the latest are no "Do Not Touch" signs on these exhibits, and children are especially delighted because they are allowed to operate and handle the equipment on view. There are no restrictions to prevent them from climbing into Link trainers, locomotive cabs, etc., and using equipment such as telephone switchboards, or the devices in a steamship's pilot house. By thoroughly examining and using these mechanisms, children effortlessly learn how to operate them, as well as how they function. The accompanying photos show a group of youngsters touring the Franklin Institute and learning about the machinery in which they are most interested.—USIS



Youngsters handle all the mechanical devices and navigation equipment in the pilot house of the model ship set up in Franklin Institute



A group of young visitors to the Franklin Institute listen with wonder to the speech of welcome being made by the robot which moves its hand as it speaks



This giant lens, now on exhibit in the Franklin Institute, formerly reflected the beam of a lighthouse across the New York harbour



Girls visiting the Franklin Institute learn about telephone switchboards by actually operating one

← A model of Link Trainer, which is used by the U.S. Army in training airplane pilots, is on display in the Franklin Institute

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THIS FATE-FORGED BOND

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Shalt thou cut asunder this Fate-forged bond ?
 Art thou indeed so mighty ?
 Art thou so mighty ?
 To break us and build, shall thy hand avail ?
 Art thou indeed so haughty ?
 Art thou so haughty ?
 Shalt thou for ever chain us back ?
 Shalt thou for ever hold us down ?
 Nay, so much strength you have not ;
 Nay, that chain shall not hold ;
 Howsoever your edicts bind,
 Even in the weak, is power.
 Howsoever your greatness swells,
 God over-rules.
 When you have struck down our strength,
 You too shall surely die—
 Grown heavy and overladen, your boat shall sink.

—The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

(This song—*Bidhir bandhan katbe tumi eman saktiman*—was originally composed in 1905 in the heat of the Anti-Partition agitation in Bengal. The Poet himself sang it through the streets of Calcutta, heading a huge procession. The Bengal Partition is an old story, but the Partition of India is a living issue. This song has gained an added significance in this context. It has been translated from the original Bengali by Miss Marjorie Sykes.)

THE SOUTH INDIAN

By GURDIAL MALLIK

THE South Indian is a composite personality, evolved out of the several strands of his many-sided culture. He is distinct from his brother in the North in a number of ways. But both are at the root alike, inasmuch as religion is the bedrock and basis of their life.

He is a harmonious blend of devotion and dynamic intelligence. The holiest expression of the former is to be found in his music, dance and temples, while the latter is seen in the vitality and vehemence of his argument. For, whomsoever you meet in the streets of Madras and its expansive environs has spirituality of some design or other stamped on his forehead; and, if you happen to encounter him in a coffee-house, then you discover in him a potential pundit, philosopher, politician or poet.

In him there is the energy of Nature, in the beauty and bounty of which the South is so superbly rich. But more often than not, it finds an outlet either in the "bivouac of the brain" or in heights (not so much in the breadths) of holiness, as indicated in his angular as well as elongated caste-marks,—those credentials of his for obtaining admission for him into the presence of his particular parish-deity!

There is, thus, a kind of extremism in his character. It is born of the negative aspect of the element of the infinite in Nature and in his sectarian style of worship. This has endowed him, maybe unconsciously, with an insularity of outlook. He has developed, as a result thereof, a passionate loyalty to the traditions of his community, the tenets of his creed, and the tastes of his tongue. No wonder, then, that he believes that the birthplace of all that is best and beautiful is the South.

This extremism-cum-insularity has given rise to a peculiar but painful "touch-me-not-ism" in his life, love and literature, which has robbed this trinity of values of unity and universalism. He has an antidote to it in his insight in, and attachment to the arts and in his attitude of adoration to his ancestral godhead. For, the pivot and pith of these is their inherent aptitude to lead their votary from the bondage of the finite in form to the infinite in idea and impersonality.

His simplicity is proverbial. His sense of domestic economy,—touched as it is with the aesthetic,—is worthy

of emulation by his fellow-countrymen in the other parts of India. His fidelity, through the ages, to that foundational institution in society,—the family,—is another aspect of his character, which also they would do well to copy. Above all, his limitless love for the mother, who transmutes the home into heaven, is something unique. Verily "paradise lies at the feet of the mother," as said, centuries ago, the Prophet of Arabia.

He has an unusual instinct, like the birds of the same feather, to flock together. They say, two is company, three is crowd. But in his case, even two is crowd, though, at times, it is to be regretted that that company or crowd is exclusive.

He has a peculiar genius for handling skilfully most of the modern gadgets of science, like the typewriter, the telephone, the plane and the plummet. He is very quick to grasp the substratum or significance of anything that is new or novel, but, alas! only in the field of mechanics, nay, also in the maze of mathematics, but not in the sphere of spiritual consciousness or conduct, as it affects the age-old concept or custom. In his mind, he projects the future into the present but in his belief and behaviour he shunts back the present into the past, while in the life of the spirit, as a rule, he is static.

The South Indian woman is, first and last, the mother. She is alive to the truth epitomised in the adage, "The hand that rocks the cradle, rules the world," and lives it out every moment in the home. She is a dictator, but a benevolent one, that is why she is looked upon less as such and more as a manifestation, in flesh and blood, of the World Mother. She is a custodian of hoary faith as well as of the fashions of fulfilment of that faith in the life of the family. Well, might it be said, that she is at once a nursery and a nurse,—a nursery of "worshipful" vision and values of life and a nurse of cherished, conservative sentiments and styles of self-expression.

The South Indian, men or women, in short, is in spirit a picture of the pre-Aryan or parallel-Aryan of the past.

—O:—

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS KAMALA, who passed her B.A. (Hons.) Examination very creditably from the Calcutta University, has stood First in the First Class in the M.A. (Hindi) Examination this year. She has topped the list of the successful candidates who appeared for the M.A. Examination in all the Indian languages and has thus won many medals for this unique distinction. She is now working on her thesis on Premchand (an outline of which she had submitted for her M.A. Examination) for Ph.D.

Miss Kamala is a grand-daughter of the famous artist Prof. Ishwari Prasad Varma, Ex-Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta, and a writer and critic of promise.



Miss Kamala

THE GITA AND WAR

By PROF. S. N. L. SHRIVASTAVA, M.A.

SINCE the outbreak of the war that has just ended there has been a spate of learned articles in our newspapers and our religious and philosophical periodicals on the question of the attitude of the Gita towards war. It is rather an amusing fact that the most completely dependent and unarmed nation under the sun should be the most vociferous on the question of the ethics of war. So far as India is concerned, the question for her in her present circumstances can hardly have more than a mere academic interest. Let us, however, hope that in some near or distant future, India will become the master of her own destiny and will be saddled with the onerous responsibility of maintaining her political independence in the midst of nations armed with the most monstrous weapons which scientific knowledge will place in their hands. Then, perhaps, there might not be time or inclination for any metaphysical chewing the cud, so let us have done with academic discussions now when the times are so propitious!

The discussion I am alluding to has been moving round the concepts of violence and non-violence. Some have expressed the opinion that the Gita does not regard violence in the form of participation in war as anything sinful or hateful. On the other hand, it was to induce the faint-hearted Arjun to fight heroically that the whole gospel of the Gita was propounded. Shri Krishna reprimanded Arjun in most unequivocal and forceful words for his desire to refrain from battle, even though it was a battle against his own kinsmen and revered elders. Did he not say that Arjun's desire was mean and ignoble? How could Shri Krishna have said this if he were an advocate of non-violence *per se* at all times and under all circumstances? War is a necessary evil in human society and refusal to participate in war is undiluted folly. This has been one line of interpretation of the attitude of the Gita towards war.

Others have maintained that the background of war against which the whole teaching of the Gita is set need not be seriously taken in its literal and historical meaning. The war alluded to is only an allegorical presentation of the constant fight that is going on between good and evil tendencies in human minds and Arjun the representative man is exhorted by the Divine to fight against evil. *Kurukshetra* is the battle-field of life, the scene of constant conflict between good and evil forces. The background of a battle-field is advisedly chosen because it typically symbolises life with its confusing tussle and turmoil, its unending rush and activity. The Gita being an exponent of Karma-Yoga could hardly have found a fitter background for its teachings than a battle-field. Be it remembered that all this is only allegory. Let no undue importance be attached to the opening scene of war and let not Shri Krishna's exhortation to Arjun to fight be interpreted literally as fighting in an actual warfare. Rather, let it be understood as an exhortation to combat the evil tendencies in one's own mind, and so on. The Gita stands unreservedly for non-violence.

"That the central teaching of the Gita is not *himaa* but *ahimaa*", says Gandhiji, "is amply demon-

strated by the subject begun in the second chapter and summarised in the concluding (XVIII Chapter). The treatment in the other chapters also supports the position. *Himaa* is impossible without anger, without attachment, without hatred, and the Gita strives to carry us to the state beyond *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*, a state that excludes anger, hatred etc. . . . Non-violent Krishna could give Arjun no other advice. But to say that the Gita teaches violence or justifies war, because advice to kill was given on a particular occasion, is as wrong as to say that *himaa* is the law of life because a certain amount of it is inevitable in daily life. To one who reads the spirit of the Gita, it teaches the secret of non-violence, the secret of realising the self through physical battle."—(*Young India*, 12-11-1925).

This has been a second line of interpretation of the attitude of the Gita towards war. Needless to say that all contemporary interpreters of the Gita along this line have been considerably influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's vigorous preaching of non-violence as the basic ideal of life which has to dominate our activity in all spheres including the political.

Some ardent devotees of Gandhiji would even go to the length of saying that Gandhiji's ideology of non-violence standing for the total outlawry of war, excels and rises superior to the teaching of the Gita. Gandhiji's teaching is said to be considerably ahead of all the moral codes of past and contemporary history. It is politely suggested that the author of the Gita, rooted as he was in the social and political ideas of his own times, could not possibly have envisaged a higher order of human civilization to come in the wake of evolution in which war would be completely abolished. Prof. D. S. Sharma is well-known for his supreme and unreserved devotion to Gandhiji and to the Gita alike. In an excellent little book entitled *Krishna and His Song*, he has a chapter on "Krishna—the Teacher of Non-violence". In this chapter Prof. Sharma has so charmingly and lucidly presented the point of view I am alluding to here that I cannot resist the temptation of quoting his words here with an apology for the lengthiness of the quotation.

"The fact is," writes Prof. Sharma, "that the Gita is not concerned with the question of war as an instrument of justice among nations any more than Jesus Christ was concerned with the question of the subjection of the Jews to the Roman Empire. The aim of all great scriptures of the world is to lift man from the animal plane to a divine plane by revealing to him the paths of ascent to a higher and higher perfection. But we have to remember two things about them. First, the scriptures of a race form a progressive revelation. The Spirit never ceases to grow. For God lives for ever and He ever manifests Himself in the lives of the saints. Therefore as we rise in the scale of spiritual values we discover higher and higher laws. And when the higher law is revealed, the lower one is abrogated. Secondly, the great scriptures of the world are not produced in *vacuo*. The messengers of God come in human

form. They belong to a certain age, a certain society and a certain country. Therefore their spiritual message is inevitably covered with the husk of political, social and scientific ideas of their times. And it is the task of the wise man to separate the husk from the kernel. He should clearly see and frankly admit that belief in a particular political doctrine or a particular social order is the perishable part of a scripture. It is the husk that cover the living seed. Half the degradations that flourish under the name of religion are due to our frequent inability to separate what is permanent from what is temporary or accidental in our scriptures. Surely Christ's belief that evil spirits cause disease and his expectation that the world would come to an end shortly belong to the latter category. So do the battle of Kurukshetra, the Indian caste system and the Sankhya philosophy mentioned in the Gita. Moreover, how could we expect the Gita, written some centuries before the Christian era, to preach directly the abolition of war, when even twenty centuries after the beginning of that era mankind still looks upon war as a legitimate weapon and resorts to it with far fewer moral restrictions? Non-violence among nations, if made possible by international courts of arbitration, is undoubtedly as superior to war as an honourable war, a *dharma-yuddha*, described by our ancient epic poets, is superior to the modern massacres with aerial bombs, poison gases and secret mines. When the enlightened conscience of humanity comes to look upon war as a horrid business unworthy of man and perfects a machinery by which it is made impossible it will disappear like Suttee and slavery and no misreading of the scriptures can stay the progress of man." (Pp. 20-22, *Italics mine*).

The opening sentence in the above quotation forthwith calls for comments. It is not true to hold that the Gita was not concerned with the question of war as an instrument of justice. Well, it was precisely as an instrument of justice (not, of course justice 'among nations' but justice between two contending royal powers) that the war alluded to in the Gita was resorted to. The Gita is an integral part of the Mahabharata and it is definitely this war and no other war with the account of which the Gita begins. This war was not a war-monger's war, not a war for the mere fun of it or the sheer love of it, but avowedly a war for "justice". As is well known, it was the "injustice" of the wicked Kauravas to the noble Pandavas which necessitated the War of the Mahabharata. Christ may not have shown any concern for the subjection of the Jews to the Roman Empire, but Shri Krishna showed immense concern over the sad plight of the Pandavas at the hands of the Kauravas even as Gandhiji is immensely concerned with the subjection of India to the British Empire. The 'superior' method of settling political disputes by non-violent means is not an innovation of our times; Shri Krishna gave it a fair trial 'in his own day'. He did all that lay in his power to bring about a settlement without resorting to 'the horrid business of war.' He went to the court of Duryodhana and gently pleaded on behalf of the Pandavas to return to them their rightful territories or even such small part of them as would suffice for their bare maintenance. Duryodhana refused to give even a needlepoint of land without battle. Reasonable persuasion gave way before insolent might. Shri Krishna

now had no other choice but to advise the declaration of war.

What really, then, is the Gita's attitude towards the question of war qua an act of violence? Does the Gita advocate violence or non-violence? In one sense 'neither' and in another sense 'both'. The Gita certainly does not advocate war for its own sake or for the love of it; nor could its spirit and teachings be said to be opposed to war on the sole ground of its being an act of violence when it is warranted by an objective situation, when it becomes a moral necessity or when it is demanded by *loka-samgraha*. The readers of the Bhagwad-Gita must recall to their minds that Shri Krishna asked Arjun to fight in the interest of *loka-samgraha* or the collective welfare of society.¹ I have often seen it argued by the advocates of non-violence that if the war of the Mahabharata vindicated anything, it vindicated the utter futility of violence since this war ended with a holocaust of millions on either side and as such the victory of the Pandavas was a profitless victory. Yes, the war of the Mahabharata consumed millions, but it immortalised the ideal of the *kshatriya* hero. Men may die, but the ideal must live. To allow wrong to triumph and right to suffer is a moral failure, a breach of *loka-samgraha*. He the Lord knows the true significance of events in the cosmic drama. Shri Krishna knew about the holocaust.² A cosmic tragedy to the human view is a Divine laughter. The "horrid" also has a place and a significance in the cosmic drama which only the Divine dramatist rightly understands. Men march to events, machine-like as it were, by His behest.³

The Gita, I venture to say, does not make a fetish of non-violence. Though *ahimsa* is mentioned in several passages as a virtue, war as such is nowhere condemned in the Gita. The war of the Mahabharata had the sanction and the approval of the Lord of the Gita Himself. This is far from saying that Shri Krishna was a war-monger or that he advocated war for the sake of war. Unwarranted war is, of course, condemnable; but when the situation warrants a war, how can we help it? Even a Divine Incarnation like Shri Krishna with all the soul-force and the power of love at his command could not help it.

We quite admit that the Gita lends itself to an allegorical interpretation; but we see no reason to *eschew altogether* the basic historical events that are inextricably associated with the Gita. After all, what is there to be ashamed of in the Bharata war? Was it not a war for a just cause? Though lending itself to an allegorical interpretation, why should it be regarded as a mere allegory? Why should not Shri Krishna's exhortation to Arjun to fight in an actual battle be understood in its literal sense also, in addition to whatever allegorical interpretation it may lend itself to? It can easily be shown that the Gita had no objection to war as such; it did not condemn war because it involves violence. The Gita upholds the order of Four Classes (*chatur-varnya*) which includes the fighting class of the *kshatriyas*. The Gita positively mentions 'not running away in battle' as a virtue of the *kshatriya* class. By no stretch of imagination this could be a mere allegory. The Gita also proclaims in no uncertain terms that each of the four classes can attain

1 *Chikitsur lokasamgraham.*

2 *Mayavate nihate paorameva.*

3 *Bhramayan yashasthani yantarudhani mayaya.*

4 *Yuddhe chapyapalayanam.*

siddhi by performing its own allotted duties in a spirit of worship of the Divine.⁵ The Kshatriya's fighting in a battle is as much a means to Perfection as a Brahmin's practice of non-violence. The Gita insists on each class sticking steadfastly to its own *swadharmā* and not switch off into the railroad of the *swadharmā* of another class :

"Better is one's own *swadharmā* though evil (to all outward appearance) than the *swadharmā* of another. *He who doeth work in keeping with his own nature incurreth no sin.* One should not give up, O son of Kunti, a work congruous with one's own dispositional make-up, even though there be a blemish in it. All actions (for the matter of that) are covered up with blemishes even as fire is always covered up with smoke".—(*Gita*, XVIII, 47-48).

The truth is that the Gita does not place the same ideal before everybody. It is impossible, in the very nature of things, that non-violence in its chemical purity can be practised by all and sundry. The Gita is the exponent of an ideal relative to a man's dispositional make-up. According to men's diversity of dispositional make-up, the Gita broadly distinguishes four fundamental types in human society, the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya, and the Sudra. Quality of character and the aptitude for a specific vocation determine, to which of these four classes a particular individual belongs.⁶ This is not a hierarchical classification, placing one higher than the other, though this has been the usual misunderstanding which is responsible for much of our present-day social iniquities. It is a universal principle of classification applicable to any human society whatsoever. This diversity of types is a fact to reckon with. The Gita recognises it as a constant and inextinguishable feature of human society, an essential item in the Divine planning of creation.⁷

From all this, the attitude of the Gita towards the question of war seems pretty clear. It does not seem tenable to regard the Gita as the exponent of the single and sole ideal of non-violence under all circumstances as some present-day interpreters of the Gita make it out to be. Nor is the Gita a war-monger's gospel preaching war for the sheer love of it or for territorial aggrandisement or for snatching other people's independence and things like that sort. But when war becomes a necessity, nay, a paramount duty in the cause of justice, refusal to participate in war on the sole ground that it involves violence which is sinful would, according to the spirit of the Gita, be a species of *karma-sanyasa* which is reprehensible. The true meaning of *sanyasa* according to the Gita is not the giving up of action in its outward form, but giving up of the attachment to its consequences. The uniqueness of the Gita amongst the world's scriptures lies precisely in this that it alone shows us the path of how we can adjust ourselves to outward situations by which we are inescapably confronted and which *prima facie* present a moral problem to us, without any moral or spiritual loss to ourselves. The Gita teaches us how we can remain spiritually unscathed even when participating in the bloodiest war. It is the unparalleled merit of the Gita that it alone of all scriptures in the world holds the light unto our feet during our passage through life's frightful and

intricate passes. The Gita teaches us not to be swinging in moral seesaws when the situation demands a plunge into action. In the concluding part of the chapter from which I have quoted above, Prof. Sharma has pertinently drawn our attention to four passages in the Gita (II. 38, III. 30, VIII. 7 and XVIII. 17) where Arjun is specifically asked to fight and the Lord imposes such conditions on him as he should fight treating pain and pleasure, victory and gain alike; he should fight without the sense of egoism and surrendering all works to God etc. These conditions, says Prof. Sharma, are such as to make Arjun's action 'practically non-violent'. Let me quote him again :

"From all this we see that Krishna, far from advocating violence, thoroughly undermines the position of violence, takes away the substance and retains only the outer shell. That was all probably he could do in his day. If his conditions are satisfied, there can be no violence at all . . . All that Mahatma Gandhi is doing today is to push the *Gita* to its logical conclusion, to make us take the last step and throw away even the shell and thus embrace non-violence in both form and substance. His Satyagraha is therefore only a fulfilment of the *Gita*."

Yes ! Krishna asked Arjun to fight with his whole attitude internally changed ; but that is the attitude he asks us to take in *all* the activities of life.

"Perform all your actions poised in Yoga⁸ and renouncing attachment to their consequences, O Dhananjaya ! Be even-tempered in success and failure ; it is this evenness of temper which is spoken of as Yoga".—(*Gita*, II-48).

This is the universal quintessential principle of Krishna's philosophy of action which He brings to bear on fighting also in the passages quoted by Prof. Sharma where he is asking Arjun specifically to fight. Yes, if the fighter fights in the spirit of Yoga as taught in the Gita his violence has no demerit attached to it and becomes as good as non-violence if one wants to put it that way. But to kill in the spirit of Yoga is one thing ; and to totally refrain from killing is another thing altogether. I do not see the propriety of calling the latter step "a logical conclusion" of the former. *Shri Krishna definitely advised Arjun to take the former step in preference to the latter and this settles the controversy about the attitude of the Gita towards the question of war qua an act of violence.* The Gandhian ideology of non-violence is a clear break from the Gita ideology of Yogic violence if I may be permitted to put it so. The Gandhian technique is something new, *sui generis*. A full discussion about it is not germane to my present article which has been concerned only with the Gita's attitude towards war and with Gandhiji only in so far as he has interpreted the Gita to suit his ideology of non-violence.

Let me in the end come to the much talked-of question of the total abolition of war in the world. Pray, who is it who talks most about it ? Need I say that ? Have the belligerent nations, victors or vanquished in World War II, despaired of war, despite the horrors and miseries that have attended it ? Has Russia despaired of war ? Did not Stalin order his scientists immediately after the completion of the war to prepare atom bombs within six months ? Have not the Five

5 *Swakarmāṇa tvaṇāhyarhya.*

6 *Guna-karma-śibhagaśah.*

7 *Chaturvarṇyam mayā vṛstam.*

8 *Yogasthah kuru karmam.*

Nations been clamouring to share the secret of the atom bomb? Which way is the wind blowing? After the first experiment with the atom bomb the world seemed to have felt alarmed and it was hoped for some time that the emergence of the atom bomb would end war for all time to come. But what now? 'International control over the use of atom bomb'—this is the best we can hope for and this would be in the best interests of the belligerent nations themselves. Is the world moving even an inch towards 'embracing non-violence in both form and substance'? What is India to do in such a world? The question is pertinent, not so much for the India of today but for the free India of tomorrow. Will

the free India of tomorrow equip herself with an army and a navy and all other requirements of a modern warfare and be prepared for all eventualities, or, will she choose to remain non-violent, come what may? We owe it to posterity to give a clear and decisive answer to this question, an answer which will not let it falter in its hour of need. For my own part I believe that the Gita gives us that decisive answer. Hearken, ye all! to the last words of the Gita:

"Where there is Krishna, Great amongst the Yogins, and where there is Arjun, great amongst the warriors, there assuredly, methinks, is prosperity, victory and happiness."

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POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN THE INDIAN STATES

By PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt.,

Hony. Director, The Rajendra Institute of Economic Research, Balangir and Member, The Patna State Legislative Assembly

WHILE the problem of the economic and political transition in India is a serious one deserving all our careful attention, I am afraid that the problem of the Indian States is not receiving due attention of the press and people of British India. As must be expected in a country struggling for independence, the political problem of the States is getting more attention than the economic problem of the millions of the people of the Indian States whose standard of life is much lower than that of the people of British India which is low by itself.

There is a lot of prejudice in British India against the Native States. While some of it is justified, a lot is due to ignorance and tradition. Indian States are not receiving due publicity in British India which is due, of course, to their own fault.

The object of the present writer is neither to praise the Native States nor to condemn them, but only to point out some of the salient features of the problem of transition in the Indian States that require careful consideration by all the statesmen in India.

Unfortunately the people of British India do not take into consideration that the whole of India including the Indian States should swim or sink together. British India cannot expect to plan and advance leaving Indian India behind. It applies both to the economic field as well as to the political.

As far as the economic problem is concerned, there are three good reasons why British India and Indian India should co-operate with each other.

History may divide India into two or three Indias, but geography cannot. One has only to look at the map of India to convince himself how impossible it is to make a real distinction between the two Indias as two administrative units. Indian States, big and small, number about six hundred, and look as if they are sprinkled on the map of India. It is inconceivable to Balkanise India without disastrous consequences.

British India is more populated than Indian India. According to the Census of 1941, the density of population in British India is about 340 people per square mile while that of Indian India is about 130 per square mile, making it about 248 people per square mile for the whole of India. Actually in some places in British

India the density is more than 500 per square mile—in North Bihar in some places it is even 900—while in the Indian States in some places it is even less than one hundred. An equitable redistribution of the population is essential for the uniform exploitation of the natural resources of India and for settling the landless people of India on new land; and for this purpose close co-operation with the Indian States which can absorb the surplus population of British India is quite essential.

In India today we are contemplating many multi-purpose River Projects on the T.V.A. lines. We are contemplating many Hydro-electric Projects on a grid system throughout India. We are also scheming for a regional distribution of industries and complete central control. All these would be futile and impossible without complete co-operation of British and Indian Indias. Again the Indian States when compared with British India abound in cultivable waste and forests which must be useful to the whole country. There are many mineral deposits in the Native States that await the British Indian talent and capital for maximum exploitation. Indeed without the lands, forests, and mineral resources of the Native States, India's plans would be very incomplete if not impossible.

British India must pave the way so that Indian India may come into the fold. For clearing the way it is the imperative duty of the people concerned to fully understand the problem of the Indian States and the viewpoint of the Princes and the people of the States. A correct analysis of the forces at present operating in the States as understood by the present writer is presented here for public discussion. In doing so the writer desires to make it quite clear that the views expressed here are his own and not necessarily the views of the State in which he has the honour to serve.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

Both in the economic field and in the political field, the Princes are very eager to keep pace with the rest of India. This is borne out by the various utterances of the leading Princes and the post-war plans of some of the States. Indeed some of the States have even gone beyond what the Advisers' regimes have planned for the provinces. But the States, a large majority of them,

have a number of difficulties which they are facing in formulating their plans and trying to execute them.

The Indian States, specially the small States, have a number of special difficulties which the large States and Provinces are not, happily, having. The people of the States are largely uneducated and illiterate. They are poor and they possess medieval outlook. Most of the Rulers of the small States have not even realised the necessity for planning, while the rest of India is feverishly talking about it. This is proving a great handicap to the States themselves.

But even in the case of those States which have realised the importance and urgency of post-war planning—I can mention a good number of States which have gone ahead with their plans, *viz.*, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Jaipur, Rajkot, Patna, Seralikella, Kalahandi and a number of others—there are many knotty problems which they are not able to solve all by themselves, and which require a sympathetic and careful consideration from all corners interested in the welfare of India as a whole.

The first difficulty is the question of personnel. It is not a fact realised by many that the present staff available in many of the small States is not quite fit to formulate all the post-war schemes. Some of the Princes within my own knowledge who are very keen on getting the best plans for their States find no personnel competent to undertake the task. Sometimes they depend upon outside experts. But many times these 'experts' prove to be bogus people and the Rulers get disillusioned and discouraged.

The second difficulty connected with personnel is to get people to execute their plans. They require many technical people—Hydro-electric experts, engineers, surveyors, doctors, teachers and a host of others—who cannot be had. Hitherto they used to get the required personnel, whose number was never very large, from British India. But now that recruiting source is exhausted, and even if a few people are available they are found generally to be incompetent and expensive. Good and competent people who are welcome into the States are reluctant to enter into State service when Provincial service is easily available for them. Actually during the recent years a number of people serving in the States have left for service in British India for both War and private service and it is very doubtful if they come back; and the exodus still continues. Some of the big States are going to solve this problem by starting technical colleges within their own boundaries but the small States cannot do that due, both to their indifference to the problem and to financial implications. The small States must depend upon the British Indian universities and colleges to give some accommodation but they get no good response from these quarters as British India itself is hard-pressed for technical people. It is a real and difficult problem which requires the immediate attention of all, as otherwise the post-war schemes of these States will be lagging behind for want of personnel.

Another practical difficulty experienced by those that are engaged in the task of planning for the States is the vagueness of the policy and plans of the Government of India. It is not the proper place for examining that aspect here in detail, but this much can easily be said without any fear of contradiction that the Provinces and the Centre have so far prepared a number of schemes but not a comprehensive plan—anything like the Five-Year Plan of Russia. The States are expected

to co-operate with the Government and co-ordinate their schemes with those of the Government of India. How this could be done in the absence of a clear enunciation of the definite policy, objective and targets of the Government in such matters as, say, tariffs protection, demobilisation and employment, sterling balances and the future value of the rupee, delocalisation and dispersal of industry including regional planning, etc.? The Indian States that are well-up with their reconstruction schemes find it difficult to give the final touches to the blue-prints of their plans.

The greatest stumbling block, however, to the launching of big schemes by the States is the question of finance. Even originally, taking it from any point of view, Indian States are poorer than British India, in spite of the fabulous wealth that is supposed to be hoarded by the Princes. The Nizam may be the richest man in the world, but, if statistics are taken, it will be found—his subjects are poorer than British Indian subjects of even the poorest of Indian provinces. The income of a State, of course, is no index of the prosperity of the people, but it is certainly an indication of the taxable capacity of the State and its capacity to launch on with big schemes involving crores of rupees. With the exception of some of the big and prosperous States like Mysore, Travancore, Hyderabad and others, the income of the other States is very small when compared with their areas and naturally their revenue surpluses have been very little to build up any cash reserves for post-war reconstruction.

The war has magnified this difference between the riches of British India and that of the Indian States. The reasons are not far to seek. Much of the created money has been spent by the Government in British India and on British Indians. Though there are a few State Banks recently started, the majority of Banks in India are in the British territory and they have obtained all the deposits of the public. Though due to the disparity in income-tax and other attractions, there has been of late a movement of Industries into the States, still the bulk of the factories including the war-time factories are in British India. It has been recently revealed that though a large portion of the capital in India is subscribed by the subjects of Indian States, only three per cent of the total investment of India in industries is in the Indian States; and even this small amount is exclusively claimed by the progressive States like Mysore, Travancore, etc. Thus most of the service-holders and wage-earning class in India are in British India.

Most of the people of India and all the people of the States do not seem to realise the significance of the fact that, with a few exceptions like Hyderabad, all the States have a common legal tender money with the rest of India and that it is issued and controlled by British India and in the interests of British India. It is absurd to talk of the States pursuing a different policy from British India in economic matters as long as they cannot control the legal tender money and the credit structure. A common legal tender much worse than a common standard has got a unifying effect much to the disadvantage of all the parties. Asking the States to pursue their economic policy in India at present is like tying all the horses by a common rope and asking them to run each in its own direction and its own speed. I cannot develop the thesis here but those that are interested in the welfare of India, and specially the Indian States, would do well to pursue the matter

still further and point out the disadvantages to the States. Suffice it is here to state that the States without any control over the legal tender and credit cannot launch on any independent or bold plans ahead of British India. They have to follow it.

THE STATES' CLAIM FOR HELP FROM THE CENTRE

In order to overcome this financial handicap the States, specially the small ones look to the Centre for help in financial matters as well as in technical advice. It must be realised in British India that only a substantial financial contribution from the Centre alone can permit the States to think of launching on any post-war scheme worth its name. Otherwise British India has to go on advancing leaving Indian India behind which is advantageous to neither party.

Recently the Government of India announced that they expect that in the coming five post-war years, an approximate amount of one thousand crores would be available as contribution from the Centre to finance the post-war schemes of the provinces. It was expected and fondly hoped by the States that they also would get a fair share in that grant from the Centre. But nothing has come out yet and a recent message from Karachi published in some of the dailies stated that the States do not get any share in that grant. I hope it is not true but if it is then many of the States would feel disappointed and discouraged.

It might seem fantastic to many in British India and surprising to many in Indian India that the States forming a separate bloc altogether from the Indian Provinces and talking about their treaty rights and sanads should claim a share in the grant of the Central Government to its provinces which is almost like a domestic affair. But really the States have a claim.

The claim of the States to the help from the Central finances is based on three important grounds. First is based on the ground that it is imperative on the part of all concerned to see that the States progress at the same rate as the rest of India, and this cannot be achieved without a solid contribution from the Centre. No doubt the Centre has made some vague promises to meet a portion of the expenditure on national highways to be constructed by the States and the Centre will bear all the expenditure for the construction of the railways that pass through the Indian States. But these will benefit the people of the States only in a very indirect way. What the people of the States want today are internal communications, irrigation and industries; they want food, clothing and education. None of the small States is really in a position to meet all this expenditure with the revenues of the State or the savings of the people. If British India wants that one-third of India should not go starving, it should be ready to come to the aid of the States at his opportune moment. Any such help will have a tremendous psychological effect at this moment when the future of unified India is hanging in the balance. It will also have a beneficial economic effect as the people of the Indian States, if their purchasing power is increased by the post-war reconstruction schemes, will provide easy markets for the goods of British India.

The second is based on the ground that the States have played an important and equal part in waging the war and have completely identified themselves with British India in this respect without imposing any conditions whatsoever. They have denied themselves

all the advantages derived by British India on account of the war—whatever might be the indirect advantages British India derived. Otherwise they could have insisted that a part of the war contracts should be given to the people of the States, a good number of the wartime industries should be located in Indian India, etc. I do not mean to suggest that such things have not been done, but such conditions were not imposed by the States at all, and, if only they had insisted, they could have easily obtained many advantages. On the other hand, the people of the States have suffered many of the privations along with the people of British India and the rest of the world that the war has imposed. Indian India worked wholeheartedly for the success of the Allies at a rapid rate not minding the depreciation and exhaustion of their natural resources. They have to face today the same problems as the British Indian provinces—the problems of reconstruction, demobilisation, employment, and rehabilitation. If for these purposes the Centre is making a grant to the provinces on the ground that the provinces had to undergo much privation during the war, on the same grounds it must make a contribution to the States also who have the same claims. Financial experts may quarrel with me and say that the Indian States, that form a separate entity from British India cannot have a claim to the finances of another political entity. I do not agree with them and I will come to that point presently, but it must be stated here that the surpluses from which the Centre is going to make the grant are the result of the conditions created by the war and during the war the Indian States have played an equal part and completely identified themselves with British India for all purposes; and hence the central surpluses are as much a result of the actions and privations on the part of the Indian States as on the part of the provinces and therefore they have an equal claim with the provinces for grants from the surpluses accrued as a consequence of the war.

The third point is based entirely on the strict principles of federal finance. It is not true to contend that the States form a polity entity entirely separate from the British Indian Government. The Indian States' sovereignty has been limited in a number of economic and financial matters. The most important of them are the Customs, Central Banking, Posts and Telegraphs and Railways. These are the important items which directly concern the States. Indirectly there are a number of other items that benefit the British Indian revenues on account of the subordination of the Indian States to British India in economic matters. Customs are an important item in the revenues of the Centre and the States can claim a part of it. So also the Reserve Bank is making considerable profits and the Reserve Bank is the common authority for the issue of currency and the control of credit for the whole of India including Indian India and there is no justifiable reason why the net profits of the Reserve Bank should go entirely to the Central Revenues and not a share is distributed to the Indian States. In the case of the Post Office the same reasons apply. Of course, in the case of the Railways it may be claimed that they are commercial institutions run entirely on commercial lines and for which the entire capital has been invested by the Central Government. This is a plea enough for the nineteenth century. But in the twentieth century when the State is beginning to undertake boldly all industrial enterprises, the difference between a commer-

cial enterprise and a noncommercial enterprise vanishes into the thin air. It is undeniable that the Centre is making profits on their monopoly of the railways and a portion of the railway lines go through the States and a number of passengers are from the States. Therefore the States have a claim to a portion of the net profits, however small they may be. This claim will have a greater significance when in the post-war era more railway lines will be opened in the Indian States and they will be asked to co-ordinate their road policy with the railways.

Against these items it may be claimed that British India alone is bearing all the Defence expenditure and as the army of India is offering equal protection to the Indian States there is every ground for asking the States to bear a part of the Defence expenditure of British India. It is a very knotty question though at first sight it appears quite reasonable. In order to understand it completely, we have to go into the historical background and examine the question in the light of the various treaties, etc., as some of the Indian States may claim with justification that they ceded certain territories in the historic past to the East India Company in lieu of their contribution for the maintenance of the Central army. Again some of the States may say that they are maintaining some armies of their own in their States and that some other States are paying tributes. Moreover, the question, for whom the army is being maintained in India, may arise. If British India says that the army is being maintained in India for Imperial purposes and therefore Britain should bear a large part of the expenditure, as it has been claimed a number of times by British Indian politicians, then there is absolutely no justification why any contribution should be expected from the Indian States. As I said above, the problem is a very knotty one and requires a lot of research and argument before any definite conclusion could be arrived at. But even supposing that the Defence expenditure should be shared by the Indian States on a population *cum* area basis, still if they are given share in the revenues cited above they still can claim a not share of the Central revenues.

I have not taken any brief for the Indian States and I belong to British India myself. My only object is to present to the public discussion the various forces at work for arriving at reasonable conclusions after a dispassionate understanding. It is for the Chamber of Princes to undertake this task after carrying on research and put forth their claims on the lines indicated above. I have already suggested to the Chamber of Princes to institute a Post-War Reconstruction Institute with an economic research branch attached to it to carry on research and advise the States on various economic matters and reconstruction schemes and it is now for the Chamber to take action. But any dispassionate view taken on these matters will lead us to the conclusion that the Centre should make a decent contribution to the States, specially the small States, both as a matter of goodwill and on moral and financial grounds and insist that the States should earmark that money on certain definite post-war schemes. The States are poor and they cannot undertake all the post-war schemes, however much they are eager to push on and it is not without hope that the people of the States look to British India for co-operation and help.

The Centre can also help the States in other ways. After making a grant of, say, about five hundred crores,

the Central Government can help the States by making a loan of another five hundred crores of rupees at a nominal rate of interest. The small States in this respect have a special difficulty for borrowing. They have no internal resources and the internal money market is almost empty for any borrowing. Their external credit is very low and it is very doubtful if they can command any loans at all at a reasonable rate of interest, and certainly they cannot pay a high rate. Again many of the Princes that are at present in charge of the destinies or the fate of millions of their subjects and the many ministers that constitute their advisers are not capable of appreciating the wisdom of borrowing for carrying on any public works policy. The best way out of this difficulty would be for the Government of India to thrust some loans on the States, specially the small ones, and earmark that amount for some definite purposes, such as irrigation or communications. Again out of the one thousand crores so given as grants and loans to the States, every State should be entitled to a minimum of fifty lakhs and a maximum of three crores so that no State might complain that its claims have been ignored.

The Central Government may easily meet this expenditure in a number of ways, from their revenues, from their borrowings, from their loans, from the printing press or from the sterling balances. I have specially refrained from mentioning anything about the sterling balances for which also the States can have a claim. Nobody knows when and how they would be repaid and to whom exactly they belong. Technically they belong to the Reserve Bank but really they belong to the people of India that have claim on the Government of India for the money they have lent. But it is not difficult for the Government of India to make a contribution from the sterling balances and also to earmark a special part of that for the imports of the States industrial machinery. I need not discuss here how this could be done. I can only say that it requires only a technical adjustment.

Yet another way in which the Centre can help these States is by making available to the State the services of the various experts serving with the Government of India and the provinces. One such hint of a promise was made by the member in charge as far as the hydel schemes are concerned. While this remains till today only a paper promise, there are so many matters on which the Centre can help. There is no reason why the services of the Director of Agriculture, of Veterinary Services, of Industries, etc., of the Provinces be not made available to the neighbouring small States, if and when required without much expense to the State concerned.

What is required is a new and broad outlook and then all these technical difficulties would disappear. When America could inaugurate the Lend-Lease policy to help the Allies to defeat a common enemy, and when the same country should think of helping England now by a gift and a loan, and when India itself should think of joining the U.N.R.R.A. making a big subscription, there is no reason why British India should not come to the aid of the States by a grant and a loan as suggested in this essay. As I said above, this is a psychological moment and any good turn made to the States today will rebound to the credit of British India and Mother India with hundredfold vigour later on.

DELUSION OF PAKISTANISM

By NAGENDRA NATH CHANDA

THE failure of the Simla Conference and the fact of even the Labour Government still holding fast to the Cripps' Scheme paving the way of Pakistan through minority veto, tend to deepen the doubt that Pakistan may now be sought to be brought down from the sphere of blackmail to actual reality as with Burma before. The Burma ground was prepared in the same way with similar communal animosity, communal riots and election on separation issue, the premier declaring in 1939 that

"His Majesty's Government consider that the decision might be taken after an election at which the broad issue had been placed before the electorate . . . and if an Indian federation is established it cannot be on the basis that members can leave it as and when they choose."

For the obvious reason Burma separation was effected despite an adverse vote of the Burma electorate to the disillusionment of the deluded (not the conscious command performance-wallas) that separation hastened no liberation but snapped chances of joint fight for it, Mr. Aung San again now urging for an Asiatic Potsdam to baffle the common tutelage. Similar attempts may be now made about Pakistan which is thriving on alien incentive of *divide et impera* and the League lure of sucking Hindusthan white as only partly done in Bengal resulting in the starvation of 30 lakhs of people, mostly Muslim. But many a bar, legal, moral and economic, cries out 'Tarry a little Jew'. If in spite of all this Pakistan is effected, the fire of friction thereof will consume the edifice soon. India cannot be vivisectioned against the opposition of over three hundred millions of Indians.

The term Pakistan was originally formed with the initial words of the Muslim majority tracts of the Punjab, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. But later the Muslim League decided that it would see that

"Geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions, which should be so constituted with territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority as in the north-west and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

According to this, the Muslim majority districts of East Bengal and Sylhet, Western Punjab and Sind would be independent states, the Frontier Province as a non-slavish unit preferring the Indian Federation. (But the hoax is that the same Muslim League has opposed a Zionist State in Palestine.)

The two-nation theory recently manufactured to justify this separation on the principle of "self-determination" of the old League of Nations is based on pure fiction. If Mohammedanism in China, Russia and Indonesia, etc., have not made Muslims thereof separate nations, it cannot make so in India unless a new Mohammedanism is meant. Muslims here are an organic part of the Indian Nation. How much akin are

an Indian Hindu and a Muslim compared against a Hindu Chinese and a Muslim Arab! Mr. Stalin in his *Marxism and the National and Colonial Questions* says:

"A nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."

Even absence of one of these four factors was considered by him insufficient for forming a nation. According to this standard of Stalin also (Communists to mark) Pakistan is untenable, for in language, territory and economic life Indian Muslims (mostly renegade Hindus) are not different from Hindus, and it requires no Mandel to say that as per law of heredity (as offshoots of the same stock) they are of the same psychological make-up. They also have a common Indian culture evolved through Hindu and Muslim ideologies boiled in the cauldron of Indian environments. So the principle of "self-determination" does not apply to Indian Muslims. In fact that principle cannot be pushed too far.

Indian Muslims are at best a minority looked through a communally obsessed vision, and as such may demand minority safeguards (in the Indian Federation) as provided by the League of Nations. The Federation scheme was evolved to give considerable scope for local self-expression and the Muslim League also in 1937 demanded "establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states" perhaps just like U.S.A. But what happened between 1937 and 1940 to change that ideal into Pakistan?

Even if the Muslims be a separate nation, for the sake of greater benefit they can live in the same Indian State like the French and the English in Canada (where two-third is English and Protestant and one-third French and Catholic), the English and the Dutch in South Africa, the Czechs and Slovaks in Czechoslovakia, the Germans, the Italians and the French in Switzerland, Armenians, Slavs, Turkomen, etc., in Russia and all European Nationalities in U.S.A. States need not be simply mono-national but can be and have been polynational for the sake of community of economic interest.

Now while the economic basis of capitalism, socialism and capito-socialism (where basic industries only are socialised) is the main modern contention in the formation of states, it is ludicrous to hear states being formed on communalocratic basis on an extraneous factor like the difference in naming God as Alla or Iswara. By this in the eyes of the civilised world the Muslim League has given to it the stamp of primitiveness over slavishness. Economic community and not religious community is going to determine the shape and being of states in the modern age. If every religion is to give rise to a state, there will be no end of states in India.

The League bogey of majority outrage is another prop of Pakistan. But it is only an outrage complex of its own mind. If smaller communities like Christians



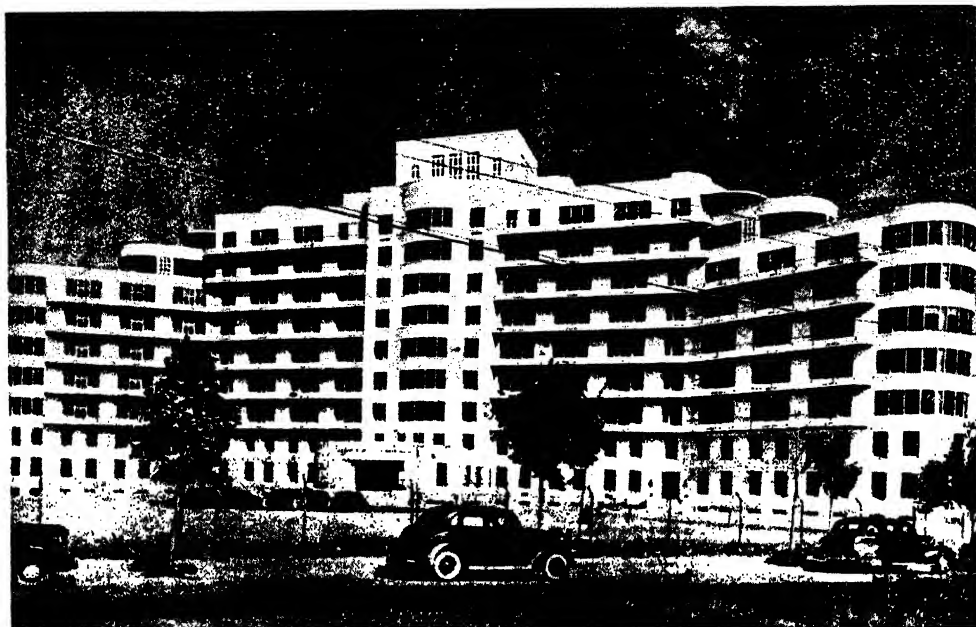
Members of the community in a small town of the United States come in wagons and automobiles to attend their affairs in the county court-house which also houses other county administrative offices



A parade of women on Fifth Avenue in New York City, demanding the right to vote on equal terms with men in the early 1900's



The small medical centre like this one, serving an area of farms, villages and small towns, promises to be an important post-war hospital development in the United States



The modern big-city medical centre, like this hospital in New York, provides plenty of light, sun and air for patients and convenient arrangement of facilities for their care

and Parsees can live without such fear, why not a ten-acre strong community of Muslims? But Pakistan is no solution of such majority outrage on Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan and Hindustan respectively. Its natural safeguard is cultivation of communal amity and legal safeguard is incorporation of fundamental rights like freedom of conscience and personal law and equality in service and profession in the federal constitution.

India has always had one natural and economic boundary, and like Asoka and Akbar, Britain also valued indivisible political existence of India in furtherance of which British suzerainty over Indian states also was established. Can the same Britain now preach India's vivisection as a political desideratum? At present also when for greater gain Britain is persuading Indian States to join the Indian federation and the smaller states to merge into bigger ones, how can she in the same breath advocate Pakistan?

Pakistan in the present Indian context is not only slavish, but illegal, immoral and uneconomic.

Firstly, this is not even Ulsterisation. Ulster is allowed equal liberty with England through common representation in the Parliament, but Pakistan will have nothing but a tightening of the stranglehold as in case of Burma. The very *raison d'être* of the move is there. If Britain has to quit India really, why should she incur the world odium by this separation which may ultimately grow to be a risk to her through Pan-Islamism? The Indian States and Pakistan are intended to be lingering citadels of British imperialism in India. Hence all friends including Afghanistan, Turkey, Persia, Egypt and the Arab League have warned Indian Muslims against the slavery devise of Pakistan. When to attain bigness in Defence and Economics (only the Big Five having upperhand in the United Nations) smaller states are desperately after big Federations like U.S.A. and Russia, it is fantastic to hear Muslim League cry for separation though it is not forgetful of the truth that "united we stand, divided we fall." In fact an Asiatic Federation and even a world Federation (mark Churchill's proposal for Anglo-French Federation) is the serious talk of the day.

Pakistanism militates against all canons of Democracy. Speaking at Blackpool Premier Attlee said:

"Democracy is a majority rule with due respects to rights of the minority. It means that while the wish of the majority must prevail, there shall be full opportunity for all points of view to find expression."

Britain stands pledged to establishing this democratic principle in India. In view of this how can Britain encourage the undemocratic principle of minority veto for Pakistan? But even this minority veto cannot bring Pakistan, for if the Muslim minority in India can veto federation, the Hindu minority of proposed Pakistan also can veto vivisection.

Pakistan is ruled out by the Government of India Act of 1935 which disallows secession of any state from the federation to obviate which Burma and Aden were separated before the inauguration of federation. With federal and provincial spheres rigidly demarcated and arranged to be safeguarded through the Federal Court Federation over British provinces (though not over States) was practically established in 1937. For greater provincial liberty the former unitary Central Government, changed into this Federal Government (as in Brazil in 1889) no doubt, but the point of a

federation being "perpetual union" was not waived to allow the liberty of their secession from this union.

The precise legal convention is that the sovereignty of every inch of the soil belongs to the whole people and not to any individual or section thereof. So without consent of the whole nation there can be no territorial disintegration to the prejudice of its above sovereign rights. All children have equal rights in enjoying the bounties of the common mother, but none has the right to sever her limbs, for that would be killing the mother. Such vivisection is also precluded by the organic conception of the state.

Some States (like U.S.A.) do not allow territorial alienation at all for it means the disruption of the organic arrangement of the whole nation. The recent Russian example does not hold any analogy for India which has greater racial and geographical unity. Russian secession is allowed neither before attainment of freedom, nor on religious basis. It is allowed only after a thorough metamorphosis into Economic Nationalism knowing that thereafter those smaller workers' units could not prefer separate existence for fear of capitalistic states, nor foster Soviet antagonism (because of the common basis of those states unlike Pakistan and Hindustan) if even separated. Otherwise Russia, who sternly refused Finland, Poland, etc., to have separate existence, would be the last to allow such secession. If territorial readjustment be allowed at all, such secession just like any accession can be allowed only on the decision of a substantial majority of the whole people of all communities as determined through a popular plebiscite (present Council elections not reflecting even the strength of nationalist Muslims).

As to the morality of the Pakistan move it may be stressed that as it does not serve the greatest good of the greatest number, it is immoral. Its basis of alien domination and coterie aggrandisement is itself unethical.

Pakistan states have no minerals and industries, but they will have heavy defence expenditure to bear due to long sea and land frontiers. They will be also deprived of their natural markets in Hindustan within the same economic boundary. All this tends to make Pakistan proposition uneconomic.

The basic idea of Pakistan is Muslim Leagueisation (not even Muslimisation) of Government under alien control and not Indianisation under self-control. In this sale of the freedom of motherland Muslim mass support is being secured by painting the Hindus (not alien rulers) as enemies of the Muslims and of the Muslim intelligentsia by dangling before them the honeycomb of service and business indulgences of which a foretaste has already been given in Bengal. In fact separation and sabotage has been the main part of League activity since its inception. League activity and national activity have ever borne an inverse ratio. The Bengal Partition agitation generated the Muslim League at Dacca in 1906 as its counterpoise striving for not only retention of partition but introduction of communal representation, the seed of communal discord. The Morley-Minto Reforms and the Mont-Ford Reforms both were vitiated by this poison. Then when the All-Parties Conference in 1928 decided for joint electorate the League raised its cry for the creation of Muslim majority provinces over and above the demand of communal electorate (14 points of Mr. Jinnah). So Sind was separated and communal electorate was also retained in the Federal Act of 1935,

The national agitation was required to be thoroughly checkmated during the war and Muslim League came with its demand of Pakistan itself in 1940. The cry has been growing louder as the British pledge of post-war freedom has to be implemented now. The Muslim League has no power to wrest Pakistan from Britain. But the question of wresting it from Britain does not arise when the giving hands are willing; only the nationalist opposition needs to be counteracted and mass support enlisted. To purchase Muslim support to Pakistan the next step is proposed to be the conversion of India into an Islamic land under the name of Dinia (as recently given out from Cambridge by Rahamat Ali, the father of Pakistan idea), though it may not materialise for the British need of perpetuating rival blocks.

The Azad Hind Fauz has shown that Pakistan is sham to real lovers of independence, they even refusing

to be defended by the League. Only to such non-communal spirit can a state be entrusted and not to a band of fanatics. To such persons Hindus and Muslims are not enemies but sons of the same mother India and are equally entitled to her bounties. They are inseparably bound together by the same natural and economic conditions and equally affected by famines and plenty. They sink or sail together. Forgetful of this, those who preach territorial disruption or communal discord are enemies of Hindus and Muslims alike. The straining of sweet relations between neighbours is not the way of peace and prosperity of any. This neighbourly fraternity can best be developed by adopting the time-honoured principle of 'Fair field and no favour' as qualified by 'Live and let live'. Let it be remembered that the ways of fraternity and philanthropy are the ways of both the Vedas and the Koran, while the ways of enmity and misanthropy are the ways that breed destruction.

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1945—IT ENDED BETTER THAN IT BEGAN

By P. R. SRINIWAS

OF 1945, there is something to be said which cannot be said of any earlier year of this decade—it saw the end of the war both in the East and the West. That is saying a great deal, indeed. To see the lights go up again, to have the baffle walls demolished, to move about without fear of a sudden wail of the siren,—all these mean a great deal. But from the point of view appropriate to a financial and economic review of the year that is now over, 1945 is as much a part of the war period as any year since 1939. In fact, more. For a world war is one of those diseases of which the convalescence is more enfeebling and trying than the period of the attack. The war ended early enough in the year to give a foretaste of what the immediate post-war years have in store for the world. The war with Germany ended early in May and that with Japan in mid-August. The developments of the subsequent months showed clearly that the return to peacetime conditions is, if anything, an even more tardy and painful process than the adaptation of peacetime economy to wartime needs. The twin evils of scarcity of goods and plenty of money are even more keenly felt in the year immediately following the war. Government controls continue to be exercised, while the mental attitude that tolerated them is fast undergoing a change. Industry and trade are more impatient to get to normal business, but are less free to do so than even during the war.

At the same time, the governments find a new urgency in dealing with what had been termed post-war problems. The impact of these problems is more severe, because the quickened social conscience of the present day is more intolerant of delay and is apt to be more severe about it when it is seen to be avoidable. Both in the national and in the international sphere, various measures have to be discreetly speeded up with a view to reduce the hardships of the immediate post-war years and hasten the attainment of conditions which the

public expect to obtain after the second world war has been won. For what distinguishes the post-war period on this occasion from the last is the clear recognition on all hands that a major war does not permit a return to pre-war conditions and that the only way to avoid a post-war slump or other adverse consequences of the war is to work energetically for the new conditions which the war has made possible and, in a manner, even inevitable. The later stages of the war were therefore marked by special efforts to prepare for the early recovery of national and world economy from the effects of the war and for the international understanding essential for preventing common disasters like the world depression, competitive currency depreciation and the rise of uneconomic trade barriers. The impetus to these efforts was readily found, because the last flicker of German offensive-spirit died out at Ardennes before 1944 was over. The first few weeks of 1945 saw the Red Army marching in strident style from Warsaw to Berlin. The Anglo-American Armies had recovered from the shocks of Arno and Ardennes and were steadily pushing forward, while even the French had taken a hand in pressing back the German armies from the South after capturing Cologne.

The robust and reasoned optimism which this turn of the war generated was helpful to the early convention of such international conferences as the food conference at Hot Springs, and the International Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods. Later in the year, the decisions arrived at by the latter were found to provide a sure basis for the negotiations between the British and the U.S. Governments for a financial agreement the significance of which reached far beyond the two contracting parties.

In appraising the significance of 1945 in the financial and economic history of our time, we have to remember that there were two distinct currents of events. One of

them referred to the immediate economic and financial consequences of the end of the war; and the other to the efforts of the governments to quicken the pace towards a new balance of national and international economies. The former leads to a somewhat dull and depressing picture; while the latter is comparatively colourful.

These two currents were not less marked in India than elsewhere. Here, as abroad, the Government showed increasing interest in economic planning. Sir Ardesir Dalal, the Planning Member of the Government of India, was not content with the progress of planning at the centre but toured all over the country in order to goad the provinces to do their part of the work. To ensure co-ordinated development, the Government issued a statement on industrial policy by which certain of the most important industries were to be brought under the direct control of the Government of India. And later in the year, it was announced that, to prevent the depressing effects of the decline of war expenditure, the Government have speeded up the time schedule of planning and have got ready a number of schemes for immediate execution. Provincial Governments are to be given large advances for starting work on their provincial plans.

But aside from these, all the features of war-time economy have continued unabated. Inflation which is the worst of war-time evils is as rampant as ever. Presenting his last budget to the Central Assembly in February, 1945, Sir Jeremy Raisman said that there might be a slowing down in the rate of accumulation of sterling balances and that further addition to the note issue might not be on a large scale and that the increase in compensatory imports also would have a favourable effect on the internal economy. While the expectations of Sir Jeremy in regard to the increase in imports have been more than fulfilled, the hope that further large additions to the note issue would be avoided has been falsified. In spite of the favourable response to the Government loans and the termination of hostility both in the West and the East, the rate of accumulation of sterling is pronounced. It is noteworthy that the large accumulations of sterling have been possible even with an adverse balance on trade account for many months in this year.

The weekly statements of the Reserve Bank show that the note issue has increased by nearly Rs. 180 crores, the total as on December 14, being Rs. 1204.56 crores against Rs. 1021.26 crores. The whole of the additions to currency has found its way into circulation. Notes in circulation on these two dates were Rs. 1197.08 crores and Rs. 1009.6 crores respectively. As on former occasions, the expansion of currency has been wholly against sterling securities. There was a rise of Rs. 183 crores in the total sterling securities in the issue department to 1087.33 crores. There was no important change in the amount of rupee coin while rupee securities were unchanged at Rs. 7.84 crores. In the year ended December, 1944, the expansion of currency against sterling securities was only 166 crores.

The large measure of success in regard to the various loan programmes and the substantial increase in the working capital of the scheduled banks enabled the governments to build up large balances. Central Government deposits increased from Rs. 16.1 crores on January 7, 1944, to Rs. 241.54 crores on December 29, 1944 and Rs. 458.54 crores on December 14, 1945. That these large increases in deposits were due to the

substantial receipt of sterling will be evident from the rise in balances held abroad. On January 7, 1944, foreign balances were Rs. 123.7 crores. On December 29 of the same year they had increased to Rs. 342.84 crores and on December 14, 1945 to Rs. 555.48 crores.

That there has been no slowing down in the rate of accumulation of sterling balances will be evident from the following figures. The total of sterling balances in the issue and the banking departments on January 7, 1944 was Rs. 862.54 crores and the total on December 29, 1944, Rs. 1146.67 crores or an increase of Rs. 384 crores. The figure on December 14, 1945 was even higher at Rs. 1642.81 crores or an increase of Rs. 406.14 crores. With the reduction in the war effort and the repatriation operations in full swing it is natural to expect that after some time sterling receipts will show a tendency to decline. But it would appear that for another two years the requirements of the occupation forces under the S. E. A. C., would continue to be large and annual accretions would amount to Rs. 200 crores. For some time as a result of the Anglo-U.S. financial agreement, it can be expected that the multi-lateral convertibility of sterling, after the ratification of the agreement, would enable the proper expenditure of foreign balances and that the additions to note issue will be automatically checked. Even so, it would be prudent to set a limit to the total of sterling accumulations and as far as possible further expansion of currency should be avoided.

The redundant currency and the increase in general savings have been reflected in higher deposits of scheduled banks. If the improvement in the working capital of non-scheduled banks also is taken into consideration, it can be said that nearly the whole of the increase in the note issue is reflected in higher bank deposits. The figures of scheduled banks for the current year will amply bear out this position. Demand liabilities on December 29, 1944, were Rs. 616.09 crores. The figure on December 7, 1945, was Rs. 688.03 crores or an increase of Rs. 71.94 crores. It would be surprising to note that the improvement for time liabilities is more pronounced, the figures on the two dates above-mentioned being 202.92 crores and Rs. 275.08 crores respectively. Against the increase in demand liabilities by Rs. 71.94 crores, time liabilities have improved by Rs. 73.16 crores. The preference of investors to place their savings on a fixed basis with scheduled banks was due to the lack of remunerative channels of investment and the small return on stock-exchange and other securities. It was also feared early in the year that there might be an unsettlement in the various markets following the termination of hostilities. Against the increase of working capital by nearly Rs. 145 crores, advances and bills discounted were only Rs. 53 crores higher and cash balances Rs. 16 crores higher. As a result, Rs. 50 crores were freshly invested in government securities. As the total of the floating debt also showed a decline from Rs. 90 crores to Rs. 25 crores during the same period, the investment on account of scheduled banks was Rs. 150 crores approximately. As application to government loans were about Rs. 300 crores per annum, it is reasonable to say that public interest in government securities was greater and that at the present moment the government is not wholly dependent for their applications from banks, investment institutions and other public bodies.

Regarding foreign trade in war-time, India had a large favourable balance of trade with almost all the

important trading countries. There was an increase in exports of raw materials and manufactured goods. But since November, 1944, the position in regard to imports has grown easier and it should be said that there has been a flood of imports in recent months. An analysis of the figures for the first six months of the current financial year reveals an unfavourable balance of trade of Rs. 13.18 crores against a favourable balance of Rs. 20.99 crores for the corresponding period last year and Rs. 44.37 crores in 1943. Imports amounted to Rs. 123.21 crores against Rs. 93.66 crores and exports Rs. 110.03 crores against Rs. 114.65 crores.

The increase in imports is not the least of the evils of which the public was apprehensive on the termination of hostilities. For, while every addition to consumers' goods is welcome in the ascetic conditions of to-day, we have also to take a long-term view of things and consider the prospects of Indian industry. If imports should continue to increase, if our export staples should fail to regain their former markets and if our economic plans should be held up for lack of machinery, the combination of adverse conditions will prove to be crushing indeed.

Our principal requirements at this stage are that our foreign trade should get back to normal, that the volume of employment should be maintained at war-time levels and on a productive basis and that the further stages of our economic planning should be ensured smooth progress. Doubtless prices attract more of lay attention than any other aspect of economic life. But since the volume of employment is far more important, the equilibrium has to be sought at higher levels of costs and prices than those of the pre-war period.

India's post-war problems are not thus limited, any more than those of any other country, to the return of pre-war conditions. Economic objectives in the modern world have to be seen in the light of the aims and purposes set down by International Conferences like those which met at Hotsprings and Brettonwoods. Freedom from want is, as things are, even more of an ambitious aim in India than in other countries. And persistent talks of planning during the last two years, coming on the top of large-scale war and employment have raised in the mind of the average man the hope that the new standards of living which he has tasted in recent times will not be allowed to suffer a fall.

Thus considered, our post-war problems have a wide range. In practical terms, they require that plans of economic development should be given the shape necessary for execution, that the adjustment of war-time economy and finance to peacetime should be speeded up and that the nations should be set as early as possible on the road which leads to higher levels of economic well-being.

In what is meant to be a review of the old year, it is both difficult and out of place to discuss all the issues that arise from what has been said in the last

paragraph. It should suffice to say that, in so far as India's recovery and development depend on the recovery and development of the rest of the world, the events of the old year are more heartening than we had a right to expect in the earlier stages. For planning in India had a cruelly cold douche when the Indian industrial mission which visited Britain and the U.S. came back after meeting with serious rebuffs from the manufacturers of the two countries. Not only would the manufacturers afford no hope of early exports of machinery to India or provision of technical assistance on reasonable terms, but the outlook for our problem of sterling balances was exceedingly dark.

But the conclusion of the Anglo-American financial agreement and the general ratification of the Brettonwoods agreement may be said to provide the conditions most helpful for the general recovery of trade and the exchange of goods among the nations. As has been said already, the significance of the former is not restricted to the contracting parties. In the first place, it facilitates the ratification of the Brettonwoods agreement. Secondly, it ensures the smooth functioning of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank by providing a partial solution of the problem of sterling balances and by ensuring the ready convertibility of currencies.

Thirdly, by providing large credits for an important trading nation like Britain and by enabling her to settle with her creditors, a wide diffusion of purchasing power for international trade has been secured. It is noteworthy that the U. S. loans are available for a number of countries in addition to Britain and that the American Government propose to convince an International Trade Conference for the mitigation of trade barriers.

So far as India is concerned, the Anglo-U.S. agreement must be considered the first ray of light in the gloom that enveloped our sterling balances. Britain's obligation to settle the question is part of her undertaking to the U.S. under the Financial Agreement. The definite gains are that balances on current trade transactions are to be convertible into any currency without discrimination. The accumulated balances are to be treated under three categories, the first of which will be convertible within a year of the settlement, the second on an instalment basis and the third to be written off as the creditor's contribution to the settlement in consideration of the benefits of the settlement. But in the case of India, it is significant that the communique of the Government of India announcing the decision to ratify the Brettonwoods Agreement by ordinance in the absence of the Legislature makes mention only of the first two categories and suggests implicitly that writing off of any portion of our sterling balances is out of the question. This is indeed unexpectedly heartening. With India, an original member of the two international financial organisations, and sterling balances about to be settled satisfactorily the outlook of the new year may be pronounced decidedly bright.



IMPERIAL BRITAIN

By ESSENJEE

THE great offensive of anti-Indian propaganda that was launched abroad some few years ago seems to have ended in a stalemate. But for those who are unable to see through the eyes of the ruled, and are therefore only able to determine issues by the dicta of the *Herrenvolk* only, it would be interesting to place on record the opinion of some of the foremost thinkers of the English speaking community.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS : You have only to look at the pages of British imperial history to hide your head in shame that you are British (p. 358).—From *Inside Europe*.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS : It is impossible for us to serve two masters—our own selfish interests as British imperialists and our desire for peace as world citizens (p. 57).—*The Struggle for Peace*.

CLEMENT ATTLEE : The idea that Indians must always be ruled for their own good by the lonely white man is a late Victorian sentiment.—In *The Empire of the Nabobs* by Hutchinson.

JOHN GUNTHER : Sir Samuel Hoare—till he lost his job—was the luckiest Foreign Minister in modern times ; he was able to write a policy in which idealism and imperialism exactly coincided. Not only God, but the British route to India, was on his side (p. 279).—*Inside Europe*.

ANNEKIN BEVAN : Britain's policy is that of the successful burglar turned householder who wants a strong police force (p. 360).—From *Inside Europe*.

G. D. H. COLE : To do good work for a capitalist employer is merely to help a thief to steal more successfully (p. 268).—In *England* by Dean Inge.

WENDELL WILLKIE : The moral atmosphere in which the white race lives is changing.—*One World*.

"DEAN" INGE : In the moral world he does not believe in courage (p. 80).—*England*.

"DEAN" INGE : Our enemies have constantly accused us of 'perfidy' and 'hypocrisy' (p. 63).—*England*.

BERNARD SHAW : The intellectual laziness and slovenliness of the English is almost beyond belief.—*John Bull's Other Island*.

G. D. H. COLE : The great British public is marked by narrowness, egotism, and intellectual indolence (p. 268).—In *England* by Dean Inge.

H. G. WELLS : Our country is fatuously content with itself and unaware of its continual decadence.—*The Fate of Homo Sapiens*.

W. GUERARD, (American) : 'England' as a character in the international drama is thoroughly undependable (p. 152).—In Sir Norman Angell's *Menace to Our National Defence*.

EDWARD THOMPSON : In the last few years we have had a bad slump in honesty.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (Dr. W. M. Temple, died in October, 1944) : Things are not altogether well with us. We thank God for the splendid qualities our people have shown—courage in danger, companionship in service, perseverance in effort ; but the decline in honesty has been sharp and steep.—23rd April, 1943, *Reuter*.

LUDWELL DENNY : And Americans—whose capacity for puritanical hypocrisy is unequalled anywhere in the world, unless it be in Britain—cannot respect any other nation which treats defenceless peoples as we treat the Haitians, Nicaraguans, and others (p. 14).—*America Conquers Britain*.

ANDRÉ SIEGFRIED, (French) : If I may say so again, England seems to be lacking in vitality (p. 143).—*England's Crisis*.

ANDRÉ SIEGFRIED : England has not succeeded in imposing her plan on America, for over there they are still suspicious, and afraid of being made use of by 'perfidious Albion' (p. 235).—*England's Crisis*.

"THE ECONOMIST" : The offence of people who steal from bombed premises is plain and heavily punishable, but there are bigger fry in the criminal game. They do not steal, and they would call themselves traders or businessmen ; but they are looters, taking advantage of wartime conditions, nonetheless.—From *Capital*, 30th July, 1942.

VERNON BARTLETT : Our policy since the Hoare-Laval plan has been so damnably weak and cowardly that the dictators have every excuse for believing that they could do anything they liked without taking the British Empire into account.—In *Dare We Look Ahead*.

G. D. H. COLE : Our country has lost "face" ; all the world regards our country as only fit to be kicked about like a cowardly cur—or worse, like a cowed lion that still has claws but dares not use them (p. 31).—*The People's Front*.

Great Britain, and no other country outside the Fascist group, is the insurmountable obstacle in the way of a firm guarantee of Europe's peace (p. 175).—*The People's Front*.

FRANCIS WILLIAMS : The British, it must be confessed, are a race over-given to snobbery—that snobbery that is so great a characteristic of the British nation (p. 168).—*Democracy's Last Battle*.

SIDNEY DARK : They see nothing wrong in their employer making huge profits and paying sweated wages, if he is clever enough to pull it off. They are moral Nihilists (p. 63).—*The Church, Impotent or Triumphant* ?

SIR NORMAN ANGELL : In the years since the war, there has grown up a whole literature expressive of pessimism, defeatism, moral nihilism.



SAROJINI NAIDU

A Critique

By OM PRAKASH MOHAN

In one of her letters to Arthur Symonds Sarojini Naidu has described how she came to write her first poem. Meant as she was to be a great Mathematician or an eminent Scientist, she one day sat, "sighing over a sum of Algebra", says she, "but instead a whole poem came suddenly." This sum of Algebra was her first guide to "the Golden Threshold of Poetry". Incidentally, this sum did a great service to Algebra—it proved to an unbelieving world that even dulness can give rise to beauty, and that Algebra after all, has some use.

What sum of algebra was that? Perhaps a puzzling problem in Quadratic equations or Indics! The sum perhaps remains unsolved to this day, but it gave India Sarojini to boast of. From solving sums in Algebra she turned to solving the more puzzling "sums" of life.

More puzzling than any sum of Algebra, however, is Sarojini's own personality. From such a "tremendous and aggressively radiant personality" as Sarojini is one could not easily expect what she gives us—poetry that records joyously the beauty of line and colour, full of the sheer joy of singing with no purpose but that of affording delight to the eye and the ear, rich in "vivid light and colour, the liberal contours and rich scents and great spaces of the world she loves"—poetry with no brooding, no contemplation—no depth, one may almost say. For this dominant individual is no "escapist"; she is not cut off from the world, she lives in it, and is playing her own part in destroying it and building it anew. "A vibrant and emphatic nationalist," a revolutionary, a politician and a soldier, she has worked among Indian masses—the most miserable, down-trodden, ignorant creatures in the world. She has seen them being murdered systematically, gradually, "scientifically", and she has risen in arms against the order that tolerates this. Why is it that we do not get from her poetry that burns and scorches, that flows out like a flood of lava-poetry slashing and cutting on all sides, attacking and remodelling, destroying and re-creating? Why do we not get in her a poet like Josh—a "Revolutionary poet", sounding the clarion call for action, burning with indignation? Why is it that instead we get in her poetry a world of beauty and joy and delight, with the *Bulbul* and the *Koel* and the *Papeeka*; the songs of young maidens and lullabies of loving mothers; mad, intoxicating dances of love and sweet, enchanting perfumes of spring?

The answer to these questions we know not. Whatever the causes, the fact remains that in spite of her political career and the long fight that she has carried on against the present order we find very few traces of the political world in her poetry. In all the misery that she is out to combat she has yet been able to find beauty, it is not the sordid side of life that attracts her but the beautiful, the happy side of it. Her India is bright and sunny, with scarce a shadow to obtrude upon its shining landscape.

Whatever her poetry may be there is no denying its Indian quality. It is not a mere matter of words, though her poetic vocabulary abounds in Indian words and phrases—words that bring with them all the associations of the rich, gaudy, bright East. She is an artist in words as much as and perhaps even more than an artist in sentiments. Very often the words and sentiments are singularly in tune, and no one could have

used the words of one language in another so skilfully as Sarojini.

Full are my pitchers and far to carry,

Lone is the way and long,

Why, O why, was I tempted to tarry

Lured by the boatmen's song?

Swiftly the shadows of night are falling,

Hear, O hear, is the white crane calling?

Is it the wild owl's cry?

There are no tender moon-beams to light me,

If in the darkness a serpent were to bite me

Or if an evil spirit were to smite me,

Ram re Ram, I shall die!

The little phrase *Ram re Ram* glides in almost. It comes in so naturally, inobtrusively, and takes its place without any self-consciousness of its being a foreigner. It is a picture in itself—a beautiful maiden, with pitchers on her head, and darkness all round her, hurrying and yet hesitating, shrinking from unseen dangers, full of apprehension and dread—the one phrase *Ram re Ram* embodies it all. It seems to tremble like the slender, delicate body of the lovely maiden. The Indian atmosphere is here created by very delicate touches. The very first line presents a very familiar sight—a slender, lovely maiden—she must be lovely, one feels with pitchers on her head, her graceful body bending under the weight, and then suggestion after suggestion is given till the picture is completed by that exquisite phrase. The picture thus presented is vivid and detailed, the distant song of boatmen, dying away gradually, the maiden, intent on hearing the song, coming to us as the echoes die away; the river silently gliding by: the "swiftly falling shadows of night", the cries of the crane and the owl, and unseen, invisible, unknown, the gliding movement of the serpent somewhere in the bushes. The whole atmosphere is Indian, even the apprehensions of the girl are typically so.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this Indian quality of Sarojini clearer than in the use of the simile and the metaphor, and employment of imagery. There is, for example, that exquisite lyric, a Rajput love-song. It is one long, one strong, passionate, over-powering longing, clad in all the rich imagery of the East. Indian in tone, atmosphere and description, this song is yet more remarkable because of its beauty of phrase, and heavy but beautiful imagery. As for pictorial quality, I have never come across any lyric in English which can match it. Here are two beautiful portraits, one of a lovely Rajput girl, the other of a handsome, brave Rajput gallant. And with these exquisite portraits in miniature are inter-woven many other pictures as beautiful. Here, again, everything is Indian from "the basil-wreath to twine among her tresses" to the "amulet of jade against the perils of the way". Yet more Indian than all this is that exquisite stanza:

Haste, O wild-bee hours, to the gardens of sunset!

Fly, wild-parrot day to the orchards of the West!

Come, O tender night, with your sweet, consoling

darkness,

And bring me my Beloved to the shelter of my

breast!

'Wild-bee hours', 'wild-parrot day', 'gardens of sunset', 'orchards of the West'—the phrases seem to have been translated from some Sanskrit song!

Such suggestive, delightful phrases, which constitute half the charm of her poetry, are interspersed throughout Sarojini's poems. Says a lover—

Withhold not, O love, *from the night of my longing*
The joy of *thy luminous face*.

And

Revive me, I pray, *with the magical nectar*
That dwells in *the flower of thy kiss*.

If suggestion is art, where could we find better art than here?

More than anything else, Sarojini has a delicate, playful fancy. "Do you know, I have some very beautiful poems floating in the air, and if the gods are kind to me, I shall cast my soul like a net and capture them." This, one feels, is exactly what she does, otherwise how can she put into words such flimsy, elusive fancies? Her own lines—

Dreams and delicate fancies
Dance thro' a poet's mind—

are truer of herself, perhaps, than of any other poet. There are poems which are one continuous delicate web of fancy, there is, for example, "Golden Cassia", in which these "brilliant blossoms" which people call "only woodland flowers" are transfigured into the most enchanting things that a poet's fancy can capture. And she ends by saying:

But now in the memoried dusk you seem
The glimmering ghosts of a by-gone dream.
And there are stray lines like
O Love! do you know the spring is here
With the lure of her magic flute? . . .
The old earth breaks into passionate bloom
At the kiss of her fleet, gay foot.

And

Like a joy on a heart of sorrow,
The sunset hangs on a cloud;
A golden storm of glittering sheaves,
Of fair and frail and fluttering leaves,
The wild wind blows in a cloud.

Such lines remind one of what she says in another place—

How will you daunt my free, *far journeying fancy*
That rides upon the pivions of rain?

Coupled with her exquisite, elusive fancy are a sense of colour and sound and a suddenness of appeal which makes her poetry so effective. With a lyric insight she mingles the brightest colours, captures the sweetest sounds and presents them to us with an admirable rapidity.

Like a serpent to the *calling voice of flutes*
Glides my heart into my fingers, O love!
Where the night-wind, like a lover, leans above
His jasmine-gardens and *shrisha bowers*:
And on ripe boughs of many-coloured fruits
Bright parrots cluster like vermilion flowers.

Dramatic and effective is the appeal in "A Persian Love Song". The lover, after relating, in two stanzas, his experience that he is wishful or elated according as the Beloved is sad or happy, ends by saying in the third—

Hourly this subtle mystery flowers anew,
O Love, I know not why . . .
Unless it be, perchance, *that I am you*,
Dear Love, that you are I!

This, then, is the poetry we get from an ardent revolutionary. One traces, however, the signs of an awakening to the stern realities of her surroundings, of the strife that is raging all round her. There are hints of her political career at times in "Death and Life", for example, where, to the tender whisper of death, and his sweet promises to change her into "some lilted or lotus-loving bee" and "the wild wind's voice, the white wave's melody," she replies—

I said, "Thy gentle pity shames mine ear,
O Death, am I so purposeless a thing.
Shall my soul falter or my body fear
Its poignant hour of bitter suffering.
Or fail ere I achieve my destined deed
Of song or service for my country's need?

But one feels that the note is forced and strained—it lacks the spontaneity that characterises her poetry. The truest estimate of her poetry is that she herself has given in one of her letters:

"I am not a poet really. I have the vision, the desire, but not the voice. If I could write just one poem full of beauty and the spirit of greatness, I shall be exultantly silent for ever; *but I sing just as the birds do*, and my songs are as ephemeral."

One may not agree with their being ephemeral, but their singing quality is undeniable, they are like the sweet warbling of a sweet-throated *bulbul*. The popular instinct is always unerring, not for nothing is she called the *Nightingale of India*. Her poetry "seems to sing itself as if her swift thoughts and strong emotions sprang into lyrics of themselves." It is fresh, it is musical, it is happy, there is very little of sorrow, of melancholy, of gloom, even of contemplation in it. Even the "Dirge" moves with a splendid rhythm, and it is as full of colour as any other poem of hers—it is bright, almost gaudy. Only in one poem, "The Old Woman" has she been able to arouse pathos. She has no "philosophy of life" unless it be "the subtle philosophy of living from moment to moment." It is, as though realising that the present is the only moment of which we are certain, she has determined to crowd that moment to the utmost limit of living. Even death inspires a longing to live, it adds to her zest to live, and she comes back, at the sight of a bier "of some loved woman canopied in red" to

Laughter of children and lyric dawn,
And love's delight, profound and passionate.
She throws a challenge even to Fate—

Say, shall my scatheless spirit cease to bear
The bridal rapture of the blowing valleys,
The lyric pageant of the passing year?

* * * * *

Shall my impassioned heart forget to sing
With all the ten thousand voices of spring?

Sarojini Naidu's poetry is curiously deficient in spiritual or idealistic quality. It lacks sublimity because it neither lifts us out of ourselves nor unearths the mystery of life. Again and again one feels that it flies at a tangent from great spiritual verities and profundities, and invariably lands us in the proverbial ivory towers of romance and enchantment. All this is true, but when all is said and done, her Muse makes the nearest approach to poetry for the sake of poetry. It wafts and transports us to a dreamland from where Politics, Economics and Science have been banished for all times.

THE VITOLIAS

An Untouchable Tribe Among The Aborigines

By DR. D. P. KHANAPURKAR, M.A., PH.D.

DURING my tour in Baneda State, in South Gujarat, I found that the Hindu influence had touched only the borderlands of the forest tracts. It was nowhere felt in the interior. Yet, one day I was rudely shocked, when I came across a cluster of dilapidated huts, far away from the main village. In front of these huts sat the inmates weaving bamboo-mats, preparing baskets and winnowing-fans from the bamboos cut from the neighbouring jungles. These people were the Vitolias. They are also known as Kotavalias or Wansfodias. The last name is indicative of their occupation of bamboo-cutting. On inquiry I learnt that the Vitolias are regarded as untouchables by the aboriginal tribes and are forced to live away from the main village, like Harijans in towns and cities. No aboriginal takes food from their hands for fear of being polluted.

I saw that the Vitolia women burdened their necks with six to ten white-bead necklaces. They had small silver rings on their ears, copper-brass rings on their fingers, thick copper-brass rings round their feet and thick silver rings on their second toes. Their dress consisted of a rag, two and a half yards in length, wound round the waist and drawn up between the thighs, covering their nakedness up to the knees. Only the young girls, I found, covered their upper parts of the body with bodice. The men had only a *langoti* on and a rag wound round the head.

The Vitolias worship stones representing their dead. These stones are called *Bhutadas*. They also honour the goddess Devali, the gods Pandar and Kakabalia. Devali has her shrine at Sonagarh in the Navasari district of Baroda. Pandar is represented by a clay-dome, painted white. The dome resembles a miniature Buddhist *stupa*. Kakabalia is a god, who presides over small-pox and chicken-pox.

The Vitolias have no endogamous or exogamous divisions. Marriages within the four degrees of relationship are prohibited.

When a Vitolia child is born, a midwife cuts its navel-cord with a bamboo-strip. Then she digs a hole under the eaves and places unhusked ricegrains in the hole. Then she places the cord on the ricegrains and fills the hole with earth. A stone is placed on the spot. Then she applies dots of red-lead to the stone and to the spot where the child is born. On the fourth day in the case of a daughter and on the fifth day in the case of a son, the midwife puts two or three small rice heaps on the place where the child is born. She applies red-lead to the stone placed on the cord. Then she pours a few drops of liquor near the stone and the place of child-birth. The mother ties a cradle made of cloth. Then she arrives at the front-door with the child. There she bows to Bhagavan and then places the child in the cradle. On the twelfth day the mother goes to a river or a well. There she applies red-lead to a stone on the banks and takes a bath. Then she returns home.

The most important event in the life of the Vitolias is marriage. It is settled by the parents. When a boy's father learns about a suitable girl in the neighbourhood, he visits her father's house, with three or four relatives. If they approve of the girl they buy liquor worth two rupees and drink it in the company of the girl's parents.

After a few days a betrothal ceremony is held. On this day the parents of the boy, accompanied by their relatives and friends, start in a procession to the girl's house. The procession is headed by the village musicians. Near the front-door of the girl's house, two young virgins who are generally sisters of the girl, stand holding a bamboo-basket on their heads. The boy's father places a red-coloured saree and a bodice in the basket. This saree and bodice are meant for the bride. Besides, a bottle of liquor is presented to her. At this time the boy's father pays bride-price (*dej*) to the girl's father. It varies from twelve and a quarter rupees to fifteen and a quarter rupees. The *dej* money is placed in a dish near the mortar. The bride's father takes the dish and carries it into the house. Then the bridegroom's father brings liquor worth five rupees. A few drops of liquor are poured on the ground as offerings to the ancestors. Then all the assembled persons drink liquor. Thenceforward the bride pays frequent visits to her husband's house on holidays and on special occasions.

If the bridegroom's parents have enough money they observe a further ceremony, called *Lagan*. This is voluntary. On the *Lagan* day a pandal is constructed in front of the bridegroom's house. Bunches of mango leaves are hung all round the pandal. The roof of the pandal is covered with jambul (*Eugenia jambolana*) twigs. The bride arrives in a procession to the bridegroom's house. Inside the pandal the bride and the bridegroom sit on a mat of khajuri (*phoenix sylvestris*) or on a piece of cloth. The parents of the bridegroom first anoint the bridegroom and then the bride with turmeric powder. Then the bridegroom's mother anoints the faces of all the married persons with turmeric powder. The bride and the bridegroom then hold in their hands leaf-cups filled with liquor. The bridegroom drinks a little liquor from his cup and offers the cup to the bride. She drinks the whole contents of the cup. Then she drinks a little liquor from her leaf-cup and offers it to the bridegroom, who drinks the remaining liquor. The bride's brother then comes forward and ties the horns of the bride's and the bridegroom's garments into a knot. The bridegroom's father pays him a silver coin and he unties the knot. Then two persons lift the bride and the bridegroom on their shoulders and dance. On the following day, the bride and the bridegroom are bathed with warm water and turmeric is washed away. After ten days the bride visits her father's house. After the next ten days, i.e., after twenty days the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's house and returns with his bride.

Among the Vitolias divorce as well as widow-marriage is practised. A widow is permitted to marry her husband's younger brother. If she marries someone else, the new husband pays from ten to twelve rupees to the widow's father. He presents her with a red-coloured saree and a bodice. She wears the clothes and accompanies the man to his house. Then they begin their married life, without any rites.

Death is the last fateful event. After death the corpse is washed with warm water and is placed on a *tirdi* of bamboo. The dead body is covered with a white

cloth if a male or with a red-cloth if a female. The corpse is carried to the cremation ground by four pall-bearers followed by men and women. The chief mourner moves slowly at the head of the mourners carrying an earthen pot in his hand. The pot contains an ignited cowdung ball. The *tirdi* is lowered at a place called *Isava*. This place is midway between the village and the cremation ground. Old and worn-out clothes, *davali* (a dried bottle-gourd used for drinking water) and earthen pots belonging to the deceased are placed at *Isava*. Then five women, related to the deceased, place small lumps of cooked rice into the mouth of the dead body and pour liquor in the mouth of the deceased with palas (*Butea frondosa*) leaves. Then the women return to the house of the deceased and the pall-bearers carry the corpse to the cremation ground. In the cremation ground, five relatives including the chief mourner put small lumps of cooked rice and pour liquor in the mouth of the corpse. Then the corpse is placed on a pyre half the size of the body. Then more logs are placed and the pyre is completed. The pyre is kindled from two sides. An axe is thrown five times across the burning pyre. The earthen pot containing the ignited cowdung ball is crashed near the head of the pyre. Then all go to take bath. After bath they sit under the shade of a tree and drink liquor.

When the chief mourner gets enough money, he performs funeral rites. It is not obligatory to perform the rites. On that day the chief mourner washes the place where the pyre was lit. Then he goes to the river-side and plants four jambul sticks on the bank of the river. Four more sticks are placed on these sticks and a miniature pandal is constructed. Under this canopy the chief mourner puts an earthen pot filled with water.

Palas leaves are placed on the mouth of the pot. The pot represents the departed one. The chief mourner places lumps of cooked rice in front of the pot. Then he makes a hole in it with an axe and goes for a bath. After bath he returns home. In the evening the four pall-bearers are invited. The chief mourner pours drops of liquor near their feet, in the name of the departed one. Then all the assembled persons drink liquor and return to their respective houses.

The Vitolias raise stones, called *Bhutadas*, in honour of the departed ones. On that day a *bhagat* (holy man) is invited. He begins to nod his head and to jerk himself with uncontrollable movements as if he is possessed. Throughout the night the *bhagat* nods his head to and fro and jerks his body. In the morning he goes to a river and selects a stone from the river-bed. He installs the stone under the shade of a tree and applies dots of red-lead to the stone. Then he kills a hen and pours a few drops of liquor in front of the stone. Then the person assembled there take their dinner. Thenceforth the stone is deified and becomes a *Bhutada*, representing the departed one. These *Bhutadas* are worshipped by the family on Divali day (the last day of Ashvin and the first day of Kartik), and at the time of the Holī (full-moon day of Falgun). The householder applied red-lead to the *Bhutada* and puts small rice heaps in front of it. Then he kills a hen, and pours a few drops of liquor near it, in honour of the departed one.

These are the main items in the customs observed by the Vitolias. They are not peculiar to the tribe itself, but with the exception of a few minor differences here and there, they are generally shared by all aboriginal tribes, living in the neighbourhood.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

FOOD FAMINE AND NUTRITIONAL DISEASES IN TRAVANCORE (1943-44) : 265 pages, with 33 illustrations.

THE EXODUS FROM TRAVANCORE TO MALABAR JUNGLES : 39 + iv pages.

Both published by the Servindia Kerala Relief Centre, R. S. Puram Post, Coimbatore. Prices Rs. 6 and Re. 1 respectively.

These two carefully prepared reports give a dismal picture of the economic conditions prevailing in Travancore State during the years 1943 and 1944. The survey was undertaken on behalf of the Servants of India Society; and for purposes of examination, a fairly large number of typical villages were selected. The investigators were all trained and competent men; and their work has shown conclusively that not only were the people hard hit by war conditions during the period covered by the survey, but they had, as a matter

of fact, been suffering from chronic under-nourishment from even before the present crisis. The present situation only aggravated their distress.

For this, the war was certainly responsible to a great extent. But more so was the mismanagement of the government, which led not only to unrestricted black-marketing, but also to a failure of any remedial measures, like regulated migration, or educative propaganda regarding balanced diet or new crops, which might have served to lessen the sufferings of the people. The latter were practically deprived of their food by means of high prices. All protective elements of food soared away beyond their reach; and men migrated, in their distress, to the higher hill regions, where their already emaciated bodies were laid low by fever, diarrhoea and dysentery. As a matter of fact, people had to choose between death by starvation at home and death by disease in an unaccustomed new environment.

The whole is a story of untold poverty and suffering coupled with official inefficiency and a complete bankruptcy of social conscience, which leaves one almost

despondent of the future in the end. The reporters have, however, taken good care to suggest certain remedial measures which a more sympathetic government might adopt. But what seems to be more necessary is to suggest some remedy which may lie within the practical powers of the public, without the intervention of a government. If such relief is possible, the people might be heartened; and the government also might then do what it should do out of a sense of shame.

We believe that the publication of a report of the kind we have been reviewing, will go a long way to prepare a favourable social conscience.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

INDIAN LIBERALISM : A Study by V. N. Naik.
Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. x + 353 + vi.
Price Rs. 5-8.

At a meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation a suggestion was made that the Federation should celebrate its Silver Jubilee in 1945 by issuing a Souvenir giving the origin and history of the Indian Liberal Party. This suggestion was accepted, and the Western India National Liberal Association requested Prof. V. N. Naik, a member of the Indian Liberal Party from its inception to write the book. The volume under review is the result. Mr. Naik, although a Liberal, is not an active politician; so as a writer he is not obsessed by party prejudices or by the spirit of narrow coterie or sect. His aim has been to serve and spread the truth of light as he sees it.

The post-Mutiny political awakening of India began as a Hindu revival, as witnessed by the Hindu Mela organised by Nabagopal Mitra. Surendranath Banerjee made it truly national and organised the National Conference as early as 1883. The birth of the Indian National Congress focussed and quickened the pace of nationalism. In the course of its evolution there have been differences of aim and method which are natural and inevitable in the history of any political movement. When such differences are fundamental and continue for a long time, a separate organisation becomes justifiable. The differences between the Moderates and the Extremists in the Congress first appeared in 1906; they were patched up, but re-appeared with the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The moderates seceded from the Congress and started a separate organisation. Its first session was held at Bombay under the presidency of Surendranath Banerjee—the father of Indian Nationalism. At first known as “Moderates”, later on as “National Liberals”, this party has lived and continued to function and influence political thought for over a quarter of a century. The author has given the history clearly and at great length in 21 chapters. The result is that the author has given a very readable history of the political life of the country since 1918. But one regrets that in chapter viii, while discussing the work of the Liberal Party in the Legislatures, the author has omitted all reference to Sir Surendranath Banerjee and his Calcutta Municipal Act, which has democratized the constitution of the Calcutta Corporation and placed ample powers in the hands of the popular representatives. The value of the book is enhanced by an index, but we think a Bibliography of sources would have been a still more welcome addition.

J. M. DATTA

FRENCH STORIES FROM ALPHONSE DAUDET : By Indira Sarkar. *Chakraverty Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1945. Pages 87. Price Rs. 4.*

Alphonse Daudet, the French novelist and short story writer, who lived from 1840 to 1897, is not entirely unknown in India. Some of his works which were translated into English and Bengali have been widely

appreciated in Indian literary circles. Tagore himself was an admirer of Daudet, and introduced the latter's works to Satyen Datta and others. Saurin Mukerjee took up the suggestion and translated a few of Daudet's books into Bengali. Daudet's story entitled *Jacques* became *Matri-rin* in the hands of Mukerjee. *Nabob*, in which Daudet described French corruption in the Second Empire, remains *Nawab* in the Bengali version. The stories translated in this collection are very famous indeed, and may be compared to those of Maupassant in brilliance. The exquisite charm and delicacy of their art are as fresh as ever. The authoress is an enthusiastic student of French literature and has displayed remarkable patience and skill in translating these stories into easy and attractive English. Her appreciation of Daudet's literary genius in an introductory note reflects a maturity of judgment of which any competent literary critic may justly be proud.

Daudet lived at a time when realism and naturalism were in vogue. Romanticism was getting liquidated. The days of idealism had fallen into the background. He was therefore never interested in the symbolic treatment of men and things. The expressionism of contemporary poets, such as Mallarmé and Verlaine, hardly had any influence on his thought and style. Daudet was a confirmed regionalist. He idolises, even to a fault, the beauties of his homeland, Southern France. Midi and Provence in particular are treated almost to nostalgia. He endows his characters with a southern temperament, wit and mirth. But this regionalism detracted in no way from the universal appeal of his works just as Wessex and Western Bengal have not restricted the respective appeals of Hardy and Tarashanker Banerjee. All the dominant traits of Daudet's art are clearly brought out in the short stories incorporated in this volume. It would be a distinct contribution, if the authoress undertook in future to render these and other French stories into Bengali.

In view of the existing restrictions, the get-up of the book should be considered good, but I am afraid many will find the price too exorbitant for its size.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SO FREEDOM CAME : By Joan Wells. *Published by Messrs. Thacker and Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 5-14.*

The present book is a political satire as well as political fantasy. Though it lacks the sharp smart of Swiftian irony and Shavian paradox, it still bubbles with great fun. Stripped of allegory, the story appears to be that of India governed by the diarch ministry of a foreign country. The Conservative Prime Minister of Fogland is ruthlessly snubbed by the Opposition for his callousness towards the independence of Blindya (India). He sends his daughter on a secret mission to Blindya to study things at first hand. She returns furnished with facts and a Blindyan drug called *oonikooni*, the application of which converts her conservative father overnight into a liberal internationalist, so that he speaks most feelingly on the Blindyan independence in the Parliament. When the spell of the drug is gone he recants, but reluctant to lose the reputation which his dream-like liberalism has earned him, he submits on the question of Blindyan independence.

TO THE HEIGHTS : By Nahini Kanto Gupta. *Published by Culture Publishers, Calcutta. 1944. Pages 68. Price Re. 1-8, Foreign 3s.*

This little volume represents Mr. Gupta's poetical venture towards spiritual heights. A well-known critic, poet and mystic, Mr. Gupta has undoubtedly reached a great height so far as religious poetry is concerned. Mysticism has been inalienable from periods of literature and mystic poetry has often had high valuation. Mr.

Gupta has his own original way in the present volume. It is poetry in spite of mysticism. It is sometimes reminiscent of Shelleyan transcendentalism and sometimes it reminds one of Sri Aurobinda's religious lyrics. The following are some of the typical lines :

I have heard His call and He has embraced me
intimately from afar.
Lo, I am grown into the translucency of His
divine serenity,
The earth-made cells are now spirit-stars
That bear the undecaying lustres of immortality.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

BENGALEES OF TOMORROW : By Mr. S. Wazid Ali, Barrister-at-Law. Published by Messrs. Das Gupta & Co., 54/3, College Street, Calcutta. Pages 188. Price Rs. 3.

There are not many books written by Bengali Muslims on the subject of Hindu-Muslim unity. It is not because Bengal has a dearth of such men but because eminent men of the Muslim community do not consider it worth while to devote considerable time and energy for inter-communal unity. The author of this book is one of those who have devoted their lives for the Bengali race irrespective of religion, caste, creed or colour. To him Bengal is one, its culture is of a special stamp and its problems are unlike those of other provinces. Language unites the entire Bengali race into one indivisible unit and as such Bengal is fit to be a nation by itself. To the author Bengal comes first and then India. To him Bengal's political, economic, social and communal problems require special treatment by the sons of Bengal without any interference from any outsider—Indian or European. He does not favour exploitation of Bengal's resources by outsiders when her own sons are in distress. But he is not blind to the advantage of all-India unity or Federation. The author in his outspoken criticism does not spare even his own community for their narrow sectarian outlook. He is not afraid to give out unpalatable truth about communal shortcomings of the Hindus and the Muslims. His national, impartial outlook and advocacy of Bengal's just cause and claims are things which deserve serious consideration in the hands of all right-thinking men who have the good of Bengal and of India at heart.

A book of this nature deserves much circulation among the educated young men of all communities in Bengal.

A. B. DUTTA

THE BOMBAY PLAN, A CRITICISM : By P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay. Price Re. 1-8.

The brochure contains a searching analysis of the Bombay Plan. The authors have fearlessly pointed out the defects of this plan which deserve careful consideration. The Bombay Plan is a scheme that contemplates the permanence of a capitalist order and civilisation. The industrialists envisage a rigorous control of every aspect of our economic life except control of profits. The kind of organisation of agriculture and industries does not remove the possibility of the exploitation of the masses. The authors have pointed out that this plan definitely rejects the idea of the control of the economic organisation in the interests of the consumers on a broad socialist basis, it contemplates planning within the present economic structure. Profit motive remains the foundation of their plan, and so long as profit motive functions within a capitalist structure, the possibility of periodic crises and chronic unemployment cannot be overcome. In the absence of any broad basis of the plan, it will provide a kind of amalgam of collectivism and capitalism and an *entente cordiale* between the men in political power and the industrialists may be set up.

There are features in the plan which have rightly come in for strong criticism. The planners have put forward the suggestion that new industries, or industries new to particular areas, which may require financial assistance from the State in the initial stages, may be not only managed but owned by the State. Later on, if private finance is prepared to take over these industries, "State ownership may be replaced by private ownership." This amounts to saying that so long as an industry involves risks and losses, the burden of the loss should be imposed upon the community, but as soon as it begins to yield profits private enterprise should take it over and appropriate the profits at the cost of the community.

The prevailing values of any age are the values of its dominant class. Our Bombay planners talk in terms of these values. But the new age that is dawning, as has been asserted by the authors of the brochure, demands the recognition of other values—the dignity of work, leisure for all, equality of opportunities, the recognition of the intrinsic value of every human soul, for which there is hardly any scope in a society based upon private property and profit motive.

D. BURMAN

SANSKRIT

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS, Vol. II, *Srauta Sutras and Prayogas :* Compiled by K. S. Ramaswami Shastri Srimani, *Srauta Pandit, Oriental Institute, Baroda.* Price Rs. 6-4.

The volume contains an account of 1271 manuscripts giving information on different points like author, extent, age and place of origin, arranged in a tabular form. Besides, an appendix gives detailed description of the contents of 301 manuscripts, quoting extracts from them. References are given to catalogues and reports where other copies of particular manuscripts have already been described or noticed. It is not known if these are exhaustive. But as it is, one is rather surprised to find no mention of catalogues and notices of several well-known collections like those of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Adyar Library. The chronology of dated manuscripts reveals that the oldest manuscript noticed in the volume goes back to the end of the 14th century while some of the latest belong to the closing part of the first quarter of the present century. The catalogue records the dates of a number of manuscripts according to the Christian era. There is no indication if they are similarly—and if so rather unusually—given in the manuscripts also.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BRAHMO DHARMER VYAKHYAN : By Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. Published by Rathindranath Tagore, Adi Brahma Samaj, Calcutta. To be had of Visvabharati, 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta. Cloth and board. Price Rs. 5.

Sri Rathindranath Tagore, trustee, Adi Brahma Samaj, deserves the gratitude of the serious-minded Bengali-reading public for bringing out an exceedingly well got up edition of *Brahmo Dharma Vyakhyan* by Maharshi Devendranath Tagore. The book is a collection of the sermons delivered by the Maharshi during the several years he officiated as the Principal Acharyya of the Adi Brahma Samaj.

Barring the actual scriptures, religious books are seldom literature, as hymns are rarely poetry. They are too narrow, too argumentative and too full of self-consciousness to be interesting reading, and the writers of religious books perhaps suffer from the idea that their subjects are too profound to require any attention to style. The Maharshi's present writings, although purely religious, are nevertheless full of literary charm, and the style of these writings is the product of a deeply cultured mind.

There is, however, another secret to these writings being grand literature. They embrace life as a whole

and not a mere fragment of it. The Maharshi's religious inspiration is derived from the Vedantic scriptures. Indeed the keynote of almost all his sermons is a Upanishadic text, the underlying idea of which, he develops in his own inimitable style bearing upon it a serene contemplative mind utterly free from the burdens of prejudices and trivialities of ritualistic punctiliousness.

Yet of how practical use these sermons are! One may turn to them off and on in the hours of affliction and get joy and peace from reading them. Again, how universal in their appeal these sermons are! Although they are stated to have been delivered at the Divine Services of the Adi Brahma Samaj, these sermons may be read and re-read at any congregation of devout spirits to whom the beauty of the words, breadth of vision, depth of devotion and catholicity of spirit contained in them will always have an intense appeal.

In all these Maharshi Devendranath Tagore is a direct disciple of Rajah Rammohun Roy. During the dark ages of India which covered the whole of the eighteenth century and a little more, like everything of value in life, real religion also disappeared from this country. Rajah Rammohun Roy, the prophet of modern India, brought back light and hope to Indian life and activities.

In the sphere of religion the Rajah was the first individual to point out by a comparative study of the principal religions of the world, that when religion is shed of its local and historical truths, what remains testifies to the same truth. Therefore, there should be no quarrel among men about religion.

On the practical side of religion, Rajah Rammohun Roy preached by his writings and the example of his own life that man can be religious even in the ordinary pursuit of worldly affairs. One need not escape from the worldly life to attain salvation. Hence the Rajah's teachings emphasised on practice of moral virtues and righteousness along with meditation. Salvation is to be achieved by sober enjoyment of life not by shunning it, and salvation must be attained in this very life and not hereafter. He preached of a salvation which can be shared by man with all his fellow beings and not enjoyed in the seclusion of a cloistered cell.

T. C.

JATIATAR NABAMANTRA : By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Published by Messrs. S. K. Mitra & Bros., 12, Narkelbagan Lane, Calcutta. Illustrated. Pages 112. Price Re. 1-8.

In the sixth and seventh decades of the last century there was an awakening in the national life of Bengal which found expression in the foundation of the Hindu Mela by the then prominent men of the province. Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Rajnarain Bose, Dwijendranath Tagore, Satyendranath Tagore and Nabagopal Mitra and others were instrumental in the starting of the Hindu Mela in 1867 with the object of reviving what was best in India's art and culture. Originally it was a movement to revive Hindu art and culture but ultimately it revived Indian nationalism in all its aspects and led to the foundation of the Indian League, the Indian Association and ultimately the Indian National Congress in 1885. The author who has already contributed considerably by his researches in the literature of the nineteenth century, has thrown fresh light on an almost forgotten chapter of Bengal's history. Nabagopal Mitra is an unknown person to a young man of today. It was he who brought the Hindu Mela into existence with the help, support and patronage of all these leading men of Bengal. He had such a craze for nationalism that he was nick-named 'National Nabagopal'. The 'Mela' had its twelfth annual sitting in 1878 after which it lost importance and ultimately ceased to exist. Nabagopal founded 'National Society', 'National Circus', 'National Mela', 'National gymnasium', 'National paper', 'National theatre' and national of every sort, so he

well deserved the title 'National Nabagopal'. Some of our best national songs were composed on the occasion of the annual Mela by persons like Satyendra Nath Tagore and Dwijendra Nath Tagore.

The book is a timely publication and we have no doubt it will have a wide circulation among the Bengali-knowing public interested in the national movement of the country—past, present and future.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

VISHVA SANSKRITI KA VIKAS : By Kalidas Kapur. Vidya Mandir, Chauk, Lucknow. Pp. 107. Price Re. 1-4.

No one has succeeded, so far, in tracking down the original, age-long, source of the river of human culture. Every century sees its being shifted farther back in the mists of time. Shri Kalidasji has, however, been able to compass, within the pages of about a hundred pages, the contours of the "river", in question. In eight short chapters he has packed the principal patterns of thought and life—those two bed-rock bases of culture,—of the progenitors and pioneer, of mankind in ancient, medieval and modern times, in East as well as in West, and shown, once again that "man", as Shri Sampurnanandji, who has written an introduction to the book, says, "is always on the march." The course of the river of culture may be winding, but it never loses itself entirely in the wastes and in the wilds. What will be the next turning? Shri Kalidas believes that the time is now almost ripe for humanity to set its face and feet towards non-violence or the way of co-operative love and living. The author deserves congratulations on his work.

G. M.

MARATHI

HINDU-MUSLIM AIKYA : By S. D. Javdekar. Published by Sulabh Rashtriya Granthamala, 12, Tilak Road, Poona 2. Price Rs. 5.

Prof. S. D. Javdekar is well-known all over Maharashtra as the philosophic interpreter of our own times in terms of Gandhism and socialism and for that reason is regarded as the Laski of Maharashtra. His *Adhunik Bharat*, which has gone into the second edition, has been widely used as a text-book in the summer and winter classes of the Rashtra Seva Dal Camps. The present treatise on Hindu-Muslim Unity is a learned study copiously documented, emphasising the essential racial oneness and unity of economic and social demands of Hindus and Muslims and making out a case for a United India, in the common interest of all. It has completely exploded the two-nation theory and after discussing the religious differences and dissensions, shown the way out of them. The book is worth the study of every Marathi-knowing Hindu and Mussalman.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

(1) **UCHCHA JIVAN**, (2) **TRAN PRASHNA** : By Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 32, 142. Price Re. 1, Re. 1-4 respectively.

The first book is based on an English book called *Theosophy in Every Day Life* and is meant to show the reader how to lead a godly and pure life in this iron age. Each day of the week is intended to be occupied in a certain pious and devotional way till the week is completed. If the method pointed out is followed, it is sure to result in good. In the second book, the first story, 'The Condition of a Sinner', is based on Tolstoy's *Forty Years* and attractively and pathetically describes the condition of a sinner—a murderer. It shows an intimate knowledge of Gujarat's village life.

K. M. J.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Small Nations and Big Powers

No lasting peace will be possible for the world unless the fierce selfishness now prevailing in the individual as in the nation is eradicated. Freedom for small nations should be the aim of the Big Powers. What R. M. Fox says of Eire equally applies to other small nations. He observes in *The Aryan Path* :

It should be perfectly clear that Eire—unless bound by solemn international obligations—was justified in framing her policy in the way she thought would best serve the interests of her people and safeguard her national independence. There were many considerations of military strength or weakness, of vulnerability, chances of internal dissension or civil war if she took sides—which certainly could not be decided for her from outside. The present fact of Partition and the consequences of past bitter struggles could not be ruled out in a realistic estimate of the war situation in Ireland.

Everyone knows that the first intelligent rule for a small man in the event of a big row is to keep out of it. That rule goes for the small nation too. And in the World War even big nations—America and Russia—stayed out until they were attacked. Eire followed exactly the same rule, only she was not attacked, in spite of the gloomy prophets. When Britain and France deserted Czechoslovakia, in her hour of peril, irrespective of their treaty obligations, no one said this proved they had forfeited the right of national sovereignty. And why should Eire be abused for not having a more idealistic conception of international morality than the rest of the world? Why? Because she is a small nation, that is all.

It is against the idea that a small nation should have rights that opinion is being mobilised today.

Nazism made the Jews the scapegoat for every offence. An equally unintelligent assumption is that the natural desire—and fundamental right—of small nations to retain their independence is somehow a menace to the world. Nationalism is said to be the enemy of progress. The friend of progress is, of course, Imperialism, jealous of such islands of national freedom as still contrive to exist in this liberated world.

The Nazis stood for a perversion of Nationalism just as they stood for a distortion of Socialism. Their propagandists did not talk of the "Nation." Instead they talked of race and blood and soil. The coherent and intelligent theory of nationalism in the political sense—which arose in Europe after the French Revolution—stressed the citizen rights of every member of the nation. It accepted the rights of nations as a further development of the rights of man. Consequently the Nazi idea of the *Herrenvolk*—an Imperialism buttressed by racial obsessions—cannot be reconciled with any belief in nationalism.

Historically the rise of the nation state was bound up with the rise of democracy. Its essence was the right

of each people to determine its own destinies against irresponsible feudal despots. It gave each man a right and a status as a citizen. These rights have still to be maintained against despots of finance and magnates of industry who override frontiers and exploit countries.

World unity and world peace—our imperialist spokesmen announce—demand the subjugation of the small nations.

But no man of sense or logic can show that small nations are—or ever were—a menace to world peace. It is invariably the Big Powers that threaten world peace because they are dazzled with the prospect of conquest. Small nations are always in favour of international safeguards. The League of Nations was not shattered because of any assertion of national sovereignty by small nations. It was broken because the small nations found they could not rely on the Big Powers in that Assembly to use their strength against acts of aggression aimed at weaker peoples.

National sovereignty will continue to handicap imperialist expansion. Small nations will make a stand against oppression and will respect the freedom of other nations. Those democrats who have allowed themselves to be goaded into attacking the sovereignty of small nations are guilty of a great stupidity for their enemies are plainly those big anti-social forces such as manipulated and financed dictators of the Hitler and Mussolini type.

It is childish to imagine that small nations can start wars. Even the bitterest critic of de Valera does not charge him with that. But small nations will continue to demand the right to safeguard their interests in times of crisis. That is precisely the offence of which de Valera was guilty during the war. He did not help to crush the Nazis in a military sense. But he stood for the freedom of small nations—an anti-Nazi principle which is still important for the world.



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The Atomic Bomb and the Crisis of Man

Genuine international control over the most destructive and constructive energy yet known would have profound repercussions on international relationships. Rev. Richard M. Fagley writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

If there was any doubt that beneath the crisis of the Second World War lay a more profound crisis of man, the explosions in New Mexico, Hiroshima and Nagasaki should have shattered the illusion. The fact that the illusion widely persists reveals the depth of our present, and possibly final, crisis.

The end of one crisis becomes, with the discovery of atomic power, the beginning of a far greater crisis. The inexorable 'either-or' of the atomic bomb, upon which hangs the fate of life on this planet, leaves the pride of man no means by which to save itself.

One tragic reflection of the present crisis is the picture, conjured up by some of our writers, of vast power and plenty made possible by atomic energy. The Promised Land of freedom from want lies just ahead. Man has made the power of the sun his servant, and freed himself for luxury and leisure. How distorted is our vision to see so easily the vista of mechanical progress in the Atomic Age, and to fail to see clearly the greed, pride and fear in ourselves which have now brought us to the doorstep of doom! Of course, atomic energy can lift the burden of poverty from the backs of countless millions and give all mankind the material basis or creative living. What should be equally obvious is that only if man has a new spirit within him can he pass over into this Promised Land. The Atomic Age is otherwise almost certain to be extremely short and extremely brutish!

Equally revealing is the naive faith of many in the ability of science to control the threat of atomic bombs by creating effective counter-weapons.

The end of a scientific race between the development of anti-bombs and the development of bigger, faster bombs is not hard to see. It is the end of man on this earth.

Again, there is the common illusion that fear can protect mankind from atomic war. Fear, it is true, may help—if it leads men to seek, with a contrite heart, the protection and guidance of God. But fear by itself offers a short-cut to catastrophe. The fear of destruction from atomic bombs in the present world of competing states would insure and hasten sudden, ruthless attacks with atomic bombs. Total aggression would become the strategy for survival. As Norman Cousins writes: 'If history teaches us anything, it is that the possibility of war increases in direct proportion to the effectiveness of the instruments of war.'

Of a piece with the above patterns of thought is the notion that the present crisis might be exorcised, if only the inventors would destroy their infernal machine, or if they would discontinue the manufacture of bombs, while the nations signed a pledge not to use them. For better or worse, however, the clock of history does not run backwards. Nor can its cosmic hands be stayed by Kellogg-Brand pacts. Atomic power is here to stay for the remainder of human history. And unless man can control himself as well as atomic power according to the moral law, both will no doubt terminate within a comparatively few years.

That changes in political institutions by themselves would assure human survival, is false like the rest of the secularist arguments. No form of government is fool-proof. No system of international control can provide a final answer. Political institutions can be corrupted. Controls can break down

Twist and turn as we may, we cannot escape from this crisis by secularist means. We are driven inexorably from one false solution to another, unless and until we seek a more profound, religious solution. A deeper faith in God and therefore in man as a child of God and a more sacrificial effort to make brotherhood a guiding principle of society alone offer real hope that atomic rockets can be kept under control, and the new energy be put to the service of human needs.

For nineteen centuries we Christians have preached the Good News more often with our lips than with our lives. We have preached, in tolerant fashion, that 'the wages of sin is death', and proceeded generally to accommodate ourselves to the society about us. And now our churches, infected with the secularist spirit, are suddenly called upon to save humanity from the impending doom created by that spirit. No, the prospect is far from comforting.

The experts believe that other states will be able to make atomic bombs in three to five years. When and if that happens when two or more states can bring about their mutual destruction, the final race to disaster will, in all likelihood, be short indeed. We know, as Major George Fielding Eliot has pointed out, that the logical outcome of the full development and use of atomic bombs is the extinction of life on earth.

The chief expedient deserving, or rather demanding immediate attention is the establishment of international controls over all atomic power which can be used in bombs.

Yet the very factors which made the need so tremendous—the overwhelming fear and suspicion, and the equally overwhelming tendency to attack in the hope of survival—would make international control extremely difficult if not impossible to achieve.

Now the initial and probably crucial decision is in the hands of one state, the United States, rather than in the hands of two or more states. Now the United States has preponderant bargaining power, because of its temporary monopoly, to secure the type of international control most favourable to its own security as well as to the security of the rest of the world. As fear and suspicion, frantic research and intense secret preparations mount, the difficulties of achieving agreement would mount far higher.

The main thing to stress is the need to provide the maximum possible assurance that no one nation or bloc of nations could use atomic weapons as instruments of national policy.

Our efforts should deal with the concrete issues of international control and national safety, not with speculative abstractions like 'world government.'

The relatively favourable time for action is pitifully short and all of us woefully unprepared. Spiritual power alone can cope with atomic power.

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I. N. A. Trials

The New Review observes :

India's political temperature has been raised to fever pitch with the trials of the Indian National Army which mustered thousands of Mohammedans, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians, civilians and soldiers, round the independence banner of Subhas C. Bose. The issue of the trial will be a focal point in the electoral campaign and the outcome will qualify future political development. In the mind of the Indian public, the trials do not stand on all fours with the ordinary cases of military desertion or rebellion and should be judged in the light of a special jurisprudence. What was the status of the provisional government of Azad Hind which had been recognised by several states at war with the United Nations? What was the position of its newly constituted army? What of the civilians who volunteered for this army, and what of the men and officers of the British Indian army who had been taken prisoners in the Malaya debacle and transferred their allegiance? What of the three years' limitation usual with military offences? These are leading issues to be discussed and settled in the court martial. And independently of the court judgment, why not a generous amnesty?

The Congress party is stirring the whole country in defence of the accused; the Muslim League shuns co-operation with Congress even in these trials which implicate a majority of Mohammedan soldiers; the smaller communities generally plead for amnesty. The Delhi Port judgment is bound to make history in India's national life and possibly in international law.

Pakistan

The same Review says :

Mr. Jinnah has officially defined Pakistan. Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab and the North-Western Frontier Province along with Assam and Bengal would be built up into one sovereign state federated on the U.S.A. pattern. It would be a Muslim state though Mussalmans would have no social barrier against Hindus or others, and would live on the basic principles of equality and fraternity. Minorities would have their rights duly guaranteed and opposition parties free action in the legislature. Key industries and public utility services would be nationalised. As the Paramount Power is prepared to grant independence to several dominions in India, the answer to the Pakistan problem lies with the Muslim electorate.

Muslim electors are sharply divided on the issue. Opposition to the Muslim League is growing as the implications of Pakistan become clearer day by day. The economics of Pakistan are gloomily discussed, Muslim minorities in Hindu districts are apprehensive, traders and industrialists foresee restrictions on their all-India activities, educated Mohammedans deprecate communalism in political settlements, etc. Many among them find it hard to renounce the all-India complex associated with the Moghul empire; but what militates most against Pakistan is that it moves directly against the needs and trends of modern times. On the modern scale, of world-politics, which has grown with the developments of communications, trade and strategy, countries can be truly independent only if they be of the largest size; it has even been said that at present only compact and large States like the U.S.A. and Russia are fully adapted to modern conditions. Internal sovereignty is not sufficient to guarantee international facilities for trade, and industry which in our competitive world make for prosperity and progress. Even Western Europe will have to design and achieve some sort of federation if it is to arrest decline in the coming decades. Partition is a retrogressive measure, which stern realists refuse to contemplate.

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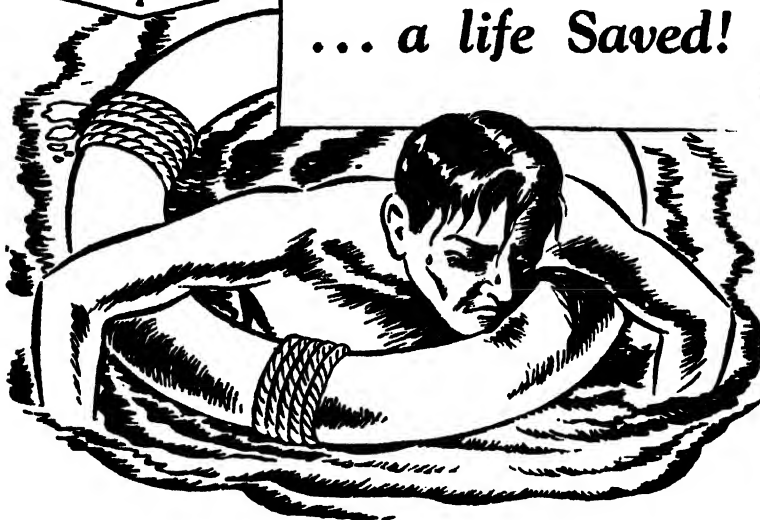
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Education of Indians in Foreign Countries

There is no question that modernisation of India, nay of the East, will be greatly facilitated by the assimilation and utilisation of the best of western scientific, industrial and social institutions by India and the East, without merely copying them. In the course of an article in *The Calcutta Review*, Dr. Taraknath Das and Gobindram J. Watumull observe :

In some ways the westernization of China and India has been forced upon them while Japan voluntarily recognized the necessity of western education and western methods. In Japan westernization was not imposed from the outside and therefore the process was selective and more discriminating than has been in the case of India and China.

Today all Indian authorities in the field of National Education recognize the fact that the real motive for introducing the rudiments of English education in India was to train an army of Indian officials, who, with a knowledge of the English language, would be able to hold inferior government positions and thus help the British masters to consolidate their power. The real rulers were British officials, even after Queen Victoria's proclamation which assured that there would be no discrimination, due to their race and religion, against Indians, in securing positions in the government of their own country, provided they proved their efficiency. The test of this efficiency was an English education and the ability to pass the Civil Service Examinations, held exclusively in England and with certain high standards set for British University students. It became evident to Indian youths with ambition that without an education in England there was no possibility of securing any high government position ; thus about seventy-five years ago Indian students from the most cultured families of the upper and upper-middle classes began to go to England to study in British universities. At first these students, though not a very large number, wanted to qualify for Indian Civil Service positions ; and such distinguished scholars and statesmen as the late Romesh Chandra Dutt, the author of *History of Indian Civilization*, the late Surendranath Banerjee, the foremost Indian publicist of the nineteenth century and author of *A Nation in the Making*, one of the founders of the All-India National Congress Movement, and many other prominent Indians belonged to this group. Later on a larger number of Indian students went to England for professional training—the majority of them studied Law. From this group India had many of the leaders of the nationalist movement—Arabindo Ghosh, Gandhi, Nehru, Das, Bose and others. Still later, the influx of Indian students of the middle classes to England grew, not only because education acquired in England was superior to that obtainable in India, but also because Indians educated in British universities and acquainted with British ways of life and British contacts almost always secured better jobs with higher salaries upon their return to India. About the beginning of the twentieth century some Indian students began to go to German universities and after the Russo-Japanese war, to Japan and the United States. It may be mentioned here that Indians educated in Japan, the United States or Germany did not have a fair chance of getting any important government position. In fact, they were looked upon with suspicion and discriminated against by the Government.

An ordinary B.A. of a British University had a better chance of getting a position in a British-controlled university or establishment

than a first-class Ph.D. of an American University.

This prejudice still persists to some extent and has resulted in the interesting development that American-trained Indians have contributed considerably through their own and private enterprise to the development of Indian industries.

According to reliable reports "in normal pre-war years the average number of Indian students in any time in Great Britain was about 2,000." (See *Indian Information*, Vol. 15, No. 151, December 15, 1944, issued by the Principal Information Officer, Government of India, page 794.)

If the average expense of an Indian student in England be estimated at about £250 (Two hundred and fifty pounds sterling) a year, then these students must have spent annually at least £500,000, or Rs. 7,500,000. If this sum—of one year's expenditure by Indian students in England—be used judiciously and economically, it can be adequate for establishing an institution of higher education in India. For instance, out of 75 lakhs of rupees, 25 lakhs of rupees may be used for the building and equipment of such an institution, and the balance, 50 lakhs of rupees, can be invested in well-tested Indian securities which would yield an annual income of at least 2½ lakhs of rupees. This income supplemented by tuition fees would provide for a staff of 50 professors and instructors of all grades. Such an institution within ten years can be developed into a magnificent one, providing facilities for higher education for thousands of Indians, without draining Indian resources out to foreign lands.

During the last 40 years at least 10,000 Indian students went to England to acquire such education as would afford opportunities for good government jobs and professional opportunities. On the average, these students spent three years to finish their studies in England ; and on the average, they spent £250 a year. Thus, the total amount spent by Indian students in England during the twentieth century has been no less than £7,500,000 or Rs. 112,500,000. If we use 75 lakhs of rupees as a minimum requirement for establishing an institution for higher education on a permanent basis, as indicated above, then the sum spent in England for the so-called higher education of Indian students would have provided funds for the establishment of fifteen universities and facilities for higher education of hundreds of thousands of Indians, enriching Indian national efficiency. It seems that as a national investment for promoting national efficiency through higher education the vast sum spent in England has produced very inadequate results. It seems that this fact has not been fully grasped by Indian leaders, not to speak of the Government, as they are still pursuing a policy of sending large numbers of Indian students to foreign countries.

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All-India Writers' Conference

The following note is reproduced from the Indian Diary section of *The Indian Home* (Anniversary Number) :

Centuries ago Plato opined that not till philosophers became kings and kings became philosophers would a solution to the world's ills be found. That seems as far a cry today as it was then, though efforts continue to be made, as witness the recent P. E. N. deliberations, to give expression to that ideal, to some extent at least, in practice. The First All-India Writers' Conference, which is essentially a fraternity of artists symbolising the spiritual unity of mankind, held their sessions at Jaipur from the 20th to the 22nd of October. Inaugurating the Conference, Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, explained the purpose for which it had been convened : "The very meaning of tragedy has been deepened and darkened today beyond any act of history, beyond any conception of Sophocles or Shakespeare. There remains only the last appeal which is now made vainly—and it can never again be made—the appeal to the spirit of man."

That India was spiritually and culturally one was the keynote of the conference. Said the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu : "The literature of India is manifold. Why then have we all met together? Because India is one and indivisible. However different our languages, however differently they are written, the basic thought underlying every language is one common unifying ideal. The ancient myth-lore and the songs of India are the same, from the source of the Brahmaputra to Cape Comorin . . . India tops the world in lessons of peace and love."

Speaking in the same strain, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that the development of Indian literature was a unifying force. "When we talk about this question," he said, "it does not relate to a dozen languages, but only to two, namely, Hindi and Urdu—which is one language with different literary forms drawing inspiration from the same fountainhead . . . Good will result to both Hindi and Urdu if they grow as such. The defect lies in the vast mass of people being separate from the coterie at the top."

Among others who spoke were Dr. Mulk Raj Anand on the genius of Rabindranath Tagore, Sir S. Radhakrishnan on "The Moral Values in Literature", Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji on "The Ancient Indian Literatures and the Evolution of Newer Forms" and Mr. E. M. Forster on "Literature Between the Two Wars".

Ancient Hindu Polity

A close scrutiny of the Constitutional History of Ancient India gives ample satisfactory evidences of the long existence of democratic institutions of constitutional importance. In the course of a review-article in *The Indian Review* K. Balasubramania Iyer observes :

There is no doubt that the Hindu race has experimented in great and various systems of State and political machinery. The earliest reference to popular assemblies and institutions is found in the Vedas. We find therein frequent mention of the Samiti and the Sabha in many contexts. From all these Dr. K. P. Jayaswal rightly concludes that the Samiti and the Sabha were national assemblies of the people who had the power of electing the king, whose deliberations the king should attend and who discussed questions of State policy. That every young man had the opportunity to take part in the Sabha is well seen from the

oft-repeated Vedic prayer "Sabheyo Yuva". "May the youth be fit for the assembly." In short, in Vedic times, the Samiti, Sabha and Sena seem to have been three co-existing institutions with specific allotted functions, civil, criminal and military respectively.

Perhaps, the most revealing portion of this study is the clear proof of the existence of Hindu republics, showing that monarchy was not the only form of government known to the Hindus. The late Dr. Jayaswal's most notable contribution is here. He was the first to establish the true significance of the terms 'Gana' and 'Sangha' which were wrongly interpreted by Orientalists like Dr. Fleet and Monier Williams, as denoting a tribe. The Avadana-Sataka, a work relating to the time of Lord Buddha, refers clearly to the fact that at that time some countries were ruled by Ganas and some by kings. A whole chapter in the Santi Parva of the Mahabharata is devoted to a discussion of the characteristics of these Ganas. This discussion makes it clear that 'Gana' refers to a political community, a kind of Parliamentary government. The names of some of these republics such as the Kshudrakas and the Malavas are mentioned by the great Grammarian Panini, and also later, by Greek writers who were historians of Alexander's invasion of India. The Andhaka-Vrishnis who are also mentioned by Panini and the Greek writers are famous in Purana literature.

To Andhaka-Brishnis belongs the great Sri Krishna, the Paradevata of the Vrishnis as the Bhagavata says.

It is clear, even, from the Puranic references that there was no king among this community. It was a kind of a joint league of two republics. They were a Sangha as mentioned by Kautilya. Dr. Jayaswal states that the Adhaka-Vrishni league had a joint Federal Constitution, where executive power was vested in two

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leaders with their respective *vargas* representing each division. Panini refers to the *Akrura Varga* and the *Vasudeva Varga*. The duel groups are mentioned by *Katyayana* as *Sini-Vasudeva*, *Ugrasena-Vasudeva* and *Akrura-Vasudeva*. Most probably, the leaders changed from time to time and were elected. Though *Vasudeva* was the leader of the *Andhaka-Vrishni* league, he was not a king. When the *Agra Puja* or the first honour was proposed to be given to *Sri Krishna* among the assembled kings at the great *Rajasuya* sacrifice performed by *Yudhisthira*, *Sisupala*, King of the *Chedis*, strongly objected to this step on the ground that *Sri Krishna* was not a king and that he did not therefore deserve the first honour among the assembled hosts of kings. He argued that the rule observed was to give the first honour to one who was either a priest or *Acharya* or a King and *Sri Krishna* was none of these. In the spirited defence made by *Bhisma*, this point was not contested. But he praises *Krishna* as the great *Narayana* who has incarnated into the world as *Vasudeva* and says that, therefore, he was priest, *Acharya*, and King all rolled into one (*vide*, *Sabha Parva*, Ch. 33, Sl. 22). It is also noteworthy that nowhere in the *Mahabharata* or in the *Bhagavata* is *Sri Krishna* referred to as the King of the *Andhaka-Vrishnis*. The *Bhagavata* uses the word 'Isvara'.

There is a very interesting episode in the *Santi Parva*, Chap. 81, which throws a flood of light on the position of *Sri Krishna* among the *Vrishnis* and the polity of the *Andhaka-Vrishnis*. There a conversation between *Krishna* and *Narada* is narrated, in which *Krishna* is said to put his difficulties as the leader of the *Vrishnis* to his friend *Narada* and the latter is said to give his solution. The advice given by *Narada* has a quite modern ring about it and may very well be taken to heart by the party leaders of the present day, too. He says, "In a republic dangers are of two kinds, the external one and the internal one. It is the internal difficulty which is present in this case; use then a weapon which is not made of steel, which is very mild and capable of piercing all hearts. The weapon is this: Recognition of merit in others and honouring them, mildness, straightforwardness, toleration and constant entertainment. None but a great man, one of master mind and commanding a following can successfully exert himself in carrying on high political responsibility."

Even in the monarchical states, during Vedic times and the period to which the Buddhist Jatakas relate, the Kingship was on the basis of election. Though, in later history, kingship became hereditary, still in the Coronation ceremonies especially in the Coronation oath, the theory of election was presumed. When there was a failure of heirs, the ministers elected the King with the consent of the people. The great Greek writer, *Megasthenes*, wrote that 'when a failure of heirs occurred in the Royal House the Indians elected their sovereign on the principle of merit.' According to the Coronation oath, sovereignty vests in the King

by reason of the formula. "To thee this state is given; thou art the Director and Regulator; thou art steadfast and bearer; to thee for agriculture, for wellbeing, for prosperity, for development." After this formula is pronounced, he is made to sit down.

Even during the epic period the power of ministers to select the King on failure of heirs seems to have been in existence.

When *Dasaratha* died and *Rama* was banished to the forest, it is said in the *Ramayana*, that the ministers called *Rajakartah* (King-Maker) sent for *Bharata* and decided to instal him on the throne. When *Bharata* is persuaded by the ministers to accept the throne, stress is laid by them upon their unanimous opinion that he should be made King. They argued that *Bharata* would never be in fault if he accepted the throne in response to their unanimous opinion.

From the *Arthashastra* and other evidence, we can realise that the Hindu monarch was more a constitutional sovereign than an autocrat. His actions were always controlled by the Chief Ministers and by the Council of Ministers. The *Nitivakyamrita* clearly states that the King who overrides the ministers ceases to be King in the eye of the Constitutional Law. As the *Mahabharata* put it, "the king was always 'Paratantra' under the control of ministers."

Far from India having been ruled all over by despotic kings, it was divided in ancient times into monarchical states and republics; and that even in monarchical states, the kings were constitutional sovereigns controlled entirely by the Council of Ministers and the popular institutions of *Paura* and *Jana-pada* and subject to the reign of Law established by the sages, law-givers and other wise men among the people.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Indian Textile Industry

We quote below the following extracts from the article, entitled "Wartime Developments in the Indian Textile Industry", published in the *International Labour Review*, August-September, 1945:

Among the seven important industries for which, international committees are being set up in accordance with a decision of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office, is the textile industry. India, as one of the world's principal producers of textiles, is included among the countries represented on the committee, which will consider the social problems of the industry during the transition from war to peace and the economic foundations of international co-operation concerning future social policy. In this article, an account is given, for the Indian textile industry, of its pre-war position, of the changes brought about by the war and by the resulting unprecedented demand for textiles, and of probable future trends.

The textile industry, comprising the weaving of fabrics of cotton, jute, wool, silk and artificial silk, is one of India's foremost industries. In 1938-39, the last year before the war, the Indian textile industry produced 5,608.5 million yards of cotton cloth, 69.6 per cent of which was produced by the mills and 30.4 per cent by the handlooms, and 1,221.5 thousand tons of jute manufactures (including twist and yarn); it gave employment to over a million persons in the mill industry and to about six million persons in the handloom industry; and the raw and manufactured textiles formed 46.24 per cent of the value of the total exports by sea from British India. Raw cotton and cotton manufactures constitute the most important part of the textile industry, and within India, owing to economic and climatic reasons, cotton cloth is by far the most popular.

The cotton mills, which include some of the largest manufacturing plants in India, number about 400, with a paid-up capital of 500 million rupees, and employ over half a million workers. Twenty-five years ago they consumed roughly about one-third of the Indian cotton crop, whereas since the war they consume over three-fifths; and India, with an annual average (from 1934-35 to 1938-39) area under cotton of over 25 million acres and an annual average crop of about 4.7 million bales (478 lbs. each), is the second largest cotton producing country in the world.

THE COTTON MILL INDUSTRY

The Indian cotton mill industry has been growing rapidly since the beginning of the twentieth century. The index of average annual increase in spindleage, however, declined from 48 in 1911-1914 (1907-1911 = 100) to 42 in 1914-1918 and -13 in 1918-1922; corresponding figures for Great Britain are 52, 26, and -10; for the United States, 67, 53, and 47; and for Japan, 62, 122, and 239. In the four principal textile producing countries the average annual increase in spindleage during the four years following World War I was lowest in India and highest in Japan.

From 1920 to 1940, the quantity of cotton consumed by the Indian mills increased by 83.5 per cent (from 1,962,218 bales to 3,679,874 bales of 392 lbs. each), the

number of spindles installed by 47.9 per cent (from 6,763,076 to 10,005,705), and of looms installed by 68.1 per cent (from 119,012 to 200,076). The average yield of cotton per acre also increased from 87 lbs. in 1924-1927 to 93 lbs. in 1938-1941, although compared with other major cotton producing countries it is still very low.

It might be mentioned that the profits of the cotton mill industry also show a considerable upward trend since the last depression. The index of profits (1928 = 100), which had declined from 99.1 in 1929 to 33.9 in 1933, rose to 90.1 in 1934, 89.0 in 1935, 98.8 in 1936, 137.9 in 1937, and 210 in 1938.

COTTON MILLS AND THE DOMESTIC MARKET

The Indian cotton mills have been gradually winning an increasing share of the Indian textile market since World War I. Before 1914, India produced 90 per cent of the yarn it consumed, but the Indian mills supplied only 25 per cent of the mill-made cloth consumed in the country, whereas in 1935, 96.0 per cent (by volume) of the yarn and 76.5 per cent (by volume) of the piece goods consumed were domestically produced. In 1913-14, of every thirteen and one-third yards of mill-made cloth consumed in India, ten yards were imported from Lancashire and only three and one-third yards were produced in India, whereas in 1930-31, out of every nine and a half yards of cotton cloth consumed in India only one and three-fourth yards were imported from Lancashire and three-fourth of a yard from Japan and seven yards were produced in India. Furthermore, a great change took place in the relative as well as the absolute productive capacity of the three countries. From 1909-1913 to 1935-1936, the share of India in the mill consumption of raw cotton (in percentage of the world total) remained about the same (10.2 and 9.7 per cent respectively), the share of Japan almost doubled (6.6 to 13.0 per cent), and that of the United Kingdom declined by about two-fifths (18.0 to 10.6 per cent).

As a competitor against British and Japanese goods in the home market, the Indian textile industry first specialised in the cloth most commonly used by the masses, and later turned to the production of finer fabrics, many of which cannot be made from indigenous cotton. From 1929-30 to 1939-40 the total yarn produced in India increased by less than 50 per cent, but the production of yarn of 40 S counts and above increased by no less than 400 per cent. This increase in the production of fine cotton yarn is reflected in the increase in the imports of raw cotton into British India from 134,300 bales (400 lbs. each) in 1929-30 to 474,600 bales in 1932-33 and to 752,900 bales in 1937-38.

THE HANDLOOM INDUSTRY

The handloom industry, which supplies about 25 per cent of the total cloth consumed in India, and employs over 85 per cent of the textile workers, was estimated to have in 1940 about 2 million handlooms, of which 13 per cent were idle, and to produce annually 1,989.4 million yards of cloth (including hand-spun yarn), valued at about 728 million rupees before World War II. Classified by types, there were about 64 per cent throw-shuttle looms, 35 per cent fly-shuttle looms, and only 1 per cent of other categories; classified by fabrics, 72 per cent were engaged in the cotton industry, 16 per cent in silk, 5 per cent in wool, 1 per cent in artificial silk, and 6 per cent in other textiles.

COMPETITION BETWEEN THE MILL AND THE HANDLOOM PRODUCTION OF COTTON CLOTH

While the old handloom industry depending on hand-spun yarn decayed during the first half of the nineteenth century, there arose a new hand-weaving industry which used mill-spun yarn and shared the fluctuations of the mill industry. Up to 1909-10 the annual handloom production of cotton cloth was more than the mill production and in some years nearly double; from 1911-12 to 1914-15, the two became nearly equal; during World War I, the mills gained considerably over the handlooms; and since then the fortunes of the two have been affected by the tariff policy of the Central Government, the *khaddar* (hand-spun and hand-woven cloth) movement sponsored by the Nationalists, and changes in the clothing habits of the people.

THE JUTE INDUSTRY

Jute, the most important of all the fibres used for industrial and agricultural purposes, is virtually a monopoly of India and ranks among its principal exports. The jute crop is of particular importance to the province of Bengal, which accounts for about 90 per cent of the total Indian output of raw jute, and where the average value of the crop is estimated at 440 million rupees, or about half the money income of the agricultural community of the province in normal years.

The jute textile industry, which differs from the cotton textile industry in that it is practically confined to a single locality in Bengal, gave employment to 298,967 operatives in 1939, as compared with 347,000 in 1929. Although as a manufacturer of jute cloth and bagging India does not enjoy anything like its monopoly as a producer of raw jute, in 1934 the Indian jute mills consumed over half of the world's jute crop. From 1932-33 to 1938-39 the mill consumption of raw jute increased by 30 per cent, or from 5,002,000 bales (400 lbs. each) to 6,463,062 bales. India generally consumes only 20-25 per cent of its jute manufactures, and exports the rest.

OTHER TEXTILES

Other Indian textile industries, such as the woollen and silk industries, play a negligible part in the world market. In 1934, India produced about 2.7 per cent of the world total of raw wool (greasy basis) and consumed 1.5 per cent of the world total of available supply. From 1930 to 1939, the number of woollen mills increased from 17 to 41, and of spindles from 78,162 to 81,370.

In 1931-32, India produced only about 1.5 per cent of the world total of raw silk and silk wastes. The sericultural industry is found in several Indian States, in particular, Mysore and Kashmir, the latter producing the highest quality of raw silk in India.

FOREIGN TRADE IN TEXTILES

In 1938-39, textiles constituted 46.2 per cent (by value) of the total exports of merchandise by sea from British India and 19.3 per cent of the total imports by sea into British India. The chief exports, in order of importance, were jute manufactures, cotton (raw and waste), and raw jute, all three together accounting for 91.3 per cent of the total textile exports; the most important import item was raw cotton and cotton goods, which amounted to 77.6 per cent of the total textile imports.

India's largest pre-war export market for cotton manufactures was Burma, followed by Malaya and Ceylon, importing in 1939-40, respectively, 110, 29, and 24 million yards of Indian piece goods. Burma was also the major market for yarn, and purchased in 1937-38, 1938-39, and 1939-40, respectively, 9, 12, and 15 million pounds of yarn. A substantial market which had been built up in Egypt by 1937-38 was almost eliminated in the following year owing to the imposition of restrictive import tariffs.



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WARTIME CHANGES IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The effect of the present war on the Indian textile industry differs in one important respect from that of the last war. During World War I, the Indian textile industry acquired an enormous home market at the cost of its erstwhile competitors, since the production of Indian mill cloth increased by 33 per cent in 1918-19 as compared with the pre-war average, and the Indian imports fell from 2,800 million yards (pre-war average) to 1,100 million yards in 1918-19. Before World War II, the Indian textile industry was already satisfying the bulk of the domestic requirements; from 1934-35 to 1938-39, mill production supplied, on the average, 61 per cent and the handlooms 25 per cent of the total cloth available for consumption in India. The war has led to an unprecedented demand on the textile industry. With its rising tempo, particularly with Japan's entry as a belligerent, there has been an immense increase in the demand for the rapidly expanding armies, in civilian consumption, and in the exports to neighbouring allied and neutral countries, particularly those in the Middle East which were formerly supplied by the United Kingdom or Japan.

SERICULTURE

Unlike the jute industry, the Indian silk industry has been affected favourably by the war. In the State of Mysore, for instance the area under mulberry increased from 38,480 acres at the end of June, 1941 to nearly 57,000 acres at the end of December, 1942, and a scheme was launched for increasing the production of filature silk required for the manufacture of parachute fabrics and components. Under this scheme, besides 1,300 basins privately financed, the Government of the State of Mysore agreed to put up a filature of 200 basins at the cost of about 284,962 rupees to the Government of the United Kingdom, and to supply all the silk produced in that filature to the Government of India, which is to bear the entire cost of training the labour and supervisory staff necessary for operating the plant.

In the State of Kashmir, where the sericulture industry provides part-time occupation for over 50,000 rural families and wholetime occupation for about 4,000 urban families, plans have been made for its further extension. In Jammu and Kashmir, a programme involving an annual expenditure of 125,000 rupees for a period of three years for the extension of mulberry plantations was launched in 1943.

ARTIFICIAL SILK

The imports of artificial silk, which were valued at 21,607,000 rupees in 1938-39 and at 37,521,000 rupees in 1936-37, came largely from Japan, Italy, and Germany. The war has led to an examination of the possibilities of establishing the rayon industry in India. Most of the raw material for the manufacture of rayon is available in the country, but there is a lack of the needed machinery. Rayon staple fibre, furthermore, can be substituted for the long staple cotton, now imported, which is not grown in India. The investigations carried out by the Indian Central Cotton Committee, assisted by the Industrial Research Bureau of the Central Government, into various aspects of the industry are preparing the way for its establishment in the country.

FUTURE TRENDS

The wartime prosperity of the Indian textile industry is largely the result of the cessation of competition from the United Kingdom and Japan, the heavy requirements for the armed forces, and the stimulation of exports to markets deprived of their normal imports from other countries. For the duration of the war, the heavy demand on the textile industry for military requirements and for exports will probably continue and the supply of clothing available for civilian consumption will tend to remain restricted, although to a less extent than it was in 1943.

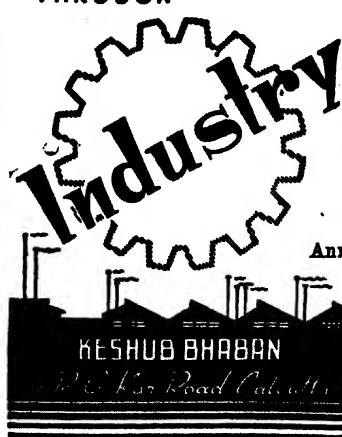
ROLE OF THE HANDLOOM INDUSTRY

The Indian cotton mill industry, which has been expanding mainly at the expense of foreign imports, has reached a stage, postponed by the war, of acute competition against the handloom industry, which, left to itself, will perhaps dwindle to the position of a small handicraft concentrating on the production of a few speciality cloths. The *Report of the Fact-Finding Committee*, however, maintains that in an industrially backward country suffering from chronic unemployment a labour-using and capital-saving industry such as the handloom industry has a special function to discharge as it provides employment for a large number of people and helps to mitigate the unequal diffusion of purchasing power, considered to be one of the main reasons of India's poverty. Decentralised production is not so uneconomical or inefficient as is often assumed, and hand-weaving is particularly suited to Indian conditions. The hand-weavers' cost of production is estimated to be only about 10 to 15 per cent higher than that of mills in many lines of staple production, and even this difference is claimed to be due to the enhanced cost of yarn to the weavers resulting from middlemen's charges. The Report emphasises the complementary character of mills and handlooms, and recommends co-operation between the two in order that the linking of the handlooms with the spinning and finishing mills may effect a combination of the economies of machine production and large-scale enterprise with the economies of the domestic system.

CONCLUSION

Considering the volume of its production, the value of its foreign trade, and the number of workers it employs, the Indian textile industry is of outstanding importance in the national economy. But the textile industry is pre-eminently international. While each country must cope with its own particular problems,

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there can be no complete solution unless there is international agreement. Textile mills are not only found in many countries but they are highly interdependent, since only a few of the leading textile producing countries have necessary raw materials. Before World War II, for instance, five countries, namely, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, and the United States, produced over 80 per cent of the total world supply of ginned cotton, and, in turn, depended on world manufacturing activity for the sale of their raw material. The countries exporting cotton textiles are actual or potential competitors in all markets, although there is a considerable range within which they are non-competitive in practice. Obviously the development of the textile industry and trade is an important factor in the evolution of world economy, and the proper co-ordination of the world textile industry is essential if it is to be sufficiently expanded to ensure an adequate supply of textile products for the masses of the people in every country.

Progress Toward an International Language

Arthur Dahl writes in *World Order* :

With his far-seeing wisdom, Baha'u'llah realized that in to-day's integrated, co-operative world, it was essential that peoples of all nations and races should be able to exchange ideas freely and directly, both verbally and in writing. Since it was out of the question for everyone to learn all the multitudinous languages and dialects, the obvious alternative, which He included in His basic social teachings, was the adoption of an auxiliary international language, which each person would learn in addition to his native language. This auxiliary language could either be an existing language, or one especially created for the purpose.

Sensible though this idea is, it has been very slow in reaching widespread acceptance and understanding. One reason has been the failure, until recently, to fully appreciate the necessity for international intercourse. A second reason has been the difficulty of selecting the auxiliary language. Each language group would like to see its own tongue selected, both to gain prestige, and to avoid learning a second language.

For a long while French was tacitly accepted as the common language in international society and diplomacy. In recent years, with the increasing predominance of the United States, English has been gaining acceptance in this capacity. To a large segment of the world, Spanish is dominant. Yet in the case of none of these tongues has there been a concerted movement to secure widespread acceptance as the international language.

To overcome the obstacle of national pride, several efforts have been made in the last sixty years to develop an entirely new language, with the necessary qualifications for an auxiliary language carefully incorporated. Most well known to date has been Esperanto, initiated in 1887 by Dr. L. L. Zamenhof. This language has many advantages. It is euphonious, logical, and regular in construction; the grammar is easily grasped; every rule is without exception; the spelling is phonetic; and the dictionary is small. It was favorably received in many parts of the world, and enjoyed a period of intense promotion, climaxed in the 1920's when the League of Nations published a favorable memorandum on the teaching of Esperanto in the schools of the world, and the International Telegraphic Union Association recognised it as a "clear language." Several Baha'i books have been translated into Esperanto.

A more recent candidate to receive widespread attention is Basic English, the creation of C. K. Ogden of Cambridge, and actively sponsored in this country by Dr. Ivor A. Richards of Harvard. This system con-

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sists of a vocabulary of 850 words: 400 general nouns, 150 adjectives, 100 "operators" (verbs, participles, pronouns, etc.), and 200 names of picturable things. There are subsidiary lists of words for the use of technicians and specialists in various fields. The words have been selected because of their co-operative utility, rather than their frequency of usage. The syntax of Basic is that of normal English. Its proponents claim that it is ideal both as a simple and easily learned auxiliary language, and as a rational introduction to unlimited English. Though the system was given a strong impetus when it was referred to by Prime Minister Churchill at Harvard, it remains to be seen what response will be forthcoming from the rest of the world to a proposal for an auxiliary language based on English.

But whereas progress toward a true auxiliary language has been slow, the war has brought about a veritable revolution in the teaching and dissemination of existing languages. The emergency need for thousands

of service men who could speak not only the leading European languages, but also the intricate and little-known tongues of Malaya, the Far East, and the Pacific islands, gave an opportunity to a new system of teaching practice known as linguistic science, in which the United States has taken the lead through the pioneer efforts of anthropologist Frans Boas. The new system has passed with flying colors its test applications in short, intensive Army and Navy courses in selected American universities, and its proponents feel that it will make the learning of several languages common practice after the war.

The development of methods by which languages may be learned quickly and easily will do much to bring about greater understanding among the peoples of the world, and by demonstrating this through concrete experience the advantages of spoken intercourse between races should eventually lead to acceptance of the principle of an auxiliary language.

—:O:—

THE MENACE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

By SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

In the May, 1945, issue of this journal we wrote in an article headed "Menace of Foreign Capital" as under:

"It is our considered opinion that in spite of Mahatma's warning Indian big business will ultimately form an alliance with foreign capital specially American if not on 50 : 50 at least on 70 : 30 or 75 : 25 basis."

In an A. P. message published in Calcutta newspapers on the 18th December, Sir Miles Thomas, Managing Director of the Nuffield organization was reported to have arrived at Karachi and said that "in conjunction with the Birla business, they had floated a three-million-pound company for the production of Indian cars made by Indians for India." Another message of the same news agency published in Calcutta on the 24th December announced that "Messrs Tatas and Imperial Chemical Industries are going ahead with a joint scheme" for starting a dyestuffs industry. It is thus clear that our prophecy has been fulfilled and India is now faced for the first time during nearly 200 years of British rule with an issue that, unless manfully handled, will perpetuate her foreign yoke. Ranade was strongly opposed to the inflow of foreign capital. Gopal Krishna Gokhale preferred our minerals lying unworked to their being worked with foreign capital. Surendranath Banerjee was of the opinion that the

bondage of foreign capital was far worse than political subjugation. Bipin Chandra Pal in addressing students' meetings in College Square, Calcutta, shuddered at the idea of India becoming the happy hunting ground of foreign capitalists.

It is lamentable that present-day Indian leadership is chary of treading on the corns of Indian big business. After our previous article was published in this journal, Mahatma disapproved of Indian industrialists going to Britain and America apparently with a view to import foreign capital. But now comes the harrowing revelation of combine after combine being formed with foreigners. Ireland repeatedly spurned exactly similar offers from British capitalists and that is why she has been able to come out of the clutches of Britain. The creation of foreign vested interests within the country which is in danger of being a second China was pointed out by us in the May issue. An example of this is that except *The Nationalist* and *Advance* no other newspaper in Calcutta has spoken a word on this unholy alliance. The chief defect of such combination is that the country cannot fight it with the same zeal as it can when the concern is totally foreign. India can now be industrialised to her maximum capacity with her own capital. As regards technical skill foreigners may be employed in the beginning as by the Tatas in their steel works.

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The Jupiter Terrace of Mammoth Hot Springs in Yellowstone National Park. This picture belongs to the collection of William H. Jackson, pioneer photographer and explorer, whose photographs were instrumental in inducing the U.S. Government to make it a national park



These rugged mountains are typical of the unspoiled wilderness of the Yellowstone National Park

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THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY



1940

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Whole No. 470

NOTES

The New Central Legislature

Old wine, re-processed, has been poured into the old bottle of the Central Assembly. As yet there are no signs of a new orientation in the outlook of the legislators, whether elected or nominated, excepting in the matter of the election of the President. In that affair, officialdom of the die-hard variety openly sided with the reactionaries, and some of the nominated showed their distrust of the war-time bureaucracy by refusing to obey the official directive either openly or in secret. Perhaps the thinly veiled incitement to reaction that is still being continued by the legates of that Pillar of Wisdom—hollow, wooden and filled with dry-rot—that propped up Imperialism in India, has at last roused even the Moderate and the Jo-hookum to a sense of realities. However, to continue with the main topic, apart from this little side issue nothing has emanated from the Central Assembly to show that the old order has changed or even that it is about to change. Maybe it is too early as yet to assess the possibilities of the future of this new Assembly. We only hope that soon we shall be given unmistakable proof that those that are functioning as our mouthpieces at the centre are fully alive to the fact that the old tactics were completely barren of any beneficial results and that the country looks forward to them for positive action bearing concrete results. Otherwise there is no justification in keeping up this show, short-lived though it might be.

The task before the country is truly colossal. Politically the country was dragged into accepting terms that bore comparison with mediaeval autocracies. Economically there is more poverty and destitution in India now than there ever has been in our history. Corruption on an appalling scale has swept like a plague all over the country. Even to-day in Calcutta we hear rumours about the hushing-up of a case running into crores in which officialdom and the last League Ministry was involved. Stories of atrocities and oppression that

match the records of the Hitlerian regime are coming to light, and they all call for investigation and retribution. All these wrongs have to be righted, and the first move must come from the legislatures. The responsibility on the legislators is enormous and the sooner the fullest realization of this fact dawns on them the better for the country. For time is of the essence even for an Assembly that will function in the interim period.

Lord Wavell's Speech

There was nothing new or novel in Lord Wavell's speech as he himself stated in the introductory portion. He has frankly called for co-operation from all sides, though he has not indicated how that is possible while permanent officialdom continues to fish in the troubled waters of communalism. Public distrust of the executive has been enhanced by what has transpired in the Central Assembly elections, specially in the areas where corrupt and reactionary members of the executive have been entrenched through the tolerance, even open assistance, of the higher executive who were in league with the reactionaries. Unless corruption and totalitarian tactics are put down with a strong hand, it is futile to expect any whole-hearted co-operation from those who have suffered agonies at the hand of the bureaucrats. Reactionary time-servers can always be bought at a price as was so very evident in India under the League-Linlithgow coalition, but the exactions of such gentry tend to rise higher and higher in a steep endless curve and it is futile to expect the country to continue paying the black-mail, as arranged by its irresponsible rulers and go on co-operating cheerfully. We know Lord Wavell was no assenting party to such underhand arrangements, but unless he is armed with authority from the British Parliaments, and is thus able to declare when an end would be put to political bribery and a genuine attempt will be made to clear the Augean stables of communal India by forthright action, he can expect little in return for his labours.

Regarding his request for moderation in speeches and the remarks he made on the generation of bitterness and animosity in the country, we only wish he could call his executive together and exhort them in the same way. Police and oppression have now become synonyms so far as the nationalists are concerned and as for the executive, where is the civil servant who is actuated with a genuine motive of service to India or its people, or any other motive excepting self-interest on a broad-base? There can be no unilateral arrangement either in co-operation or in moderation, and if there is any real desire for both on the part of the Government then strong and apparent action is needed from the centre in curbing and disciplining the Executive and their henchmen and in punishing the delinquents.

The Parliamentary Delegation

The Delegation has come to India at a time when the country is attempting to recover from the effects of drinking to the dregs the cup of bitterness filled to the brim with humiliation and oppression by British officialdom and their henchmen. Six millions starved to death and another sixty at least brought to sheer destitution in the name of military exigency, tens of thousands imprisoned for wanting liberty, millions oppressed, hundreds of thousands crushed down by firearms and bludgeons and rape, loot and arson let loose on the country in the name of Law and Order, that is the record of this country since August 1942. If after this there is any friendship between the Indian and the Briton, it would be because the Indian possesses a limitless capacity to forgive and forget. All might yet go well if the Delegation has the power to recognise Truth when they see her and the ability to tell their fellow Parliamentarians about the realities that they have gathered.

We know the Labour Ministry is facing titanic and vital problems at home, and we know of the almost unsurpassable morass in which they have been plunged by their predecessors in power. But they can make a gesture of good will by stopping the official campaign of lies, maligning India, that has been going on for years abroad and by telling their own people about the true nature of things relating to India. If the Parliamentary Delegation can even do that when they return then they would have achieved much.

Mr. Mavlinkar Elected President of Central Assembly

The Central Assembly chamber resounded with cries of *Jai Hind* when the result of the contest for presidentship was announced and Mr. Ganesh Vasudev Mavlinkar, the Congress nominee, was declared elected President by 66 votes against 63 secured by Sir Cowasji Jahangir, the Muslim League nominee who was supported by the Government and the British group. The *Hindustan Times* reports that Mr. Jinnah, who was awaiting the result in the lobby, probably believing that his party had won, walked in hoping to be cheered as the hero. When he found the Congress benches cheering instead, he stood in the gangway, stunned, motionless, a sadder, but not perhaps a wiser man. The special representative of the *Hindustan Times* says that the result was unexpected. There are several

unknown heroes who helped the Congress to win. They shall ever remain nameless, but what they did they did for the sake of their conscience and to uphold a moral cause which an unholy alliance between Sir Edward Benthall and Mr. Jinnah had sought to put in jeopardy. But there are two known heroes, Sir Ardesahir Dalal and Colonel Himmat Singhji (nominated member representing the armed forces of India) declined to cast their votes. The Congress benches cheered their declaration which was as strong a public protest as any one could have lodged in their position against the privy pact the Government had formed with the League to cheat the elected part of the House of its right to elect a President from among its own ranks.

It is also revealed that Sir Edward had entered into this unholy pact without even consulting the other members of the Council. The general opinion in the lobby was reported to be that Sir Edward Benthall had proved his unfitness to hold office in the Executive Council or to be the Leader of the House. He inspired and entered into an unholy alliance with a communal party and thereby had forfeited the right to hold charge of a Government department. Although Sir Edward's action looked bad, it was quite in keeping with the British policy pursued in India at the present moment.

Official Partisanship in Elections

Two significant events in connection with the Bengal elections have been reported. The first took place in a village named Gaffargaon in the district of Mymensingh where Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, Sir Nazimuddin, ex-Premier and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, ex-Minister of Civil Supplies, had gone to make election propaganda. When the train carrying the League leaders was nearing the station, thousands of Muslim peasants belonging to the Krishak Proja Party, stopped the train and asked the League leaders to quit. The demonstrators were peaceful, they did not resort to any sort of violence. Police aid for the League leaders, who seem to be quite unpopular in the locality, was ready. Armed police "rescued" the leaders and in that melee fired several rounds of shot which injured some of the demonstrators. The police, thereafter, took the League leaders to the appointed place of the meeting, cordoned them off from the demonstrators and helped the meeting to be conducted peacefully by remaining on guard outside. Whenever demonstrators sought to approach the pandal, they were chased away by the police. The overzealousness of an Additional District Magistrate of the district in providing police aid for League propaganda has been reported. It was in this district that the supporters of Sir A. H. Ghuznavi were prevented by the League *goondas* from coming to the polling booth. Whoever tried to help Sir Abdul Halim, was brutally assaulted, some severely. All efforts of Sir Abdul Halim to make the Executive move to stop League hooliganism had failed.

The second incident occurred at Bhairab Basar Railway Station in the same district. When Mr. Humayun Kabir, who had been on election tour, had reached that station, he was mercilessly belaboured and injured by some *goondas* belonging to the Muslim League. Here, as in the case cited above, the League was the aggressor and the Nationalist Muslim, the defender. Consistently with their policy, police stood aside as silent spectators, so did the station staff. Both the incidents took place in broad daylight.

Now, is the Government neutral in the matter of elections? We have heard verbose assurances given by highly placed officials, including the Governor, declaring the Government's desire to remain neutral and to prevent hooliganism. We do not yet know if these oral assurances have been followed up by secret instructions of the Hallett circular type. Indian experience of British administration in India is that the views expressed by the Viceroy or the Governors in this country may not *ipso facto* mean Government's intentions. It is the permanent Executive that really counts and it is their views that ultimately prevail. The people know it. They feel it every day. Therefore, addressing the permanent Executive, we wish to put forward a few straight questions.

The elections are going to be held with an inordinate haste thus putting a heavy handicap on the Congress. Shortness of time, corruption of officialdom and black market money have been the three great factors which have put formidable obstacles in the way of a free and fair election. Before the Congress could look about, elections are going to be held. Is this haste unintentional?

What is the real role of the permanent Executive in this matter? Are they taking direct action or not? Well ahead of the Central elections, the *Dawn*, the official organ of the Muslim League, gave a clear directive in undisguised language for violence and suborning. For far less provocation nationalist newspapers have been severely penalised and the Congress party arraigned. In this case, in spite of the fact that leaders of the calibre of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru drew attention to the comments of the *Dawn*, the Government kept silent.

Coming to our home province, we get direct examples of how the plan of the Executive is functioning. Two instances have been given above and it is needless to multiply. In the first case, where the League programme was held up, the Executive summarily used firearms on the peasants who did not belong to the League, although there was no question of violence on any League leader. In the case of Nationalist Muslims where the Leaguers have used utmost violence, the Executive have not taken any action whatsoever. This is by no means the first or second, or even the hundredth instance of such purposeful inaction.

Let the Executive take off its mask and tell us the truth. If the intention of the Executive is to maintain neutrality, the officials who fired upon the unarmed demonstrators in Mymensingh must be prosecuted. In case they really want that elections should proceed along constitutional lines, then all the instances where the Leaguers have used violence must immediately be taken in hand and severe punishment dealt out both to the official delinquents and the criminals who are thus trying to use fascist methods in foiling a so-called democratic election. The Executive cannot have it both ways. The old methods of hypocrisy, so much loved by the British bureaucrats, can no longer be allowed to function unchallenged.

Verdict on the League

The report of Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's personal envoy in India, submitted to the U.S. Government after his return from this country and so far kept secret, has now been made known. The report covers nearly eighty typed pages. It frankly admits that the Indian National Congress is not a

fascist body, that Muslim League objections to self-government in India are not valid, that there were more riots in League provinces and that the acceptance of such principles as advocated by the Muslim League in the Bombay Property Tax Agitation would result in anarchy. The only instance of any importance cited by the League as infringement of Muslim economic rights is the Bombay Property Tax. This tax was criticised generally on the ground that property taxes should be left to municipal governments but the League attacked it on communal grounds. Explaining the League attitude, Mr. Phillips says, "But seriously to contend that because Muslims happened to form a large percentage of the landowners in Bombay, the tax should not have been levied, or that the funds realised should be spent for the benefit of Muslims alone is hardly reasonable. Acceptance of such principles would result in anarchy."

In respect of League allegations of misrule against the Congress, Mr. Phillips says:

"It must be noted that the sweeping allegations contained in Mr. Jinnah's 'Deliverance Day' resolution are not supported by the evidence accumulated and presented by the various Muslim League reports, even if these were validated. The charge that the Congress Governments did their best to destroy Muslim culture rests principally upon a few isolated instances of the elimination of Urdu from school curriculums and such measures as the Wardha Scheme of basic education, or the use of certain text-books. The case of economic or political discrimination is even weaker.

"That communal disturbances assumed alarming proportions during the year of the Congress Ministries is also not based on facts. In fact the Hindu-Muslim riots were frequent in Bengal and the Punjab during the same period and were more numerous in the Punjab than in any one Congress Province. An unbiased judgment would consider the disturbances as outcome of growing cleavage between Muslims and Hindus which owed its development quite as much as to the communal spirit emphasised by the Muslim League as to any other single factor."

The observations of a few of the diehard administrators may here be cited. Lord Linlithgow, in a statement made shortly after the Congress Ministers resigned from office, pointed out to the "distinguished record" of public achievement during the last two and a half years. "That the provinces," he said, "had conducted their affairs on the whole with great success, no one can question."

Lord Zetland, the then Secretary of State for India, regretted that "the ministries, which have with so much zeal been carrying on the government of their great provinces, and tackling with every resource the many problems with which administration has naturally brought them into contact, should have found it necessary to withhold further services for their country."

Sir Harry Haig, Governor of the United Provinces during Congress regime, speaking of the conditions in that province, complimented his Ministers specially on their handling of the communal problem. He said, "In dealing with questions raising communal issues, the Ministers in my judgment normally acted with impartiality and a desire to do what was fair."

Even an implacable enemy of the Congress, Mr. L.

S. Amery had admitted although grudgingly that the Congress Ministers governed. "not unsuccessfully."

Mr. Phillips made it clear that the purpose of the Congress was not to set itself up as a fascist government, but to unify India in order to gain the objective of independence and the right of Indians to frame their own constitution. He says that Mr. Jinnah's accusation that the 'sole aim of the Congress is to annihilate every other organisation in the country' is his interpretation of the fact that the Congress continued to pursue a policy of expansion by endeavouring to win adherents from all elements of the Indian population. Mr. Jinnah was mortally afraid that complete success of this attempt of the Congress would have resulted in the dissolution of the Muslim League and other communal and sectional organisations.

Phillips on Separate Electorates

Mr. Phillips continues to say :

The Muslim leaders have not proved that Muslim interests as such were endangered by Congress rule. What does appear evident from a survey of the years of provincial autonomy is that the Muslim League as a political party will not have an opportunity to gain control of the Government but will continue to occupy, except in a few provinces, the position of a minority in the assemblies ; in the Central Legislature also it can not hope to capture a majority of the seats. This is the real grievance of the Muslim leaders over the Congress attitude towards the states ; it explains the demand for Pakistan.

Discussing the future of the Hindu-Muslim problem the report says : The charges of discrimination brought against the Congress ministries, the continuous agitation during their two years of office, leading up to the celebration of "deliverance day," were an effective means of arousing the Muslims and gaining their support for the League. The recognition of this fact does not, obviously, do away with the minority problem, or contain any solution for it. The position of a large group of people destined for ever to have but a minor voice in the Government of their country still demands consideration.

If, however, it be granted that political alignments in the future are likely to be different from those which exist today, that the majority as constituted as at present is likely to split up into its component parts, the position of the Muslims takes on a different aspect.

Muslim objection to self-government for India on the ground that the Congress will continue to dominate political affairs are no longer valid. Furthermore, there is every reason to suppose that the Muslim League itself will be affected by changes in other political organisations. In the first place, the Muslim community as a political party has only an artificial unity. Like other religious groups it comprises various classes which have been more or less welded together politically by the device of a separate electorate. There is already evidence to indicate that Muslim workers and peasants are becoming increasingly aware of their unity with Hindus of the same class. The Muslims are beginning to realise that religion does not obliterate class distinctions or produce a community of interests.

Frantic attempts to maintain separate electorates in India are ceaselessly being made. There are clear indications that the framers of Indian constitution know what separate electorates really mean. Only the other day, a member of the British Parliament said that separate electorates on religious basis introduced in Liverpool or Glasgow would have the same result as prevail in India. Here we have seen that whenever any attempt to re-introduce joint electorates has been made, it has been stubbornly opposed sometimes openly, sometimes under cover of the reactionary Muslims. In the Calcutta Municipal Act, separate electorates were grudgingly granted by Sir Surendranath Banerjee for a specified period only after which joint election automatically began to function. After some fifteen years, separate electorates have been made a permanent feature of the Calcutta Municipal Act as soon as legislative power passed on to the hands of a reactionary group. We dare say that neither the Muslim League nor their patron the British Government will claim that separate electorates have improved the Calcutta Municipal administration in any way whatsoever. In Sind, we find the same story repeated. As soon as a progressive Ministry was formed there under Mr. Allah Bux, joint electorates were re-introduced in local Board elections. After his removal, the Ministry of Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayetullah again brought about the separate electorate. It seems, however, that this gentleman has grown wiser. He has declared his verdict against separate electorates and has said that unless this poison is removed, the Indian national life cannot function with health and vigour.

Thoughts on Pakistan

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, leader of Kashmir, has put a straight question to the Pakistanwalahs and has wanted to know how Pakistan will rescue Muslims from Hindu domination. He says that on the face of it, this argument that Pakistan will liberate Muslims, appeals to the Muslims who are in the position of a minority. But there are provinces in India where they are in a majority and obviously they do not need Pakistan there. According to this style of argument, if it is needed at all, it is needed by Muslims of Madras, C.P., U.P. or Bihar. It is they who need being rescued from Hindu domination, if such rescuing business is at all necessary. Yet, Sheikh Abdullah points out, it is they who are being kept out of the orbit of Pakistan. The League leaders have merely advanced the argument of *Satana* or retaliation as a measure of enforcing Muslim rights in Hindu majority provinces. Sheikh Abdullah's comments are specially illuminating on this point. He has very ably cleared this argument of *Satana* in the following words :

The votaries of Pakistan, however, explain : Taking the instance of C. P. Muslims (who roughly constitute 6 per cent of the population) in the event of Hindus maltreating them, Pakistan would reply at once with reprisals taken against the Hindus in the Punjab or Sind. Is such a course of action possible ? Is it simply done ? In the first instance, the Punjab or Sind Government would be absolutely lacking in moral justification when asking hostages of the innocent Hindus living in the provinces ? Secondly, though sympathy may often be expressed, sympathy always has limits. What are we the 8 crores

of Mussalmans doing to stop British tommy-guns from killing liberty-loving Indonesian Mussalmans or the Arabs of Palestine? The idea of treating the Hindus living in Pakistan as hostages for the sake of Muslims living in Hindustan is, therefore, manifestly absurd. Again, for the tortures suffered by a Muslim subject of C. P. it would serve as little consolation to him, if (assuming such a course of action were possible) a Hindu citizen of Lahore would receive a similar treatment at the hands of Muslim rulers of Pakistan. A thing like this is unheard of.

It follows consequently that Pakistan as a plan to rescue Muslims from the domination of Hindu majority would leave nearly 3 crores of honest, devout Mussalmans at the mercy of Hindus in the Hindu majority provinces where they really need being rescued.

Whom will Pakistan then help? Will it help Muslims in the Muslim-majority Provinces? Not politically. Because even with Pakistan established, a province like the Punjab cannot but have a composite Government representing both Hindus and Muslims. The Punjab Hindus with their advancement in trade, education etc., cannot simply be ignored. Comprising roughly 45 per cent of the population, they are bound to hold a strong position in the Government of their province and *this by the way, will make taking of hostages impossible*. Same is true of Sind, partly in the case of N.W.F.P. and of course too true in the case of Bengal.

That the mere fact of allegiance to the same religion cannot by itself rule out all provincial rivalries or internal disputes, has also been elucidated by Sheikh Abdullah. He says that in spite of all Mussalmans being of one religion and of cultural unity, provincial animosities between the different units of Pakistan are bound to come to the forefront sooner than later. The Pathan for instance does not like the Punjabi and we know a good deal of the "Sind for the Sindhis" psychology. A weak Pakistan will thus be further weakened through provincial rivalries. Sheikh Abdullah says:

Actually it appears to me that politically we in India are reverting to the phase immediately after the fall of the Mughal Empire and just before the advent of the foreign rulers. The British Empire is falling too like the Mughal one and there is again visible the tendency to break up India into sovereign and semi-sovereign units. History is trying desperately to repeat itself.

Commenting on the economics of Pakistan, Sheikh Abdullah says:

Economically, Pakistan would be a losing concern. I am saying this not with a view to offend Mr. Jinnah by pointing out the utter impracticability of Pakistan but as a fact. Certainly, when Mr. Jinnah says we will know how to manage our finances, he is right but thereby he does not show that Pakistan would be a sound proposition economically. I hold with Mr. Jinnah that Pakistan cannot be denied only because it appears financially unsound. I am referring to its economic unsoundness for two reasons. In the first place, the inhabitants of Pakistan would be poor compared to the inhabitants of Hindustan with less chances for betterment, living at best on religious ego. Economically, Hindustan would still dominate Pakistan just as the U.S.A. is doing with

South America, which would eventually be domination on the political plane as well. How then is Pakistan a reply to Hindu Capitalists?

Origin of the Pakistan Idea

There is some dispute as to who first started the idea of Pakistan. It is often said to have been Sir Mahammad Iqbal. Mr. Edward Thompson has told us what Iqbal thought about Pakistan. He writes:

In the *Observer* I once said that he supported the Pakistan plan. Iqbal was a friend, and he set my misconception right. After speaking of his own despondency at the chaos he saw coming 'on my vast undisciplined and starving land,' he went on to say that he thought the Pakistan plan would be disastrous to the British Government, disastrous to the Hindu community, disastrous to the Moslem community. 'But I am the President of the Muslim League and therefore it is my duty to support it.'

Thompson says that he was astonished that certain official circles were keen on the Pakistan idea; he was still more astonished to find that some of the British 'Left' were beginning to be persuaded to it. In his view, there is no surer way of plunging India into eternal civil war.

Thompson gives his own view on Mr. Jinnah and the two-nation theory, which we consider worth quoting:

Hindus and Muslims are of the same blood and—as Sir George Forrest has pointed out in his *History of the Indian Mutiny*—"understand each others' systems" (as we who are birds of passage in India do not). They have found a bridge to each other before and may do so again. Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League, who now claims that there are two nations in India, one Hindu and one Muslim, has the same vernacular as Mr. Gandhi (Gujarati) and was once a Congressman, when he was the spokesman and hope of all who worked for Hindu-Muslim unity—just as in Britain the young Mr. Gladstone was the rising hope of the stern unbending Tories and Mr. Neville Chamberlain's father Joseph Chamberlain the rather more than rising hope of the fiery Radicals.

At the opening general session of the First Round Table Conference it was Mr. Jinnah who made the most challenging demand for immediate recognition of India's status, and I well remember the excitement of an American journalist who rushed away shouting: 'I'm going to give England hell! Jinnah has voiced the united demand of India and your Prime Minister hasn't said a word in reply!'

In my talk with Mr. Jinnah last October there was these exchange: there is no harm in quoting it, since it is what he has said so often and so often.

"Two nations, Mr. Jinnah! Confronting each other in every province? every town every village?"

"Two nations. Confronting each other in every province, every town, every village. That is the only solution."

"That is a very terrible solution, Mr. Jinnah!"

"It is a terrible solution. But it is the only one."

I do not believe it, any more than I believe in its kindred and accompanying solution of 'Pakistan'.

India and Indonesia

Contributing an article to the *Hindu*, Dr. Mohammad Hatta, Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, has addressed a few words to the people of India, whom, he says, "I look upon as my brothers." He says that this feeling of affection which he entertains for India is not only influenced by the close ties of friendship existing between him and many of our leaders for many years past, but also because of those historic connections between the two countries that go back to the very early days of history. He frankly admits that Indian civilisation moulded the course of Indonesian culture, and more recently every important move on the Indian political chess-board has engaged their full attention. Dr. Hatta writes :

In our relations with the West we of India and Indonesia have fallen heirs to the same set of experiences. The history of our bondage started with submission to a trading company vested by its Government with monopolistic powers. In both our countries, therefore, the edifice of alien rule was erected on capitalistic trading basis. Then with the rise of industrial capitalism the control over the colony passed from the hands of the traders to the colonial Power. The colonial Power now took on the job of safeguarding the capital invested in its territories.

Viewed from this angle it is easy to understand why liberalism and democracy—so highly prized in their own countries—were considered by the colonial Power as unsuited to colonies. The liberal and democrat turned an imperialist and became a colonial autocrat. If he had not done so, he would have been faced with the problem of native interests clashing with foreign capital.

Fascism in the Colonies

Dr. Hatta then gives an account of how fascism has developed in the colonies :

Preservation and continuation of capitalistic exploitation by foreigners imposed on colonial Powers the necessity of autocratic control over huge population groups. Fascism and Nazism, although only apparent in Europe during the past two decades, have existed in the colonies from the very moment the colonies came into being. The *herren-volk* theory, extolled by the Nazis, has been consistently dinned into the ears of native populations by their colonial rulers.

Bearing all these factors in mind it is not a matter for surprise that India and Indonesia are putting up a struggle to oust capitalism and imperialism. Expansion of capitalism results in corresponding increase of imperialist greed so that every national movement aimed at the liberation of colonial territory must inevitably cross swords with capitalism. Capitalism in colonies is the simple explanation of imperialism in colonies.

Although the Indonesian struggle for freedom is as old as Dutch colonialism a campaign on modern lines is the product of this century. In 1908 was born the political organisation known as "Budi Utama," its members being students of the medical college at Jockarta (Batavia). This organisation was of an intellectual character and sought to obtain for the

Indonesians the same status as the Dutch, but this movement of intellectuals marks an important chapter in the history of Indonesia's political activity. It served to pave the way for founding a radical national party in 1913, "Sarikat Islam," which is a people's organisation numbering millions of members.

At the start of Indonesian political consciousness the aim of the movement was the achievement of their objectives through co-operation with the Dutch. They believed that by working together in this fashion they would be able to induce the Netherlands Government to grant Home Rule to Indonesia; and Home Rule once achieved, the acquisition of full independence would automatically become possible.

Such were the views of Indonesian Nationalists at that time. The world had just heard for the first time of the late President Wilson's slogan of the right of Self-Determination and had subsequently heard the pledge that the right was to be extended to all. Here in Indonesia the Netherlands Government in November, 1918 made a categorical promise in the *Volkraad* (Puppet Peoples Council), undertaking to introduce self-government at the earliest possible moment. Yet, not long afterwards the self-same Netherlands Government went back on its word and refused to carry out what it had promised.

Thus it came about that the people of Indonesia lost faith in the goodwill of the Dutch. Then again when the Communist revolution was sweeping Russia, Holland too experienced a minor social upheaval caused by the Social Democrats and the Dutch repeated the promise of self-government to Indonesia. But as usual as soon as the danger passed the Dutch went back on their word.

Indian Example for Indonesia

Explaining how Indonesian national movement has gained inspiration from India, Dr. Hatta writes :

This feeling of being cheated strengthened radicalism among the ranks of nationalists. Realising it was the usual procedure for colonial Powers to cheat their subject peoples, the Indonesian people cast a look around to see how other colonies were getting on. And staring them in the face was the nationalist non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi.

The Indonesian students educated abroad saw with full clarity how futile it was for Indonesians to co-operate with their Dutch rulers. Indonesian aspirations to freedom ran counter to Dutch interests, which, to give one example, derived profits totalling over five hundred million guilders a year. The youth movement, therefore, advocated the policy of non-co-operation with the Dutch and the policy of self-help for Indonesians. They felt that if Indonesia wanted freedom she had to quit co-operation with the Dutch, for co-operation meant only self-deception for the Indonesians who were being exploited for the benefit of the Dutch.

Influenced by the Indian non-co-operation movement and by representations made by Indonesian students abroad, the Indonesian nationalists began to base their struggle on the principle of non-co-

operation. There was difference of course, not in objectives or the means employed but in the basis on which the struggle was conducted. Here the Indonesian movement did not have any of the religious background it had in India.

Since 1923 the Indonesian non-co-operation movement has progressed from strength to strength with corresponding opposition from the colonial Government. Subsequently, non-co-operation became the chief weapon of the Indonesian struggle. Those not in agreement were only the official class who favoured co-operation with the Dutch plus opposition in the *Volkeraad*.

During that period the Dutch took a heavy toll of Indonesian nationalists. Thanks to the provision in the law code permitting action against those likely to 'endanger public peace,' the Dutch were able to extern many leaders for indefinite periods. In this matter no legal trials were necessary. The Governor-General dealt with all those who, in his opinion, were likely to endanger public peace.

It is common knowledge that the economic crisis of 1929 proved to be a strong incentive to the rise of Nazism and Fascism in Europe. But much faster was the rate at which Nazism stepped into the ranks of the Dutch in Indonesia, who had always acted autocratically. Governor-General De Jongh, sent here in 1931, openly admitted his Nazi sympathies. No surprise that the Dutchmen in Indonesian civil service, police and army followed suit.

With the advent of Nazi influence in colonial politics, the Netherlands Government began to force on Indonesia a policy under which, to the disadvantage of this country, we were unwillingly bound to an economic system devised by the Dutch. That was the beginning of neo-mercantilism. From then Indonesia's economy was made to fit into the needs of Netherlands' economic and industrial plan. According to this scheme, Indonesia was limited to small industries, small enterprises, small trades—everything being on a small scale. In effect therefore Indonesia was in the position of a small town branch of a big business organisation, Holland being the head office.

Although Indonesians were bent on achieving economic orientation centring on the Pacific they were not given the chance. There arose in their minds the conviction that Indonesia was nothing else but mere chattel used for the benefit of the Dutch. And at the time the Dutch surrendered to Japan, the same impression persisted in the minds of the Indonesians.

Indonesia Looks Up to India

After narrating the difficulties for the period of Jap occupation, Dr. Hatta concludes his article with the following words:

The Indonesian Republic exists *de facto* but we have not yet attained *de jure* recognition. Therefore, our national struggle is by no means over. We base our claim to Self-Determination on the Atlantic Charter which gives each people the right to choose the form of government it wants. We shall fight to the last ditch to win international recognition of our independence.

We in Indonesia sincerely hope that India will soon be free, all the more so in view of the fact that

the question of freedom for our two lands is really one common question: When India achieves her independence and becomes free from British rule, Indonesian Independence will no longer be a problem. The small Dutch nation cannot overwhelm by force 70 million Indonesians ready and eager to defend their freedom with their last drop of blood.

Both India and Indonesia, each along its individual cultural line, are proceeding towards the realisation of the ideal of world brotherhood. Both are fully qualified to implement that ideal but it is essential that our right to Self-Determination be recognised in order we may be in a position to contribute our best towards that ideal. The new world envisaged will not be stable unless it is based on principles of humanism. Therefore, let Indonesia and India work together and head towards the same direction as pioneers along the road of social justice.

Imperialism has so far succeeded in obstructing a physical contact between India and Indonesia through her accredited leaders, but have failed to stifle their voice of sympathy and friendship. India and Indonesia stand united on the rock of idealism which no Imperialist power can demolish.

Provincial Elections

Elections in two provinces, Assam and Sind, are now over. In both of them, Mr. Jinnah has lost heavily. In Assam, Congress has captured a majority of the seats and will now be in a position to form the Ministry independently of any other group.

In Sind, the situation continues to be intriguing. The party position in the Sind Assembly now stands as follows:

Muslim League	27
Congress	23
Nationalist Muslim	4
Syed Party	4
Europeans	3
Total	60

The Muslim League had put up 35 candidates of whom 27 have been returned. Congress put up 18 candidates all of whom have been returned. Mr. Syed had set up 14 candidates, four of whom have been returned. Of the Nationalist Muslims, Khan Bahadur Maula Bux, brother of Allah Bux, has been returned with three other followers.

It is now clear that the Muslim League cannot form the Ministry even with European support. Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Maulana Asad have gone to Karachi to discuss the election results.

Mr. Jinnah's position is now fully anomalous. Frontier Province has declared against him. The League in Assam, with a Muslim population of 33 per cent, had so far succeeded, through British help, to maintain a League Coalition Ministry in power. Further prospects for the formation of any League Ministry is now doomed. These two gates of Pakistan are therefore closed.

Sind was the creation of Mr. Jinnah. It was separated from Bombay in response to Mr. Jinnah's fourteen-point demand. The complete burial of Pakistan

in Sind as well will now depend on the leadership of the Congress leaders. They had feared when Allah Bux frantically sought to form a Congress Coalition. They must wake up to realities.

by anti-government outburst. Through the efforts of the Congress, peace was finally restored.

23rd January

On 23rd January the fiftieth birthday of Subhas Chandra Bose was celebrated all over India. The function was unique in Bombay and Calcutta in two different ways. Calcutta celebrated it peacefully with great pomp and grandeur. The city of his youth and maturity saw the biggest procession on record which solemnly marched through a distance of about seven miles. Major-General Shah Nawaz of the Indian National Army, who participated in the procession received thunderous ovation from the people. Dressed in full military uniform, Shah Nawaz responded to the greetings of the people.

The entire route was lined by people, who, at places ten to twenty deep, were patient, uncomplaining and orderly. Housetops and balconies were also packed. Two big portraits of Netaji Subhas, one full figure and the other a bust, were taken in the procession. It was an impressive spectacle which stirred imagination. It was an exaltation of a national hero and the sublimation of his achievements. Houses in the city were tastefully decorated. Portraits of Subhas in different poses festooned with garlands of roses, marigolds and white flowers were hung up at the arches erected at different street crossings.

An attractive feature of the procession was the participation of different communities. At its vanguard proceeded Sikhs on horseback followed by a spectacular band of Khuksars in their characteristic ceremonial dress. Bengali volunteers, both boys and girls, dressed in white from cap to toes, were equally impressive. The discipline maintained throughout the march was unique. In the evening whole Calcutta was illuminated. During his short stay, Major-General Shah Nawaz enthused the people with the ideas of the great Leader. He said, "The I.N.A. can spread the spirit of complete unity and brotherhood among Indians infused into them by Netaji. No Indian can render greater service to his country than carrying on this mission of bringing about communal harmony." On the 24th, in a public reception accorded to him, Shah Nawaz asked the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh to combine for driving out British Imperialism from India.

Police in Calcutta were conspicuous by their absence and there being no police intervention, there was no trouble.

Things were entirely different in Bombay. In the name of maintaining law and order, the Bombay police blocked the procession and declined to let it pass through the Muslim quarter of the city on the usual plea of maintaining communal peace. This led to serious trouble. On the smallest provocation, police resorted to firing. Public sentiment was roused, the situation went completely out of control. Grain shops, booking offices and similar institutions connected with the Government became targets of public fury and British people began to be attacked. The police later had to admit to the *Associated Press of America* that the demonstrations had nothing to do with communalism, they were entire-

Demonetisation Ordinance

The Government of India had issued the Demonetisation Ordinance with two ostensible objects, namely, to freeze a large portion of black market capital which they believed to have been in higher denomination notes, and to track down tax-dodgers who had evaded payment of taxes by holding large cash balances in the form of high denomination notes. The first blow of the Ordinance created a good deal of panic in the money market which quietened after some time with the appearance of a new dodge in the form of thousand-rupee notes offered at a high discount. The Ordinance which sought to combat black marketing, created a new black market.

Latest reports show that demonetised notes to the extent of Rs. 85 crores have already been exchanged. This represents nearly 53 per cent of the total notes of higher denomination computed at Rs. 163 crores which were in circulation at the time of the promulgation of the Ordinance.

The net result of the Ordinance now seems to have been a shake up in the black market money with a further concentration of its capital into fewer hands. Weaker elements of the profiteers disgorged their hoardings and disposed them off at a discount of 40 or 50 per cent and the bigger ones purchased them. Native States did not fall in line with the Government of India and many of them have not yet taken steps to issue any order of the kind of the Demonetisation Ordinance. This has resulted in the migration of a large amount of notes to the Native States. Unscrupulous people made good profits during the period the ordinance worked. It was rumoured that Banks have revived dead accounts for cashing the notes and insurance companies have received annual premiums for Life insurances. Banks were required to submit accounts and numbers of high denomination notes but not the Insurance Companies. Women and Mahajans have also been utilised for cashing them. We doubt how far the declarations collected by the Government at the time of exchanging the notes will prove useful. Taxes will be assessed on them a year hence, and these people will get plenty of time to cook their accounts if they mean to do so. It is also likely to create another black market in passing the accounts by the Income-tax officials. It is well-known that not all officers of this department are descendants of *Judhisthira*.

One thing still remains perplexing to us. If the Government of India knew that black market capital was being held in high denomination notes, why did they pour them out in an unending stream? The following account quoted from the Report on Currency and Finance issued by the Reserve Bank of India for the year 1944-45 will show the proportion in which such notes have been issued:

	Crore Rupees			
	Rs. 5	Rs. 10	Rs. 100	Rs. 1000
	Notes	Notes	Notes	Notes
31st Dec., 1939	45.63	98.29	75.57	13.79
31st Dec., 1944	148.80	363.38	382.51	100.93
Approx. Rise	230%	270%	404%	621%

Rs. 50 and Rs. 500 notes are not much in vogue and therefore they have been left out. Rs. 10000 notes are generally used by Banks in settling mutual accounts and the amount is not high. This table gives figures only up to 1944. Up-to-date, it is believed, the amount of high denomination notes has reached Rs. 160 crores and the proportion between pre-war and present amounts must record a rise far higher than 1000 per cent. Government owe an explanation to the public on this account. They must tell the people whether this colossal amount of black market capital was supplied knowingly or not.

The Deaf-Mutes in Bengal

We have received a report on the work with the deaf-mutes in Bengal, by Nripendra Mohan Mazumdar, the Honorary Zone Secretary of the Convention of the Teachers of the Deaf in India. The first school for the deaf and dumb in Bengal was established in Calcutta in 1893. In course of time similar schools were started in Barisal, Dacca, Mymensingh and other district towns. The Convention was organised to urge for compulsory education for the deaf-mutes, to stimulate public interest in order to establish more schools and with other allied objects in view. Due to war conditions work could not be as satisfactory as one wished. Moreover, the commodious building of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School was commandeered by the Military authorities. The Day School has been removed to 71, Tarak Pramanick Road, Calcutta, and the boarding section is being run at Madhupur. In free countries they have different State Schools for handicapped children—handicapped visually as well as auditorily. But in our country the Government is almost apathetic in the matter.

In order to give publicity to the skill of the deaf-mute artisans and thereby open a market for them, and to draw the sympathetic attention of the Government and the employers of labour to give equal facilities to the deaf, an Exhibition of the handiworks of the deaf artisans was organised by the Convention. The prouged Exhibition of 1941 was held at 71, Tarak Pramanick Road in December, 1944, and was opened by Mrs. Casey. The Third Industrial Exhibition was also held last winter (1945) in the same place. In spite of adverse conditions the Convention has done some good work during the war period, for which the energetic Zone Secretary Mr. Mazumdar is to be congratulated.

War-Time Controls

Power once tasted cannot easily be relinquished. War-time controls have proved that it has been too true for many countries in the world. Although the war is over, many of the governments have begun to express their unwillingness to part with the tremendous powers they had arrogated to themselves in the name of controls. In India, signs are not wanting that if the Government of India can have their own way most of the war-time controls, which have functioned as engines of oppression and waste, will continue for a long time to come. The *Round Table* reports that it is true for Canada as well. A sharp controversy has developed there over a Bill called the National Emergency Powers Act, through which the Mackenzie King government aims to keep alive for another year many of the arbitrary powers conferred upon it for the period of the war under the War Measures Act. Influential spokesmen of the business and the industrial com-

munities are opposing against the retention of the controls even in a modified form, which they contend will be brakes upon the speedy reversion of business and manufacturing to normal peace time activities. Whatever might there might be in a government, there is never any shortage of excuses for the support of arbitrary actions. Mr. King wants to retain the controls for combating inflation; the opinion of the very people who will be affected by the retention of the controls being curty brushed aside. Modern politicians claim to know more about trade and industry than the traders and industrialists themselves. In India, things are easier. Here the politicians running the government can forge and continue with any measure "for the welfare of the people" even when the people declare that such measures are dragging them to misery, starvation and death.

Plight of Primary Teachers

Mr. M. V. Donde, a well-known educationist of Bombay, and President of the Bombay Provincial Primary Teachers' Association, has published facts and figures about teachers' salaries in that province which bad as they are compare very favourably with those obtaining in Bengal. Here are the facts :

No public servant suffers such a terrible hardship as a teacher in a Primary School in this province. He gets under the Education Act, Rs. 15 as his salary. For a Primary School teacher the minimum qualification is the Primary School Certificate Examination after a schooling of eight years. With this qualification he is taken up in service on Rs. 15 without any grade. When he becomes confirmed, generally after seven or eight years, he gets Rs. 20 till the end of his service. There is no scale of salary for him, no increments of any kind. After some years he may get a chance for training in any of the Training Colleges. If he qualifies himself with a training certificate after full two years' instructions, he is promised a grade of Rs. 25-1/3-40. This start of Rs. 25 he generally gets after a service of 10 or 12 years. After every three years, the increment in his salary is Re. 1 i.e., Rs. 5 ps. 4 due annually but paid after three years. There are not many cases in which a teacher reaches the maximum of Rs. 40, because generally he reaches his period of retirement before he reaches his maximum. In the whole department, there are hardly 40 per cent teachers who are trained. That means 60 per cent teachers get Rs. 20 only as their salary. They start on Rs. 20 and die on Rs. 20. No public servant is paid so low as that. The teachers, even in these days when the cost of living has gone up by 200 per cent and 300 per cent, are not paid dearness allowance. In some cases, after a good deal of agitation, they are paid Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 as dearness allowance.

In Bengal, according to Government Reports, the average pay for a Primary School teacher in 1942 was only Rs. 9 per month. Even trained teachers get not more than Rs. 12, or at the most Rs. 18, only the other day a dearness allowance of Rs. 3 has been added to this paltry pay. In their post-war scheme, the Government of Bengal could not raise even their target figures over Rs. 30 for trained Matriculates, Rs. 22 for other trained teachers and untrained Matriculates and Rs. 18 for other untrained teachers.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal's Resignation

National Call of Delhi had predicted the resignation of Sir Ardeshir Dalal as early as the last week of October. It was reported that Sir Ardeshir had threatened to resign if the proposed Department of Co-ordination was created as a super-structure over the Planning and Development Department. With the voluminous talks on planning and development, departments of Co-ordination are being created both at the Centre and in the provinces. It is not very difficult to understand the meaning behind this move. Development of Indian national life, particularly the industrial and educational advancements are not much liked by our present rulers. A British Watch and Ward Department has, therefore, become a dire necessity as a superstructure over the Planning and Development Departments.

National Call reports that Sir Ardeshir's threat worked for some time and the Department was not created. A subterfuge, however, was soon discovered. In place of the Department, a Co-ordination Committee of the Executive Council was created with Lord Wavell as Chairman, Sir Ardeshir as Deputy Chairman and Sir Eric Coates as Secretary. Although it was to be a committee like the War Resources Committee, it was given a separate Secretary, Joint and Deputy Secretaries and the full paraphernalia of a full-fledged department of the Imperial Secretariat.

This Committee was dominated by the British element—Lord Wavell and Sir Eric Coates. The work of co-ordination of post-war plans, including those of the provinces began to be carried on in this Department and Sir Ardeshir's Planning and Development Department became a meaningless entity and a virtual superfluity. Sir Ardeshir, the Deputy Chairman, was given no occasion to exercise his office, as Lord Wavell was always there and the meeting would not be called in the absence of the Viceroy. Sir Eric Coates was specially picked up for the post.

All this proved too much for Sir Ardeshir Dalal, who after all, was not merely in search of a job. He had made sacrifices to take up the membership of the Viceroy's Council because the Tatas wanted to oblige the Viceroy by giving one of their best men. Sir Ardeshir, like Sir Homi Modi, another Tata's Director who left the Viceroy's Council, found that it was the Viceroy and the British Secretaries who ran the Secretariat and the Government of India and the Indian members were more or less ornamental superfluities. It is reported that he was feeling sick of the communal conflict in planning. Imperial need demanded that communalism must be introduced into future development plans so that seeds of frustration were planted from the very start. Sir Ardeshir found that in proposals for capital, for training of technicians, for constituting the Investment Board, the Finance Corporation and at all such steps the communal conflict was present. The communal interests depended on the British element within the Government for the support of their sectional demands and he felt his inability to prevent it.

Another cause of Sir Ardeshir's resignation is his inability to do away with the statutory safeguards for British trade and industry even after the clear verdict of the Assembly on the subject. He visited London and tried to bring about a new Indo-British Treaty or Convention. He went there with the authority of the Government of India to evolve substitutes acceptable

to India but had to return empty-handed and disappointed.

We doubt whether these revelations would be sufficient to deter good people from joining the Viceroy's Executive Council, Sir Ardeshir himself had joined after the resignation of Sir Homi Modi. There is nothing new in the event. The British Government is no respecter of persons, they must safeguard their own interests first. The Viceroy's Executive Council may be of benefit to the country on the condition that it is made responsible to the Central Legislature, that it functions as a cabinet and that the Viceroy's veto is removed.

India's Food Problem

The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics held its sixth annual session at Benares. Started in 1940, the Society's main object is to promote investigation and study of economic and social conditions of agriculture and rural life. Three subjects and a current topic were specified for the Benares Conference. The subjects were (1) the Tennessee Valley approach in Indian agriculture, (2) cost in relation to the size of farms and (3) social factors in rural economy. The current topic inevitably was the food policy. The president of the conference, Sir Manilal Nanavati, summed up the Indian agricultural condition in the following few words:

During the last 75 years, continuous deterioration in the condition of the masses is taking place. In 1880 India had a surplus of foodstuffs to the extent of 5 million tons and today we have a deficit of 10 million tons. The consumption of food was then estimated at 1½ lbs. per individual and now it is one pound. Nearly 30 per cent of the population in India is estimated to be suffering from chronic mal and under-nutrition. The man-land ratio is steadily rising. In spite of the developments of modern industries, deindustrialisation is still continuing. In 1880, industries absorbed 12·3 per cent of the population and now the figure is 9 per cent. In 1872, 56 per cent of the population depended on agriculture, this proportion has now increased to 73 per cent.

This, in a nutshell, indicates what is wrong with Indian agriculture on what Prof. Dantwalla called the visible side. But much that is wrong is ploughed underneath the surface phenomenon, i.e., under-employment. The president unearthed it in the following striking passage of his address:

It is our policy of allowing any number of people to press on the land, without work and earn meagre and uncertain incomes that has led us to avoid facing the problem of the rural economy in a true perspective. Partial employment of the majority of rural population which is another word for widespread disguised unemployment is not a good substitute for visible unemployment. . . . It is better that the disease is brought out and adequately dealt with than allowed to poison the vitals of economic life.

In addition to the two clear categories of fully employed and completely unemployed, we have a third category of under-employed which in volume exceeds both together. Much of the agrarian distress is diffused over millions of half-starved agriculturists. This under-

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employment, naturally leading to half-starvation and chronic malnutrition is tending to be a real danger in our national life.

India's food problem came up for discussion at the Bangalore session of the Indian Science Congress as well. With the aid of statistics, Mr. Afzal Hossain drew the attention of those present to the fact that the output of the country's food resources had failed to keep pace with the increase in population. Thus, according to him, since 1911, seven million acres have been added to the area under cultivation. But the area sown *per capita* has declined from 0.9 to 0.72 acre, that is, by 25 per cent. This is one of the most vital facts that have persistently been neglected by both the Central and Provincial Governments while launching and advertising their pet Grow More Food campaigns. Mr. Afzal Husain pointed out that even for an emergency restricted diet, designed to tide over difficult times, 1.2 acres of land *per capita* under cultivation is regarded as the minimum in the U.S.A. where crop yields are higher per acre than in India. He emphatically said, for a population of 400 millions, India must increase its production by 10 per cent in cereals, 20 per cent in pulses, 25 per cent in fats and oils, 50 per cent in milk and 300 per cent in fish, flesh and eggs.

It was pointed out at the same session of the Science Congress that although Asia had got 52 per cent of the world's population, its consumption of cereals and other foodstuffs was 24.6 per cent and of meat 5.6 per cent, while Europe with a population of 25.9 per cent, got 41.2 per cent of the world's production of cereals and other foodstuffs and 45.7 per cent of the world's meat.

Some official spokesmen have claimed that the Government of India, specially after the Bengal famine, have been displaying a keen interest in the development of the country's agriculture. Sir Pheroze Kharghat, the Government's agricultural expert, has produced a plan in which he has expressed the hope that the agricultural production of India can be increased by 100 per cent in 15 years with an expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores. We do not know if the Government of India will ever find this sum for the enforcement of the plan. Instead, a shortcut way of agricultural improvement has been announced by Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Agriculture in the Government of India. He said, "We will be setting up before long, research and experimental stations, and institutes in respect of rice, potato, vegetables, fruits, grass lands, etc. The Dairy Institute, the Veterinary Institute, the Agricultural Institute, and the Forest Institute will also be expanded." The real official attitude has thus been explained. If any improvement and expansion has to be made, it must be in the office and the Secretariat and not in the peasant's field. Official experts on planning seem to have a firm faith in the addition of jobs as a panacea for all evils of the country. They forget Dr. Voelker's report in which this British agricultural expert had said that Indian peasants do not need education in agricultural economics, what they really need are cheap credit and protection from the middlemen's exploitation, both of which have virtually been denied by the Government. The very little they have done in these important directions have not touched even the fringe of the problem.

Indian Girls in the W.A.C. (I.)

Mrs. Hansa Mehta, President of the eighteenth session of the All-India Women's Conference, has, in her address, discussed the present and future conditions of the Women's Auxiliary Corps in India known as the W.A.C. (I)s. We give here the relevant portion of her address:

We do not know how many women joined the Corps. I dare say the salary attached to the service must have attracted a large number of women. The stories one hears about the kind of work they were required to do are not very reassuring. We would like to know more about them, more especially if the Government of India intend to continue the women's section of the war department for at least another year. We hear stories that some of them have borne illegitimate children; and that one in every five has been infected with foul disease. I dare say these tales are exaggerated but at the same time I feel there must be some grain of truth in them. If there is, then we would like to know what steps are taken to help the unfortunate victims of war who have suffered and are suffering. We would like to know if those who are suffering from disease are taken care of by the Government, and are receiving proper treatment. If they are allowed to go as they are, they will spread the infection and become a menace to the social health of the country. The Conference should appoint a special committee to investigate into these questions and find ways and means to help those women who require our help. If we can utilise the training and experience of the W.A.C. (I)s for the educational and social work in rural areas, they will be an asset to the nation. But with their expensive habits of life it is doubtful if they can now settle down in villages where their help is required most.

Our latest information is that the W.A.C. (I) is going to be disbanded. We hope this does not mean officialdom washing its hands of all responsibility.

Indians in Ceylon

In the *India Quarterly* for April 1945, Mr. T. S. Rajagopalan has discussed the position of Indians in Ceylon and reviewed the activities of the Soulbury Commission.

On the 26th May, 1943, the Governor of Ceylon communicated to the State Council a Declaration of His Majesty's Government which stated that "the post-war re-examination of the reform of the Ceylon constitution will be directed towards the grant to Ceylon of full responsible government under the Crown in all matters of internal civil administration." The Declaration further stated that His Majesty's Government would retain control of Defence and that Ceylon's relations with foreign countries and other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations would be subject to the control and direction of His Majesty's Government. The present classes of bills to which the Governor could reserve assent are to be largely reduced and Ceylon is to be at liberty to conclude trade agreements, with the approval of H. M.'s Government, with other parts of the British Commonwealth. Such proposals as may be made for the reform of the constitution in pursuance of the Declaration were to be examined by a suitable commission or conference subject to the clear understanding that "acceptance by His Majesty's

Government of any proposals will depend, first, upon the British Government being satisfied that they are in full compliance with the preceding portions of this statement and, secondly, upon their subsequent approval by three-quarters of the members of the State Council excluding the officers of State and the Speaker or other presiding officer."

Though the 1943 Declaration contemplated a post-war examination of the Reforms question, the Ceylon Ministers prepared and submitted a complete scheme of constitution in pursuance of the Declaration and asked that it be examined without waiting till the end of the war. The British Government agreed and on the 5th July, 1944, they announced their intention to appoint a Commission which "should provide full opportunity for consultation to take place in the various interests including minority communities concerned with the subject of constitutional Reform in Ceylon and with proposals which Ministers have formulated." At this point a hitch arose; the Ministers considered that the terms of reference to the Commission were wide, that the 1943 Declaration contemplated investigation by a Commission of the question only whether their proposals fell within the terms of the said Declaration and in protest they withdrew their scheme. The British Government while regretting the action of the Ministers, were unable to agree with the interpretation of the Ministers and considered that though the Ministers' scheme might not be officially before the Commission it could not be withheld from them and that it was bound to be very useful. The Soulbury Commission, consisting of Lord Soulbury (who as Mr. Herwald Ramsbotham held cabinet rank), Sir Frederick Rees (Principal of University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire) and Mr. F. J. Burrows (President of the National Union of Railways and now the Governor designate of Bengal) arrived in Ceylon about the end of December, 1944, and were expected to finish their work in Ceylon by the end of March (1945). The Ministers were not collaborating with the Commission in its investigation but otherwise welcomed them.

While it is generally admitted that the present indigenous population of the island are the descendants of the Indians who once emigrated there, labour immigration started somewhere about 1827. Now the total Indian population is estimated between 750,000 and 900,000. Accurate figures are available of the Indian labour population on the estates only, they numbered 672,196 on 31st December, 1943. The total population of Ceylon is estimated at 60 lakhs of whom 8 lakhs are Indian Tamils, 7 lakhs are Ceylon Tamils, 3½ lakhs Muslims, ½ lakh Burghers and Europeans and the rest Low Country and Kandyan Sinhalese. The Sinhalese, the majority of whom are Buddhists, thus constitute about two-thirds of the total population. The Indian population consists of 6 lakhs estate labour and of about a lakh urban labour; and the rest consists of business and professional people.

At the time of the passing of the Emigration Act of 1922 it was made clear that the policy of the Government of India was not to allow emigration of Indian labour to countries where they would not enjoy equality of political status with the rest of the population. In the case of Ceylon enquiries were made by the Government of India, and the Government of Ceylon replied to them stating that Indians enjoyed such equality. And in fact till the advent of the

Donoughmore Constitution in 1931, Indians in Ceylon enjoyed complete equality of status with the local population in Ceylon.

In the matter of Franchise far from there being any discrimination against them, they enjoyed votes in communal electorates in addition to the franchise in territorial electorates. The Donoughmore Special Commission on Constitutional Reforms, who recommended adult suffrage and the committee system of Government, suggested that the privilege of voting should be confined to those who had an abiding interest in the country and that in the case of Indians a residence qualification of five years should be imposed. In the Order in Council, which brought the Donoughmore Constitution into existence domicile was made the standard test for franchise and for the undomiciled who did not possess a literary and property qualification, it was provided that they should produce a certificate of permanent settlement involving a declaration of intention to settle permanently in Ceylon. In 1943 the total number of Indian voters were estimated at 165,000 for a population of eight lakhs. Under adult franchise free from extraneous conditions the number of voters would be roughly half the Indian population, or nearly four lakhs.

Indians in Ceylon Under Donoughmore Constitution

The fifteen years under the Donoughmore Constitution have been a difficult time for the Indians. During the two elections and in the two ministries there has been only one Indian minister and that was in the first ministry and none in the second. And in a Council of fifty elected members there have been only two Indian members in each of the two elections.

The Land Development Ordinance No. 19 of 1935 which provides for the mapping out of Crown lands and their alienation to and colonization by Ceylonese peasants and middle classes defines a Ceylonese as a "person of either sex domiciled in the island and possessing a Ceylon domicile of origin." Similar definitions are found in the Fisheries Ordinance No. 24 of 1940 and in the Omnibus Licensing Ordinance of 1942.

The Indian estate labourers were excluded from the Village Communities Ordinance. Indian daily paid workers in the Government service were gradually replaced by Ceylonese.

In 1937 Sir Edward Jackson who had previously been Attorney-General of Ceylon was appointed on the recommendation of the Ceylon Ministers as a sole Commissioner to enquire into

- a) the extent of immigration from India of skilled and unskilled workers and whether it was increasing or decreasing,
- b) whether such immigration had caused or was likely to cause unemployment or other economic injury to the permanent population and
- c) whether any restriction or control beyond that already existing should be imposed on such immigration and if so what form such restriction or control should take. *

In the course of his Report (published as Sessional Paper III of 1938) he has stated that "if Indian labour had not been available nothing resembling the manifold advantages which have accrued to the island from

production first of coffee and later of tea and rubber could possibly have been gained." Answering the terms of reference Sir Edward found that the inflow and outflow of labour adjusted itself to the work available in Ceylon. "So far from causing economic injury to the permanent population, immigration workers made possible an economic and general advance which could not have taken place without them and in the benefits of which the great majority of the population directly or indirectly share today." Thirdly, he found that no restriction of immigration was necessary or called for. The report did not find favour with the Ceylon Ministers who stated during conversations at Delhi (in the Exploratory Conference at Delhi in November 1940) that they did not accept the report either on the facts or the conclusions.

Government of India's policy towards the Indian emigrants to Ceylon has been quite in keeping with their policy towards emigrants to other dominions and colonies as well. These unfortunates have been left to their fate abroad to eke out a meagre and miserable existence. All talk of trusteeship melted away as soon as the Government of Great Britain were called upon to interfere for safeguarding the primary rights of Indians in many parts of the British Empire. Government of India's overseas Indians department has conveniently slept over the matter thus giving a long rope to the colonial interests for oppressing the Indians under their jurisdictions.

Soulbury Commission Report

The draft constitution for Ceylon prepared by the Board of Ministers contained proposals for a single Chamber of 100 members, all territorially elected except for six to be nominated. A scheme of weightage for the less thickly populated areas was put forward as a sop to the minority communities, though in effect it would not greatly increase their percentage of representation. It was also proposed to abolish the Officers of State. The formation of a Cabinet chosen by a Prime Minister and largely independent commissions for the control of the public and judicial services were recommended. The report of the Soulbury Commission has adopted the great majority of these proposals.

The views of the minority communities as submitted to the Commission showed a considerable measure of agreement. The only respect in which the Commission's Report differs markedly from the Ministers' Draft Constitution is its recommendation for the establishment of a Second Chamber.

The British model has throughout been followed in the constitution. The claims of the reactionary minority groups for separate electorates have been completely over-ruled. Many of them had asked for "balanced representation" in both the Legislature and the Executive with communal electorates. The Commission has rejected the idea of pure communal representation, especially in the sphere of the Executive. In this respect the Ceylon constitution is going to mark a definite advance on the Indian constitution.

Indians in East Africa

The struggle of Indians in East Africa has been ably narrated by Mr. C. Kondapi in the *India Quarterly* for July 1945. We give here a summary of this weighty article which shows how Indians in this colony have been and are being treated.

Indian emigration to East Africa may be traced to a period even prior to the Portuguese occupation at the close of the fifteenth century; Indians were trading there long before British rule began. In 1841, Captain Hamerton was appointed at Zanzibar as the first British Consul and as Political Agent for the Government of India primarily to safeguard Indian trading interests. In 1874, there were 4,198 Indians in Zanzibar and the East African coast as against 24 Europeans including officials. In 1875, Lord Salisbury, Secretary of State for India, pleaded for active encouragement of Indian emigration to East Africa for the purpose of settlement and colonization and emphasised

'from the imperial point of view, the great advantages which must result from peopling the warmer British possessions which are rich in natural resources and only want population by an intelligent and industrious race to whom the climate of these countries is well suited.'

When the Royal charter was conferred on the Imperial British East Africa Company in 1888 by Queen Victoria, it was urged as one of the chief grounds for the grant

'that the possession by a British Company of the coast line as above defined which includes the port of Mombasa would be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of our subjects in the Indian Ocean who would otherwise become compelled to reside and trade (?) under the Government or protection of alien powers.'

The Sultans of Zanzibar also encouraged Indians to settle down as agriculturists by offering concessions in the shape of remission of land duty. The construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway in 1895 was carried out mainly by Indian labour from the Punjab and this led to a large influx of Indian artisans. Sir John Kirk, who was Political Agent of the Government of India from 1866 to 1887, has stated that the Railway itself found it necessary to retain the services of a considerable number of Indians both for clerical work and for skilled and unskilled labour. Many traders followed the artisans and settled in the towns and trading centres in the native Reserves. By 1897, Indian population had increased to 7,500 while in that year the Europeans and Eurasians numbered only 390. Sir John Kirk has testified to the fact that in 1866 the whole trade in Zanzibar was in the hands of Indian merchants. In his despatch to Lord Salisbury in 1888, Col. Evan Smith, Consul-General at Zanzibar, reported to the same effect.

The emigration of Indians naturally forged close links between India and East Africa. The unit of currency in Zanzibar and British East Africa protectorate (Kenya) was the Indian rupee till as recently as 1st January, 1936, when it was displaced by shillings and cents. The civil and criminal law and procedure of British India was followed in the trial of Europeans and other British subjects in Zanzibar, the area within which the Consular Courts exercised jurisdiction being regarded as a *zila* or district of the Bombay Presidency to whose High Court an appeal lay from the decision of the Consular Court. Indeed, in a petition to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated, 23rd August, 1905, the Colonists Association (of the Kenya White Settlers) stated:

The East Africa Protectorate is governed as if it were a province of India and a large number of Indian Ordinances are applied to it . . . The sooner the sorry farce of Indian laws and Indian methods of Government is abolished the better.

Replying to this petition, Lord Elgin, Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated :

The vast majority of the inhabitants of the Protectorate are natives for whom the Indian codes may well be regarded as more suitable than English law.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated, September 11, 1940, Sir Edward Grigg, Governor of Kenya, wrote :

Indian labour was responsible for most of the manual part of the original construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway. Indian contractors and traders have been the medium of much development throughout the Kenya colony including the native Reserves. Indian lorry-drivers are pioneers of trade in all the most outlying districts of the colony. I could add to this list in many directions.

Sir Harry Johnston in 1899 as the Special Commissioner and Sir Hasketh Bell in 1909, as the Governor of Uganda, and the Uganda Development Commission of 1920 have all testified to the Indian encirclement of that country. In 1926, its Governor declared that *the role of the Indian community in Uganda's development has been not merely important but positively indispensable*. Similar official declarations have been made in respect of Indian contribution in Zanzibar and Tanganyika.

Europeans own or manage farms for growing cash crops like coffee, sisal, tea, cloves and cotton. The native communities are primarily labourers and Indians do the rest.

Indians' contribution was so much that after the close of the last war Sir Theodore Morrison suggested that India should be given the mandate over Tanganyika. The suggestion was, however, rejected by Indian public opinion in conformity with the ideals of anti-imperialism.

The most important political problem now agitating the mind of Indians in East Africa relates to the closer Union. 'Closer Union' was the method proposed even as early as the twenties of the present century for securing a more effective co-operation among the governments of the several Eastern and Central African territories through a common policy and co-ordinating machinery as regards economic subjects of common interest like Posts and Telegraphs, Customs, Transport, Defence, Scientific Research, etc. This centralisation of the control of common and essential services was to be exercised through the constitution of a Central Authority with full legislature and executive powers in these matters ; the suggestion was even made that the objection could best be secured by means of a federation.

Hilton-Young Commission and After

The Hilton-Young Commission suggested the establishment of a strong, unified central government directing all affairs of common interest for the three provinces, rather than a federation of quasi-independent States.

The Commission also recommended the association of the immigrant communities with the Central Authority in an advisory capacity, the power to define and interpret the terms of the principles of native policy being vested solely in the Imperial Government. Lastly, it favoured an increase in the unofficial representatives in the Kenya Legislative Council by the appointment of four additional members nominated by the Governor to represent native interests and a corresponding reduction by four of the existing official members.

The European settlers were not satisfied with the recommendations of the Hilton-Young Commission. Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed Sir Samuel Wilson in March, 1929, to visit Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda with a view to discussing with the local Government, and the communities there the recommendations of the Hilton Young Commission. In his report (submitted on 2nd July, 1929) it was proposed that a High Commissioner who would be King's Representative should be appointed. He was to rank senior to Governors of these territories and was to exercise complete control—legislative and executive—over certain common services *viz.*, Customs, Railways, (Ports and Harbours including), Posts and Telegraphs, Defence and Fundamental Research. He was to be assisted by a council in which Indians hardly stood any chance of securing membership.

The considered proposals of H. M. G. on the reports of the Hilton-Young Commission and Sir Samuel Wilson were published in June, 1930, in the form of two white papers.

In a memorandum submitted in July, 1930, Indians pleaded that if in spite of Indian protest, a Central Council should be established, the number of official and non-official members of the High Commissioner's Council appointed from each territory should be equal, that Indian and European non-official members both in the council and the committees should be in equal proportion, and that one of the private secretaries to the High Commissioner should be an Indian. The fears of the Indian community were best expressed by the Government of India who in their despatch to the Secretary of State for India dated, 24th December, 1930, stated that the policy of the Central Authority was "bound to be affected by the political ideals of the European settlers in Kenya" which were complete political domination of non-whites by whites and such a policy would "eventually develop into the Kenyanization of all the countries directly affecting the secure position and equal status of the Indians with the rest of the population under the Mandate." There was the danger of the safeguards provided under the Mandatory system, far from being extended to Kenya and Uganda, being nullified in Tanganyika itself.

In pursuance of the two white papers referred to, a joint select committee of the two Houses of Parliament was set up in November, 1930. Mr. Sastri went to London on behalf of the Government of India. The report was published on November 2, 1931. The conclusion reached by the Committee in regard to Closer Union was that the time was not ripe for taking any far-reaching step in the direction of formal union. H. M. G. in the Command Paper of August, 1932, accepted the view of the committee.

The White Paper on Indians in Kenya (1923) was the result of an agitation on the part of the Kenya White Settlers protesting against the Wood-Winterton

agreement between the India Office and the Colonial Office in 1922 which had favoured Indians on the question of a common electoral roll. The consequent cancellation of the agreement created distrust in the mind of the Indians regarding their position in East Africa as they feared that they would be dominated by the Kenya White Settlers. Closer Union, to their mind, would lead to that domination. So far as co-ordination of economic and administrative policy was concerned, the East African territories were already co-operating in respect of Transport, Posts, Customs, and Scientific Research. But it became altogether a different question when, under the mask of administrative co-operation, a political union was sought to be imposed on the basis of white supremacy. Indians also feel that closer union for economic and administrative purposes could be obtained by methods other than the creation of political federation. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said in her Presidential Address at the 1929 session of the East African Indian National Congress, that Indians in East Africa and the natives would ask for the retention of control by "an impartial Government in England" until such time as the African population had been sufficiently delivered from social bondage, and had become "intelligent enough to obtain knowledge and understanding."

The position of Indians overseas is rapidly worsening. The situation is very delicate in Africa, specially East and South Africa. Rights of franchise, trade licenses, acquisition of property and occupation of houses have all been jeopardised and one after another each of these fundamental rights are being taken away. In a recent press interview at Nagpur, Dr. N. B. Khare said, "I hold the view very strongly that Indians, wherever they have settled outside India, should get equal rights with the indigenous population and there should be no colour bar of any kind anywhere." In the earlier paragraphs we have indicated that Indians overseas *did* enjoy equal rights with the native population and it was due to the visibly weak policy of the Government of India that tempted them to deprive Indians of their basic rights.

A Historian Honoured in His Own Land

Our readers will be glad to learn that their old acquaintance and our esteemed contributor, Rao Bahadur Govind S. Sardesai, is active in his eighty-first year as ever before. He has collected the essence of his lifelong study and reflection on Maratha history in an English work in three volumes—*A New History of the Maratha People*,—of which the first volume is expected to come out two months hence, the second is ready in a press copy, and the third is nearing completion. Recently the Rajwade Historical Society of Dhulia (Khandesh) presented Sardesai with an address of appreciation and a gold medal inscribed with his name and the title of *Itihas-martand* which was conferred on him in 1923 by V. K. Rajwade, the father of historical research in Maharashtra. The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, Sir Leonard Stone, presided. The veteran historian's reply contains a message whose significance should not be lost on us today; hence we quote from it.

Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai said :

I find myself so embarrassed at this moment by your overwhelming kindness that I do not know how I should express my feelings . . . I have been

a common plodder in life, have done no national service, nor made any sacrifice for a cause. If my work seems accumulated in quantity, it is the result of a long life and fortunate circumstances, by no means of my creation.

People ask me what is the secret of my health. I say, I do not know. Every one of us has a claim to a long life. My thirty-seven years' service in Baroda under a stern task-master, the late Maharajah Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, gave me rare chances for work and study. I was enabled to make several trips in Europe. In 1892 I saw and talked to Prof. Seeley, the Regius Professor of History at Cambridge. I spent days and weeks at Paris going round the Grand Exhibition of 1900. I had the first long motor drive in Germany, and I could hold a long hearty chat with Lloyd George at the Coronation ceremony of George V in 1911.

But whether I was in London or Paris, or at Kamshet on the bank of the Indrayani river in which our great saint Tukaram took his final plunge,—I lived a simple life of pure air and fresh water. I swam in the Thames at Oxford daily for three months, as I now do at Kamshet. I worked and studied all the time, and met many a worthy scholar in India and abroad. It is no wonder that the result now appears to you, and no less to me, quite striking.

During all my travels and contemplation I have been haunted as was my master Sayaji Rao, by one supreme thought, why such a great talented people, such a highly gifted country as this India, should be so low and wretched in the scale of comfort, power and politics; why should we have to remain always half-starved, half-clad from month to month and year to year. I often ask myself, after witnessing two world wars, if even a part of the wealth which was wasted in smoke and destruction, had been utilised in forwarding the comforts of humanity, not a single soul on this wide earth would remain in want and distress. I begin to search my heart to find out what is the use of all this study of history, if we cannot learn the simple lesson of every one of us trying to serve humanity, trying to do at least one good turn, if not every day, at least once in life.

In this mood of contemplative sadness, I often feel helpless and distressed in my solitary Ashram at Kamshet, particularly during the evening hours when I lie in bed after the day's work. Then in my dreamy moments with my tongue lisping the lines of the Bhagavad-Gita, I often send a fervent prayer to that all-pervading power, "Have pity on us, poor souls, give us strength to live a decent life, a will to serve our fellow men and not to exploit and kill them."

And you may as well ask me what is the solution that my study of history suggests to me. It is this : Let us each do our own part sincerely from morn till evening. Let us not feel we are disconnected scattered pebbles casually thrown about without any purpose or any function to perform. We all together form one grand human machine, in which, as in a clock or an engine, each one without exception is a connected and indispensable part with a distinct function and a clearly assigned duty to carry out. If one individual fails in his task, the whole machinery goes wrong and comes to a standstill. Even a small pin of a clock has to put in its quota.

There is none useless or irresponsible. Such is at this moment the plight of us Indians, all disconnected, disjointed units. The remedy is in our own hands. No outsider can help us.

This is a wild reverie and I have indeed wandered from my purpose. I have no desire nor capacity to preach a sermon. My thoughts have strayed and carried me away. And now that I am already past eighty, my only prayer is that I be allowed to close my chapter in peace and cheerfulness with the supreme joy that I have played, according to my light, the part assigned to me in this big world's machine and to follow the common lot of humanity as aptly pointed out by Hafiz:

"When you first came into this world, a small baby, you screamed and cried aloud in pain, while the world around indulged in shouts of joy and mirth. Now, man, do so deport yourself through life that you may depart with a smile of joy on your face and the world around moisten their eyes in tears."

Islamic Culture as a Factor in World Civilisation

In connection with the bicentenary celebration of the birth of Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, a symposium was held on the subject of "Islamic Culture as a Factor in World Civilization" in which Sir Jadunath Sarkar took the chair and Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi was the main speaker.

The Chairman Sir Jadunath introduced the subject of discourse in a short weighty speech summing up the principal contributions of Islam. After referring to Islamic influence over the three continents and the role of the Arabs and Persians "as the intellectual broker of distributing agents for the world of the day" diffusing Greek thought and science eastwards and Hindu philosophy westwards, Sir Jadunath pointed out the three principal contributions of Islam. In medicine the Muslims translated the Greek works and amplified them by clinical observation. In philosophy they developed Sufism which being a blending of Indian pantheism, Greek Neo-platonism and Central Asian monistic thought provided a meeting-ground for the liberal-minded devotees of all creeds. In the realm of historiography Sir Jadunath drew attention to the article on *Ithāsa* by Dr. Sieg in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

Dr. Siddiqi began his discourse by referring to the spirit of Islam—its freedom from prejudice, its capacity for adapting and adopting new thoughts and ideas from other races and peoples and its emphasis on critical and experimental method. He referred to the adoption of the crescent and the system of divan from the Iranians. The contact between the Muslims and the Christian and Jewish savants stimulated scientific activity; in alchemy works said to have been composed by Khaled Ibn Yesid were translated into Latin in the eighteenth century and published by Prof. J. Ruska. Islamic culture reached its zenith in the twelfth century, although from the tenth century onwards it had begun to influence the thought of European peoples. In the eighteenth century a large number of Muslim works translated into Latin were used as text-books in the educational institutions of Europe.

Post-War Railway Rates

The Commerce finds it difficult, as we ourselves do,

to understand the *non possumus* attitude taken up by Sir Edward Benthall in the speech he made at the Indian Railway Conference Association at New Delhi, particularly with reference to post-war railway rates. He said:

Nor is it quite the time to settle finally what the post-war rates will be, because we are still faced with the inescapable fact that railway rates have not been raised during the war to anything like the general level of prices, and it remains to be seen whether the increased post-war volume of traffic will more than balance the rise in operating costs due to continued increase in wages and coal bills and all the other costs of operation.

Two sessions earlier, at the Conference of the same body, Mr. C. G. W. Cordon referred to the railway rates and explaining the existing system, stated:

The subject deserves consideration now in order to ensure a rating system and practice suitable for the trade of the country under post-war conditions.

Railway rates in India have long been a standing scandal. Government of India's policy in this respect has succeeded in a large measure in discouraging Indian manufacturing industries. The importance of the connection between transport and industries in the modern world is well-known. The beneficial effects sought from a well-meant tariff policy may be nullified by an indifferent or a perverse transport policy. The tempo of economic advancement may be accelerated or obstructed by a progressive or obstructive railway rate policy. In India, the railway rates have always been adjusted to suit the need of the British trader. Port rates have been lower than the internal rates. The result has been a concentration of industries in the port towns. Complaints against unfair railway rates on raw materials transported from other parts of India and on their manufactured goods despatched to the various markets have, on several occasions, been made by the Indian industrialists to different commissions and committees but with no result.

Indian people fully appreciate the sentiment of Sun Yat-sen when this great leader of China volunteered to hold the Railway portfolio in the first National Government formed there after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty. Exactly similar was the idea of Bismarck, the maker of modern Germany, when he said,

Give me control of railway rate policy and I don't care much for the protective duties.

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THE TRIAL OF DEMOCRACY

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

The iniquitous role of the Allies, particularly of the Imperialist ruling powers, in the so-called liberation of the Eastern countries has been making headlines the past few weeks and months since the defeat of the Axis powers. Their reactionary policies have been outraging the politically and socially conscious sections all the world over and particularly in Asia. It has been rightly surmised that these ruling powers have remained unaffected by changing times or even the bitter and tragic lessons of the world war, and are determined to fight another war to maintain their Empires and their stranglehold over millions of people whom they have brought under their subjection through superior military force. But their doings in Europe, their equally reactionary role there, and the liberating process used by them to create spheres of influence through the enforced maintaining of outmoded social and political systems against the desperate struggle of the people for liberalism and democracy, and the ruthless suppression of the progressive forces, are perhaps less universally known here, and a brief survey of those tragic happenings would be of equal importance at the moment.

Greece came far more into the press than any other, mainly because of Churchill's personal intervention there, though few details for a clearer analysis were made available. But going according to the chronological order, North Africa comes first in the list and in a sense it is there that the corner-stone of Allied policy was laid when on 12th November, 1942, Darlan was appointed High Commissioner for French North Africa by the High Command of the "Liberation" Allied army. Not long ago Paris announced the arrest of two prominent supporters of Darlan, Lemaigre-Dubriel, a pre-war industrialist, and Jean Rigand, Minister of the Interior under Darlan. The press message said:

"They had actively supported the Allied landings, but made no secret of their hostility to the French Committee of Liberation . . . They were charged with 'Endangering the security of the State'."

This little item was in truth impregnated with a very dark chapter of current history, but its significance escaped most people, for paper reports like icebergs often only show an indicator point above the surface while a whole big mass lies submerged under the murky depths below. Lemaigre-Dubriel, a peanut oil king, was also connected with the Banque Worms, Chief German Financial agent in the control of strategic French industries and the agency through which Germany sent money to French anti-democratic Fascist Organisations. This was not all. He had many other roles besides. He was also the President of the Taxpayers' League which used to hire hoodlums to beat up French democrats and stage riots for political purposes. He was the French Chief of the foodstuffs section of the Armistice Commission which stripped France of its food to feed the Germans. As for Rigand, he was a Capoulard, one of the dark-hooded men who were responsible for several murders, was said to have

been personally implicated in the murder of the Roselle Brothers, committed to oblige the Italian Fascist Intelligence Service. But the most sinister part of it all is the role of these men in the recent war of Liberation and even more so of Robert Murphy, the U. S. President's representative in Algiers. These two men did help in the Allied landings, but they also did something more, they used these impending landings for a financial coup by buying African francs on the Lisbon Exchange. They also helped to smuggle the Bank of Morocco's gold to Lisbon. They are moreover said to have admitted to be acting on behalf of the Count of Paris, the Pretender, whom they were going to make the Lord Protector of the Realm. Last but not least, they were instrumental in bringing General Giraud to North Africa. It is now known that this was no "Escape" but given that garb and was in reality a concerted effort by the Vichy men to ensure the continuation of their regime, the new order for which they had worked for 20 years, suppressing and fighting every single democratic force. And these men, the real power behind Giraud in North Africa, and their nefarious policies, had the fullest backing of Murphy and therefore of the American Government. And on the strength of Murphy's report President Roosevelt denied to the world over the radio, that there were no more political prisoners in Algiers, while there were 15,000 politicals still rotting in jail, forced into hard labour under the hot blazing sun, and naturally dying like flies. The brutality of these detention camps equalled that of any other Fascist country. What is more, summary arrests and imprisonments went on under Murphy's protection, with these men holding power over the police, which they acquired through a *coup d'etat*, after Darlan's murder. When De Gaulle arrived, every effort was made by him to remove these men and put them under arrest. But Murphy personally intervened and used the high prestige of his office to protect them. In fact when things became too hot for them, they were enabled by Murphy to flee in an American aeroplane to Casablanca, there hid in the house of an American Vice-Consul and continued to remain in secret communication with Murphy, while American officials assured the Resident of Morocco that they were unaware of the whereabouts of these men. They eventually crossed over to Spanish Morocco in a car lent by Murphy and the American *laissez-passers*. That they dared to enter France at all after this, shows how confident they were of American protection. But the France of today is not likely to so easily give in to American pressure. Nor is De Gaulle so likely to yield now as he did in North Africa under a threat from Murphy to stop Lease-Lend to France, and let the men go. France is not in a mood to treat complacently these men of a Super-counter-Revolutionary Organisation of gangsters, known as the *Mouvement Synarchique d'Empire*. The crucial fact, however, is that America's official representative lent himself to this gang and allied his country with counter-revolution.

Next we turn to Italy where events are of even greater importance for it was the first country to be freed from Nazi Control and was also the first test of the Allies' policy. When the Allies landed in Sicily in July, 1943, the traditional anti-German feeling had been fanned to its height by the passage of German troops through the country, anti-Fascism was spreading, war was daily growing unpopular and the opposition was ready to organise and act. Mussolini himself, sensing the popular mood, was deciding to break with Germany. The Monarchy and the ruling class Fascists wanted, however, to forestall him and thus manage to keep power in their own hands. So they had Mussolini arrested and on the crest of the people's joy, the new dictators installed themselves into power. "There has been no revolution and no *coup d'état*," carefully explained the Rome Radio on that occasion. Badoglio who enjoyed full powers, could have used the army and saved the people, sacrificing the Monarchy which had been completely compromised with Fascist dictatorship. He chose however to save the Monarchy and sacrifice the people. Nothing better could have been expected from one who had been so faithful a lieutenant of Mussolini's. The war on Germany's side continued. But the tide had turned and neither Badoglio nor the Monarchy could avert it. Mussolini's fall was the signal for the anti-Fascist parties to come to the surface and issue a united proclamation to express their willingness to act for the liquidation of Fascism and the establishment of a Constitutional Government representative of all the parties. They appealed to the people not to be lost in rejoicing but be alert to prevent the present occasion being exploited by reactionaries for savaging the same old vested interests which had allied with Fascism. But Badoglio placed the country under Martial Law and took severe measures to prevent the people from acting, and while he said Italy was being purged of Fascism, he was merely replacing it under the guise of Military rule. His aim was to prevent a revolution and save the structure of the State while taking the country out of the war. The allied aim too synchronised with this except for the insistence on unconditional surrender. Thus while the American Office of the War Information was blaring through the radio, "The essential nature of the Fascist regime has not changed . . . and the war against the Moronic King and Badoglio, the high-ranking Fascist, is to go on," General Eisenhower in Algiers was commending the House of Savoy; and it is said that the OWI was taken to task by President Roosevelt for its premature comment which "had imperilled the most difficult of international negotiations." That the British policy was also in line with this was made clear by Mr. Churchill's announcement in the Parliament that he did not wish to "break down the whole structure and expression of the Italian State." President Roosevelt clarified this even further by expressing his willingness to deal with any element which "was not out and out Fascist and could prevent the country from plunging into anarchy." Instead of a swift purge of the Fascists and Collaborationists, they were put into positions and the trial of several people was categorically forbidden by the Allies, as that would have implicated their present associates, especially the Monarchy and the Generals; and the purge itself was just a mock-show. In the meantime, the Vatican had been busy too. It had submitted through the Archbishop of New York a plan for getting Italy out of the war and

the cadres of the present Italian regional prefects, who for the purpose of civil administration would not be considered to have been active party supporters and would in their turn be subject to the orders of an Allied Commission in Rome, a ten-year plan of political metamorphosis would be immediately introduced . . . Civil administration to be handed back to the people by certain well-defined stages. The Fascist Party as such to be abolished." So while the party as such was to be disbanded, elements such as the prefects and others who up to the fall of Mussolini had been the backbone of the party, were to be bolstered up. What is more, to ensure their continuation in office against any popular upsurge, the Allies were to be asked to stay on as guardians under the bogey of a threat of a red revolution. Although the existence of any such plan was vehemently denied by the Vatican official spokesman, when the American Army "Special Investigators" intercepted a Vatican mail bag, documentary evidence was found in it to prove that the Vatican was aggressively supporting the House of Savoy through the Christian Democratic Party front. The Italian people were reminded by the Archbishops:

"Remember that the pledge of National unity is the Monarchy of the House of Savoy."

The Vatican had supported Mussolini while he was in power and now it sought to bolster up the Royal House, the Kernel of the Conservative Social Classes. It was because of this Monarchical backing of Mussolini that the Resistance Movement had failed so long to come into the open, not because of weakness. Yet it was with these very elements that the Allies chose to collaborate. Sir Richard Acland addressing the Parliament on May, 1944, said:

"There is not one man in any influential position in the Allied Military Government whose past record shows that he understood and opposed Fascism before 1939 . . . The first thing they do is to get hold of the Carabinieri Reali, who of all Italian organised bodies, has the highest record of complete collaboration not only with Mussolini but with Hitler and the Nazis. The complete administration of the whole district is then handed over to the nominee of the Carabinieri Reali, and now Italy has fallen into the hands of the most disreputable Fascist gangsters."

The very associates-in-crimes of the Fascist regime were accepted in preference to the Partisans, the Committee of National Liberation, the real enemies of Fascism. For while the Royal family and the army Generals were deserting Italy and seeking their own safety, a determined band of patriots had taken up the fight. These were not men who had served Fascism until they saw it about to fall and hurriedly jumped on to the Allied bandwagon, they were men and women who had for 20 years opposed and struggled against Fascism. It was this integrity which gave them the natural leadership. While the regular army was disintegrating, a popular army of hundreds and thousands under their leadership took the field, and according to General Mark Clark they liberated more than 200 towns including Venice, Milan, Turin, Genoa, etc., and 260,000 died in that struggle. The Americans commended these partisans as one of the best disciplined popular army. General Clark also characterised the Committee of

bore the responsibility not only of directing the fighting but also of solving various political problems, settling differences between various political groups represented on it, setting up administrations in the places liberated, etc. As one Florentine paper described the local Committee as the "embodiment not only of existing authority but of a new factor in Italian history . . . the first foundation of that new political structure that is the result of the people's collaboration and not of an arbitrary *coup d'état*." According to Field Marshal Alexander the Italian Resistance had been most effective against Germans. Many thousands joined Marshal Tito and won his warm commendation; nearly 50,000 joined the Maquis in France. But it was not with these that General Eisenhower signed the Armistice. It was with Badoglio and his kind, for they fell in line with the role which the Allies had assumed to play in the post-war Europe, of deflecting it from its natural swerve to the left. It was for this very reason that later they objected to Nenni becoming Premier, and even opposed Count Sforza becoming foreign Minister on the sole ground that they were opposed to the Monarchy. But Churchill and his kind had always minimised their strength and effectiveness because of their anti-Monarchist character, while he had taken every occasion to praise Prince Umberto, a sworn adherent of Mussolini, and praised the King and Badoglio. It was obvious that what the Allies wanted was a reversal to the pre-Mussolini period of bourgeois-democratic capitalistic state, economically weak and therefore at the mercy of England and America, its social forces maintained at a precarious equilibrium so that England may always have the controlling voice. In short, the very situation which caused the emergence of Fascism was now sought to be preserved by the Allied forces. Just as the old ruling class and big interests could stay in power through the coercive machinery of Fascist dictatorship, it could do so now with the help of the Allied Commission. Again and again in city after city, where a local Committee of Liberation fought and expelled the Germans, established a clean administration purged of all Fascist forces, the Allied Commission even refused to deal with the Committee and merely rewarded the brave partisans by disarming them. Finally even when a six-party cabinet replaced the old Military regime, it was still under the aegis of the Allied Commission, and it had to swear an oath of fealty to the Crown under Allied compulsion. They had to seek permission even to go into certain parts of the country and then too on condition they made no speeches. Once the Vice-Premier narrowly escaped arrest while his companion was led off to jail, for *addressing a meeting*. Therefore, instead of the logical inevitability of the power being transferred to the people, even after two years this could not be realised and some of the Left groups had to finally withdraw from the Government in protest. As recent as early September, *James McCormick*, the well-known American journalist, in a dispatch from Rome wrote:

"There is no doubt we are ruling Italy. Somewhere in the picture is an Italian Government. So far the Ministers are pretty helpless . . . this is true in the economic as well as the political field. We froze the stockpiles . . . and no factory can be reopened and no goods released without an Allied permit."

It threatened to cut off coal and other supplies if its wishes were not strictly obeyed. The Provincial

Governments were an integral part of the Monarchist block, and they came to enjoy almost dictatorial powers. They named the Mayors, the City councils, the Commissioners of the towns and villages of that province, controlled the police, held the economic strings, the approval of the Allied Commission giving legality to all acts outside their normal jurisdiction even. As *New Statesman and Nation* reported:

"Already a year ago the people were singing in the Churches of Italy: 'And from Amgöt (Allied Military Government) deliver us O Lord!'"

The following item from the *La Voce* in Naples, reproduced in one of the American papers, speaks volumes:

"A commemoration of Matteotti by the Socialist Party was due to take place at the Garibaldi Theatre. When the ceremony was to start and the public was filing in, an Allied officer came to warn that the commemoration had to be non-political in character . . . The Socialist Party preferred not to commemorate."

Events in Greece were a corollary to this. In fact quite a few warnings were sounded that negotiating with Darian and collaborating with Badoglio would naturally have disastrous repercussions in other countries, for these two names stank in every decent European's nostrils. The above events spelt civil war in almost every liberated country, for while it heartened the Rightists, it struck apprehension into the Left. As the yard-stick of British intentions changed from words to deeds, leaving no room for guessing a cleavage came to be created. The Left in Greece did not want to be caught napping as their comrades in Italy. So they decided to strike before the reactionaries and collaborators could sail back into power under the weight of the British fleet. Already Churchill's declaration in the Parliament as early as August, 1943, that he hoped to see the Kings of Greece and Yugoslavia "restored to their thrones by the free choice of their liberated peoples," had come to give considerable reality to their fears. It is not surprising, therefore, that under the circumstance, the Left and the Centre diverted their strength against whom they believed to be menacing the State afresh. They were in complete control when the British "Liberators" took over Athens. In fact it was only when General Scobie ordered them to withdraw from the city that they did. Even the shaky exiled Government was welcomed by the people. Greece seemed well on its way to a peaceful future. But that obviously did not suit Churchill and his imperialist designs. So the inevitable "divide and rule" policy went into effect and there began the usual round of clashes and shootings. The vicious circle had already started when the British nominee, Papandreu, was made Prime Minister, for he was a Monarchist, pledged to the return of the King and all that that regime stood for. Papandreu is supposed to have said that if he did not get the full support of the opposition, he would seek allied armed intervention. And now the people's worst fears seemed to be coming true. The first act of the British Command was to bring back the anti-republican Mountain Brigade, and Papandreu rejected the demand for its dissolution on the ground the British would not agree. When popular demonstrations started, Papandreu's police and British Military were called out and the latter began to shoot down those very comrades who but a little

while ago had been fighting shoulder to shoulder with them against Germans. All these sombre facts stressed the apprehensions of the Greek patriots that Churchill and his colleagues were determined to once more place their oppressor on the throne. In truth King George had ceased to count as a political entity in the eyes of the people, except the few upper classes and vested interests, to whom he had become a symbol of reaction to rally them. An important point to bear in mind here is, that the kernel of the present resistance group is really the old underground which originally conspired to operate against the old Metaxas regime which King George was responsible for. King George is as inextricably bound up with dictatorship in Greece as Victor Emmanuel in Italy. When the Germans came to occupy Greece, the island dungeons in which the political prisoners were kept, were turned over intact to the Nazis by King George's Ministers! That the abolition of monarchy and establishment of democracy is the real issue has been amply borne out by the Varkiza agreement which ended the open hostilities in Greece. It ran as follows: At the earliest date there should be conducted, with complete freedom and with every care for its genuineness, a plebiscite which should finally settle the constitutional question, all points being submitted to the decision of the people.

For the time being however, Greece became a British Colony. British officials exercised a veto on all Governmental decisions, no high appointments to be made without British sanction. The Greek army was reorganised with British Military aid, so as to methodically weld it into an effective political weapon, loaded with royalists from the ranks to the top Command, with Monarchist brigades and battalions incorporated *en masse*. Terrorism on a wide scale was carried on against the Left and people with republican sympathies, by the notorious gang called X, after the two crossed Gammas which are the initials of George and his Glukazberg dynasty. This has also resulted in adding to the general economic deterioration, 4/5ths of the industrial workers being idle and agricultural production down by 40 per cent. Transport is practically paralysed. Without a stable Government, these needs can't be tackled, and no stable Government is possible while the Monarchist issue hangs fire.

Let us now look at Central Europe, such as Bavaria or Austria. The first symbol of this policy were the appointments of Minister President of Bavaria and the Police President of Munich, both the nominees being drawn from the reactionary clerical forces, the former post going to a Frederick Schaeffer, one of the leaders of the reactionary and clergy-controlled Bavarian People's Party, and one who prevented the party's alignment with the other progressive parties against

Nazism. Even worse is the political background of the other official, Police President Colonel Von Seisser. He was one of those who stood beside Hitler on the Beer Hall platform from which the Nazi Reich was inaugurated, and was named Reichsminister of Police by Hitler. What makes these appointments even more dubious is the fact that the American boss in Bavaria, Colonel Keegan, stated that he would have no truck with any anti-Fascist groups or leaders as he wanted no political activities at this time, and so was selecting these two strictly "unpolitical" personalities! This has practically meant the turning over of Bavaria to clerical reactionism which had opposed the birth of the German Republic in 1918 and called the then revolution perjury and treason, and to a group of Monarchist anti-democrats whose responsibility for the rise of Hitlerism is too wellknown to be glossed over. The Allied Military Government continued to retain former Nazi officials who were in authority, sometimes as many as 90 per cent, with the result capable young genuine anti-Nazis could not find their way into the administration at all. What was even more sinister was the background of the man who was in charge of the psychological warfare, Brigadier General Robert McClare. It was he who headed the reactionary censorship in Algiers when the Allies landed, and would not let it be known that there was not the slightest need or occasion for using the good offices of Vichy or the services of Darlan. In this characteristic tradition he suppressed local papers and public gatherings. Merely a string of negative regulations circumscribes the lives of these people now under Allied control, such as the stupid policy of non-fraternisation, and not a single pointer to set these bewildered people opportunities for democratic conduct.

In Belgium the same game was being played, and ultimately led to the development of a major crisis as a result of the attempts to force the restoration of King Leopold to the throne in the teeth of popular opposition. The entire cabinet threatened resignation, labour came out to demonstrate its determination "to use every means in its power to oppose the reactionary manoeuvre involved in Leopold's return", and the British Government responded to this popular feeling by firing on the peaceful demonstrators for their sin of anti-fascism.

Nor are these "mistakes" in Allied policy by any chance. They are the result of a deliberate policy, determined by the Imperialist interests of the Allied countries. They are no more an accident than the current military operations in the countries of South East Asia. To be sure this policy like the war aims is embroidered with fine phrases, but they can mislead no one in the face of grim experience.



THE SWISS SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND ITS APPLICABILITY TO INDIA

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

The present Constitution of Switzerland is based upon the scheme of government adopted there in 1848, as subsequently amended in 1874 and also afterwards. In this article I propose to deal with some of the salient features of this Constitution, and also to consider how far the Swiss system of government can be profitably introduced into our country. Before, however, I deal with Swiss political institutions, I should like to say a few words in regard to the nature of Swiss Federalism.

"Switzerland," says President Lowell, "may be considered the ethnological as well as the geographical centre of Europe, the place where the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Po take their rise and the races meet together."

The population of the country, therefore, is not homogeneous. There are differences in it of race, of language, and of religion. Among the races, the Germans "preponderate heavily".

In 1930 about 72 per cent of the population spoke German, a little over 20 per cent French, about 6 per cent Italian, and the rest Romansch and some other languages.

"A considerable majority both of German-speaking and of French-speaking people are Protestants, the rest (mainly) Roman Catholics."

In 1930, the Protestants were about 57 per cent of the total population, the Roman Catholics about 41 per cent, and the Jews 0.4 per cent. Further, there are differences amongst the inhabitants in respect of their occupations, the external conditions of their life, their character, their ideas and their habits of thought. Yet, in spite of all these differences, the Swiss—a little over four millions in number—are, says an American writer, "a united people and form a small but coherent nation." And "what is more they are probably the most patriotic people on the European continent." And Bryce has gone so far as to say that democracy in Switzerland is "more truly democratic than in any other country in the world." Perhaps the Swiss system of education is largely responsible for this.

"The constant teaching in the schools of civic duty and the inculcation of the best traditions of national history is," says Bryce, "a wholesome feature of Swiss life. In no country does one find that the people know so much about and care so much for their historic past."

This may have materially contributed to the growth of nationalism in Switzerland in spite of the differences of race, of language, and of religion in it.

Switzerland is composed of twenty-two Cantons—or rather, to be more accurate, nineteen Cantons and six

Half-Cantons. Although it is called a Confederation, it is by nature really a Federation—a true Federal State—like the United States of America. The use, in the Swiss Constitution as originally drawn up, of the term "Confederation" in reference to the Swiss Union as well as the use therein of the term "Sovereign" in reference to the Cantons of which it is composed, was a nominal concession, at the time of the formation of the Union, to the sentiments of the particularists or anti-federalists in it. The retention of the terms in the Constitution even now does not and cannot, alter the real character of the Swiss Union. Article 3 of the Swiss Constitution says:

"The Cantons are sovereign so far as their sovereignty is not limited by the Federal Constitution, and as such they exercise all rights which are not delegated to the Federal Power."

It follows from this that the term "sovereign" has been used in reference to the Cantons in less than its strict sense, and that the Cantons only enjoy autonomy in respect of the matters of administration which have not been specifically vested in the Swiss National or Federal Government.

The principle of distribution of powers between the Federal Government and the Cantonal Governments is as follows. The Federal Government has certain "exclusive powers". Besides, it has "some concurrent powers exercisable conjointly with the Cantons". But, in respect of a "concurrent" subject, the federal law is to prevail over a Cantonal law in case of a conflict between the two. Matters of administration outside the exclusive federal list belong, subject to what I have just said in regard to concurrent powers, to the Cantonal Governments. In a sense, therefore, the authority of the National or Federal Government is, as Professor Dicey has put it, "definite", and that of each of the Cantons is "indefinite". And it is evident from this that the "residuary" powers of government belong to the Cantons. This is also the case, in regard to the residuary powers, in the United States of America and the Commonwealth of Australia, but not in the Dominion of Canada in which "the authority of the Dominion, or Federal, Government is," to quote Professor Dicey again, "indefinite or undefined", and that of the Provinces "is definite or defined, and indeed defined within narrow limits."

Among the exclusive powers of the Swiss Federal Government, mention may be made here of the following:

The Federal Government "has the sole right to declare war and conclude peace, and to make alliances and treaties, particularly customs and commercial treaties, with foreign States."

There is however, one exception.

The Cantons "retain the right to conclude treaties with foreign States in respect of matters of public economy and police and border relations." But "such treaties must not contain anything prejudicial to the Swiss Federation or the rights of other Cantons."

It may also be noted in this connexion that the Constitution forbids "all separate alliances and treaties

1 Based upon two "talks" broadcast from Dacca (and with due permission).

2 *Greater European Governments*, p. 211.

3 Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, p. 370.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 371.

5 Munro, *The Government of Europe*, 1932, p. 728.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

of a political character between Cantons." The Cantons, however, "have the right to make agreements with one another on matters of legislation, administration and justice; but such agreements must be communicated to the Federal authority, which may prohibit their execution if they contain anything pre-judicial" to the Swiss Federation or "the rights of other Cantons."

Further, the Federal Government has an exclusive jurisdiction over customs duties, posts and telegraphs, aerial navigation, coinage, paper money, the monetary system, the system of weights and measures, and the manufacture and sale of gunpowder. Moreover, it "determines questions as to the meaning and construction of the Constitution, including cases in which a Canton is alleged to have transgressed that instrument."

It may be worthy of note here that no Canton or Half-Canton can maintain more than 300 men as a permanent military force (excluding police) without the permission of the Federal Government; and that if, in case of an internal disorder, a Cantonal Government is not in a position to summon federal assistance for any reason, the Federal Government "may intervene on its own initiative, and is bound to do so if the disorders endanger the safety of Switzerland."

There is one peculiarity of Swiss Federalism to which reference may be made here. There is in it a combination of "legislative centralization with administrative decentralization, the federal laws being carried out as a rule by the Cantonal authorities." That is to say, the laws duly made by the Swiss Federal Legislature are mostly executed by the officials of the Cantons. The Federal officers only inspect and supervise their execution. Subject to what I have shown before, certain subjects, however, such as foreign affairs, customs, posts and telegraphs, the telephone service, and arsenals, are directly within both legislative and executive jurisdiction of the Swiss Federal authorities.

In regard to the rights and obligations of the Swiss people, the Constitution lays down that "every citizen of a Canton is a Swiss citizen"; that "all Swiss people are equal before the law"; and that "in Switzerland there are no subjects nor any privileges of rank, birth, person or family". Further, "liberty of conscience and creed is inviolable" and "the free exercise of religion is guaranteed within limits compatible with public order and morality." At the same time, no person "may refuse, on the ground of religious opinion, to fulfil any obligation of citizenship", and "every Swiss male is liable for military service". The Constitution has provided for a federal guaranty to the Cantons of their territory, their autonomy, "their Constitutions, the liberty and rights of their people" and "the constitutional rights of the citizens." If a Canton demands the fulfilment of this federal guaranty to its Constitution, the demand must be satisfied by the Federal Government, provided that the Cantonal Constitution "contains nothing contrary to the provisions of the Federal Constitution."

Before July, 1937, there were three national languages in Switzerland, namely, German, French and Italian. Since then, however, Romansch has been made the fourth national language of the country.² Members of the Legislatures may now speak, therefore, in any

of the four languages, German, French, Italian, and Romansch.

The Swiss Federal Legislature, called the Federal (or National) Assembly consists of two Chambers: The National Council and the Council of States. It is, as Professor Dicey has said, "certainly modelled to a certain extent on the American Congress." The National Council corresponds to the American House of Representatives and "directly represents the citizens". The Council of States corresponds to the American Senate, although much less influential than it, and "represents the Cantons." The two chambers select their respective Chairman and Vice-Chairman. Their powers are in law equal; but, as a matter of fact, the Council of States is, according to Bryce, "rather the weaker of the two, men of energy and ambition preferring to sit in the National Council." Except for the exercise of certain electoral and judicial functions, when they meet in a joint session under the presidency of the Chairman of the National Council, the two Chambers meet separately. Their meetings are normally open to the public. The attendance of an absolute majority of the total number of its members is necessary for the valid transaction of business by either Chamber, and in both the Chambers questions are decided by an absolute majority of those voting. In case of an equality of votes in either Chamber the Chairman has a casting vote.

The National Council is now composed of deputies elected by the Swiss people for four years, "in the proportion of one member to each 22,000 of the total population." Fractions "greater than 11,000 are reckoned as 22,000" for the purpose of election. Each Canton, and in the divided Cantons, each Half-Canton, elects at least one deputy. A federal electoral district cannot "cross Cantonal boundary lines and include territory in more than one Canton." There is practically a universal manhood suffrage in Switzerland. Every male citizen, not otherwise disqualified, "who has entered on his twenty-first year" is entitled to vote, and every voter, who is not a clergyman, is eligible for the membership of the National Council. The term of life of the National Council is now four years. Its members "are paid from Federal funds at the rate of 30 francs for each day on which they are present", besides travelling expenses.

The Council of States is composed of forty-four deputies from the Cantons, each Canton electing two deputies and each Half-Canton one. The mode of choice of a Deputy, his term of office, and his allowances are left to the discretion of the Canton he is to represent, or represents. As a result, in some Cantons deputies are elected by their people, and in others by the Cantonal legislatures. The term of their membership varies from one to four years. Their salaries are paid by the Cantons they represent. No person can be a member of both the Chambers at the same time. And a deputy in either Chamber is free to vote as he likes, "without instructions."

The Federal Legislature is empowered "to deliberate on all matters" which the Constitution has placed within the competence of the Federal Government, and which are not assigned by it to any other Federal authority. In addition to the general provision, the Constitution has placed, however, some specific matters within its competence. We shall see later on how far its authority is "liable to be negated and even overruled by the direct popular action of the citizens."

¹ Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

² *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

10. *The Government of Switzerland*, 1941 - 1942.

I shall now deal with one or two other important Swiss political institutions before passing on to consider how far the Swiss system of government can with advantage be introduced into this country.

The Swiss Federal Executive.—The executive power of the Swiss Federation "is vested not in a single person, as under a monarchical or a presidential government, but in a board of persons." This board—the Swiss Federal Executive—is known as the Federal Council. This Federal Council is really a unique feature of the Swiss Constitution.

"In no other modern republic," says Bryce,¹¹ "is executive power entrusted to a Council instead of to a man, and in no other free country has the working Executive so little to do with party politics. The Council is not a Cabinet, like that of Britain and the countries which have imitated her cabinet system, for it does not lead the Legislature, and is not displaceable thereby. Neither is it independent of the Legislature, like the Executive of the United States and of other republics which have borrowed therefrom the so-called "Presidential system", and though it has some of the features of both those schemes it differs from both in having no distinctly partisan character. It stands outside party, is not chosen to do party work, does not determine party policy, yet is not wholly without some party colour."

The Federal Council has been empowered by the Constitution to exercise "the supreme directing and executive power" of the Swiss Federation. It consists of seven members, elected, normally, for a term of four years by the two chambers of the Federal Legislature sitting in joint session as the Federal Assembly. It is "entirely reconstituted" after every general election to the National Council, the popular branch of the Federal Legislature. Thus its term coincides with the term of the National Council. The individual Councillors, however, although ordinarily elected (now) for a period of four years, are eligible for re-election, and are generally re-elected. As a matter of fact, a member of the Federal Council "may normally expect to serve several terms" and the Council as a whole "is always certain to contain men of ripe political experience."

"The consequence is," says Professor Dicey,¹² "that a man may hold office for sixteen years or more, and that the character of the Council changes but slowly." This virtual permanence of tenure of office, he further observes,¹³ "arises from the fact that under the Swiss system there is no more reason why the Assembly should not re-elect a trusted administrator, than why in England a joint-stock company should not from time to time reappoint a chairman in whom they have confidence." Indeed, the Swiss Federal Council is not, Dicey continues,¹⁴ "a Ministry or a Cabinet in the English sense of the term. It may be described as a Board of Directors appointed to manage the concerns" of the Swiss Federation "in accordance with the articles of the Constitution and in general deference to the wishes of the Federal Assembly."

Under the law of the Constitution, every Swiss citizen who is eligible for the membership of the

National Council, may be elected to be a member of the Federal Council. This was an almost invariable practice to select the members of the Federal Council from amongst the members of the Federal Legislature. On election, a member of the Federal Council loses his seat in the Legislature, and cannot, during his term of office, hold "any other Federal or any Cantonal post." Nor can he "engage in any other calling or profession." He is entitled, however, to speak, but not to vote, in either chamber of the Federal Legislature, as well as to propose motions there on subjects under discussion. Thus "when business relating to a particular department is being there considered, the Councillor who manages that department attends, answers questions, gives explanations, and joins in debate." The work of Federal administration is divided among seven departments, namely, Foreign Affairs, Interior, Justice and Police, Military, Finance, Agriculture and Industry, and Posts and Railways. And these seven departments "are allotted to the (seven) members of the (Federal) Council by arrangement among themselves." It may also be noted here that not more than one member of the Federal Council can be chosen from any one Canton. Thus the seven members of the Council "must represent seven of the twenty-two Cantons" of which the Swiss Union is composed. By usage, however, the two largest Cantons—Jura and Bern—"are always represented in the Federal Council"; and the remaining seats are, according to Professor Brooks,¹⁵ "distributed among the smaller Cantons, one or two usually going to those in which French or Italian is the predominant language." If a vacancy occurs in the office of a Councillor within the normal period of four years, it is filled in the usual way at the next meeting of the Federal Legislature for the remainder of his period of office. The vacancy is generally filled "by the election" of a man from the same Canton or the same linguistic division of Switzerland, and also from the same political party" to which the former Councillor belonged. Every year the Federal Legislature elects one of the members of the Federal Council to be its President, and another its Vice-President; but "neither may be re-elected to the same post for the following year". As a matter of practice, however, the Vice-President of one year is elected President in the following year. Under the Constitution the President of the Council is also the President of the Swiss Federation. But in the latter capacity he does not occupy the same position of weight and authority, and does not wield the same kind of power, in the Swiss Constitution, as the President of the United States does in the American Constitution, or as the Prime Minister does in the British Constitution. He is not "the Chief Executive" of the Swiss nation, although he is its first citizen and "represents it on all ceremonial occasions." In the Federal Council, the President "has no more power than his colleagues, and is really only their Chairman."¹⁶ There is only some additional prestige attaching to his office. He gets a little more salary than his colleagues. All decisions emanate from the Federal Council as a single authority. The President is "simply *primus inter pares*"—the first among equals—in the Federal Council. By custom, however, he "has become a sort of general overseer,

¹¹ *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, pp. 292-94.

¹² *The Law of the Constitution*, 2nd Ed., p. 292.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 292.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

¹⁶ *Government and Politics of Switzerland*, p. 125.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

responsible for inspecting the work of the various administrative departments, and the Federal Council may authorise him to act in its name.¹⁹

A special feature of the Swiss Federal Executive is its composite character. It is "not based upon a party majority" in the Federal Legislature. "The strength of the various parties in the Federal Council" does not even always correspond "to their strength in the Legislature." The members of the Council "are elected not only from different party groups but from party groups fundamentally opposed to each other."²⁰ Although this may occasionally cause a sharp difference of opinion within the Council, it does not seriously matter. Above the Federal Council, there is the superior authority of the Federal Legislature. And as soon as the latter reaches a decision on any point at issue, the Council bows to its will.

"If unity", says Professor Brooks,²¹ "is not attained within, it is thus enforced from without the executive commission. Nor does any personal ill-feeling ever seem to result from these open clashes between its members."

Among other things, the Federal Council is responsible for the safety and security of the Swiss State as well as for the maintenance of its internal peace and order. Besides, it gives an account of its work to the Federal Legislature in each ordinary session, presents to it a report upon the internal condition and foreign relations of the Swiss Federation, and recommends for its consideration such measures as it thinks useful for promoting the general welfare of the Swiss State. Moreover, it "makes special reports" whenever the Federal Legislature or either Chamber thereof demands them. Finally, it administers the finances of the Federation, prepares the budget, and submits accounts of its receipts and expenditure to the Federal Legislature. But there is no such thing in the Swiss Constitution as Ministerial responsibility in the British Parliamentary sense. There is no liability of the members of the Federal Council to lose their offices if they cannot retain the confidence of the Federal Legislature and have their own way in it, or if the measures or policies advocated by them are altered or rejected by the latter. "Defeat in the Legislature does not at all affect their tenure" of office. Although elected by the Legislature, they hold office for a definite term of years and cannot be dismissed or removed by it therefrom. On the other hand, the Federal Council cannot dissolve the Federal Legislature or either House of it, and "appeal to the electorate for a decision in its own favour." In a sense, the Council is the Executive Committee of the Federal Legislature, is controlled by it, and must obey its will.

I have dealt in some detail with the position and powers of the Federal Council as it is in fact, to quote the words of Dicey, "the centre of the whole Swiss Federal system." There is nothing particularly striking in the Swiss Federal Tribunal. It is rather a poor imitation of the Supreme Court of the United States of America, without the weight, authority, and dignity of the latter. Unlike the Supreme Court, it is not co-ordinate in rank with the Federal Legislature. Its judges are appointed by the latter. While the Supreme Court

of the United States is "the final interpreter" of its Constitution and "the ultimate arbiter of all matters affecting the Constitution", the Swiss Federal Tribunal is bound by an express provision of the Swiss Constitution (Article 113) "to treat all federal legislation as valid", although it can "treat Cantonal laws as unconstitutional, therefore invalid."

A remarkable feature of the Swiss Constitution is its provision for direct popular legislation through the institutions of the Referendum and the Initiative. It "opens a window", to quote the words of Bryce, "into the soul of the multitude". Considerations of space do not permit me to go into details in this connexion. In essence, the Referendum means "the submission to popular vote, for approval or rejection, of a measure passed by the Legislature." In effect, therefore, it is "a nation's veto on laws" passed by the Legislature. The initiative, on the other hand, means the right of a prescribed number of citizens to propose or originate legislative measures "to be enacted by a vote of the people." Both these institutions in Switzerland point to the existence and exercise of the "ultimate, uncontested sovereignty" of its people.

The idea underlying them is, as Professor Dicey has nicely put it, that "the nation is monarch," and that "the Executive and the members of the Legislature are the people's agents or ministers."

I shall now say a few words as to how far the Swiss system of government will suit Indian conditions. So far as federalism is concerned, I fully agree that the future Constitution of India must be federal in character. And I also assume that the future form of government of this country must be an All-India Federation, as this alone can satisfactorily meet the needs of the Indian situation. In this All-India Federation there should be a Supreme Court of Judicature, built not on the Swiss model but on the American model. This Court will act, as in the United States, as the guardian of the new Indian Constitution. Next, I do not think that the introduction of the Referendum will be a practicable proposition in such a vast and populous country as India. It is not likely to work satisfactorily here. And without the Referendum, the Initiative will not effectively operate either. So far as the executive government is concerned, I would combine for India some of the features of the Swiss system with those of the British system. That is to say, there should be in India a statutory coalition (or composite) executive, representative, as in Switzerland, of all important parties in the legislature, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, together with ministerial responsibility on the British lines. But this executive should not be "plural" or "collegiate" in character as in Switzerland. I should like to give an honest trial to this plan of government for, say, a period of ten years. I make this suggestion, especially, in view of the fact that we have become, to some extent at least, familiar with the working of the parliamentary system of government in this country ever since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. If, however, this plan does not work satisfactorily, particularly from the point of view of minorities, we may later on go in entirely for the Swiss system of executive government both for the Centre and for the Provinces. We should honestly and seriously try the coalition principle first, on parliamentary lines. About one thing, however, I am definite, and I have held this view ever since 1926: Government

¹⁹ Meunier, *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p. 729.

²⁰ Brooks, *Government and Politics of Switzerland*, pp. 124-125.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 722.

by a single party, however good it might be in theory, is not suited to the present circumstances of India, or even to the immediate future as far as I can foresee it. And that will in practice mean the virtual "dictatorship of communal cabinets" with all its concomitant evils. It will in effect be, thanks to our electoral system, by "reasonable compromises and adjustments of view," *Coalitionism*, on the other hand, will mean government and this is exactly what we need in India to-day.

—:O:—

PROBLEMS OF MODERN ARTISTS IN INDIA AND CHINA*

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

I am grateful for the privilege extended to me to come here and meet the members of this Fine Art Society and exchange views on questions of common interest to the artists of China and to the artists of India. You may well ask what qualification I have for this responsible task of discussing the vital problems which confront the art and the artists of the Eastern countries of China and of India to-day. I have come here to lecture at the Chinese National Universities with the pretensions of a scholar, with the ambition of an historian to trace and expose the evolution of the history of Buddhist Art through the many stages of its development. But is an historian, with his gaze fixed on the past and his head immersed in the dusty and faded documents of bygone ages, qualified to deal with the problems of today or to advise on the happenings of to-morrow? And, again, an historian is primarily busy with dates and dynasties and counting the ages of old monuments. How can he be trusted to cast the horoscope for the future life of Art? What has an historian to do with the art-practitioner of today with his new hopes and his new fears, with his novel plans and newer ambitions?

I may, at once, allay your fears and answer your questionings by making a frank admission that I have not come here under any false pretences. I know full well that a professor's robe is not a proper passport for an entry in an assembly of artists. I am perfectly aware that artists belong to a new kingdom of culture which is far away from the culture of the learned men—many thousand miles away from books and cyclopaedias. Indeed, Art begins to speak when all the arrogance of words and book-learning have silenced their voice. Artists speak in the dumb and silent language of form and colour, and can say more, and in a more eloquent tongue, than the tongue borrowed from our dictionaries; they can, and, they do, indeed, express thoughts and ideas which are too deep for the spoken and the printed words. As our Chinese proverb says:

"A picture is worth more than ten thousand spoken words."

Indeed, artists should be proud to claim that they belong to the University of the Illiterates and the word "Illiterates", inscribed on their brow, is the most shining banner of challenge to the tyranny of the spoken and the printed words—a challenge to the claims of the apostles of book-learning to represent and interpret the whole of human culture. And when some of our learned men in the proud arrogance of their bookish learning look down upon the artist, the humble wielder of the

brush, from the lofty pedestals of their piles of books, I always love to point out that the words of the learned men's dictionary are quite inadequate to fathom all the treasures which are hidden within the bosom of the human soul. There are many thoughts, many ideas, many emotions, many philosophies, which push their heads out of the still waters or the agitated depths of the human mind, which cannot be put into the forms of our spoken vocabulary, and they have to seek the aid of the visual artist to express and interpret ideas which are inexpressible in terms of the words of our dictionary. In this way more than half of human culture has been expressed and recorded in the illiterate words of the painter, the sculptor, and the builder of temples.

And he who is under the delusion that books are the only repository of knowledge will deprive himself of more than half of the richest treasures of the human mind, of the most valuable expression of human culture, of human knowledge.

Indeed, from my personal experience, I humbly claim that the little bits of knowledge that I may have been able to gather, have come to me through the study of pictures, of images, and of temples, rather than through books and cyclopaedias. And I am proud to claim that I am still an humble student in the great and populous University of the Illiterates, seeking my education and edification through the illiterate pages of paintings, through the hieroglyphics of drawings, through the lights and shadows of statuary, through the mysterious dynamics of architecture.

I may also confess that during my school and college days, I have frequently strayed from the lessons of the printed books, and dabbled in brushes and colours, to express my thoughts and to interpret my experiences of life. And I have occasionally ventured to send my experiments with colours to picture exhibitions and sometimes earned the praise of connoisseurs and prizes and certificates of honour.

And, since false humility is genuine arrogance, I should make another admission. I have been intimately connected with the modern movement in Indian Art, a movement which while it began by gathering threads of the traditions of ancient schools of painting and of sculpture, have attempted to develop the old traditions on novel lines in a truly eclectic spirit not disdaining to benefit by the lessons derived from a study of the Western schools of painting, but at the same time refusing to imitate slavishly the conventions and manners of European artists. The idea has been to assimilate the new points of view and to adapt such methods, technique, and conventions which could be harmonized with the traditions and the national genius and character of Indian painting evolved during the course of more than two thousand years.

* Being a lecture delivered on the 2nd December, 1945, before the China Fine Art Association of Soochwan at Chengtu, under the presidency of the Commissioner of Education, Chengtu.

Yet, when the new ways of painting pictures, of treating forms were introduced into India by contact with examples of European painting, executed in realistic and naturalistic style, a very sad and tragic thing happened in India. About the middle of the nineteenth century, Indian artists, particularly those who were separated by long distances, had lost contact with the old traditions of Indian painting. The Mughal Emperors of Delhi and Agra were great patrons of Indian painting and the best master-painters gathered from all parts of India were assembled in the Imperial studio at Delhi, and the practice of painting and the connected arts were centralized and developed through frequent criticism by trained connoisseurs in sympathy with the artists. The Emperors of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had made large collections of paintings by the best masters which were available for study and the art of judging productions of art was maintained at a high level of standard. But with the fall of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi, the imperial studio was broken up, the collections of masterpieces were dispersed and the practice of art was disintegrated, and, the patronage of the Emperors having ceased, the practice of the artists became detached from valuable traditions and Art descended on a downward and decadent slope. In the nineteenth century, Art lost its moorings, lost its direction, and wandered aimlessly, like a ship without a rudder. It was at this juncture that the Western schools of painting, very tempting in their new way of using colours and the attractive manners of realistic renderings of lights and shadows, attracted the attention of the artists in India, who had forgotten the glorious traditions of the ancestors, and, the Indian artists of the early nineteenth century succumbed to the temptations of accepting and copying the manners and mannerisms of the realistic methods of the West. Having lost touch with their own Indian standards they had no standards by which to judge, critically examine and appraise the new methods of painting introduced from the West. In such places where there were artists still in touch with the traditional Indian methods, there arose the inevitable conflict between the Old and the New, and many of them succumbed to the temptations of the New. Abandoning the old language of Indian pictorial art some of the Indian artists of the late nineteenth century adopted in *toto* the realistic language of the pictorial art of the West. The impact of the culture-forms of the West was too much for them. They were too weak to resist the onslaught of the West. They were not prepared for the attack which came all of a sudden and swept them off their feet. Like the unexpected force of an inundation or a flood, the deep surging waves of Western culture carried away the small trees and plants which had no deep roots driven below the earth. It is only a few intellectuals of experienced wisdom—the tall big trees—who kept their heads over the waters of the flood, because these wise thinking men had their root-ideas deeply imbedded in the solid foundations of their own old, well-tried, native cultural traditions. There is an old Chinese proverb which says :

"No matter how high the rain and the flood, sit tight on the fishing stone."

Well, following the wise principle of this proverb, a few wise men of India, in the latter part of the nineteenth century 'sat tight on their high fishing stones',

and were not carried away by the impetuous impact of the culture and civilization which invaded India and threatened to submerge and conquer the national culture. When the flood comes, it overflows the banks of the river, and, drowns the crops and the plants on the banks, everything appears to be obliterated for the time being. The water subsides, presently, revealing a few strong plants which have survived the onslaught of the flood. And the receding tide leaves on the river-bank valuable deposits of mud which richly fertilize the land over-run by the flood.

The culture and the civilization of the West have likewise left on the barren parts of the Indian soil very useful fertilizing seeds to yield a new variety of crop, never raised on Indian earth, in the past ages. In this way, modern Indian Art, Literature, and Drama have been richly fertilized by the inundations of culture imported from the West, and many new forms of Art have cropped up during the early part of this century, which have revealed new colours, new flavours, new tastes, in which the best elements of Western culture have been assimilated and made parts of Indian cultural expressions without the undesirable features of a crude, clumsy, slavish or mechanical imitation of Western forms. In this assimilation of the healthy and useful items of Western art-forms, the fundamental principles of Indian traditions have not been sacrificed or neglected. New ways have been discovered to present old eternal ideals, solidly standing on the bed-rock of their own foundations, for as another Chinese proverb reminds us :

"Mountains do not turn, but roads do."

Principles of beauty are eternal and unchangeable but the ways and methods of presenting it differ from age to age, from place to place. Yet exotic manners, foreign methods, alien conventions, can be usefully borrowed from extra-national sources, if we know the art of using and adopting new ideas, new conventions, new manners without injuring the basic principles of one's traditional art. A hybrid form is a monstrosity, an assimilated form is a unity. So that in any field of art, it is no use gulping down one's throat any ideas that come in our way, without properly chewing, munching, and digesting the materials one wants to absorb. So that, in receiving any new ideas in the realm of art, one must carefully and critically study the same, analyse and dissect the elements, discriminate between all that is good and useful in them, and reject and eliminate all that is useless, or inimical to the spirit of one's own ideas, antagonistic to one's racial temperament. We are at liberty, of course, to welcome with open arms, any guest that knocks at our door, but before we can give him a warm corner in our heart, and elevate him to the position of an intimate friend we have to test him and probe him to find out if he possesses genuine and sterling qualities of head and heart. In this way, the clash between the Old and the New, the familiar and the unfamiliar, the known and the unknown, confronts us not only in the domain of the intercourse and exchange in the practices of Art but in all the avenues of life. Then again inside the same orbit of life, there is a further conflict between Age and Youth, the Old and the New. Old age, with its accumulated wisdom, with its sweet as well as the bitter experiences of life and with its spent-out energy is inclined to be conservative, pessimistic and lazy, unwilling to make any new experiments, or to tread on any new path. Youth, on the other hand, is impetuous,

energetic, liberal, anxious to undertake new adventure, and gain his experience of life through mistakes, and risk his life in order to know the unknown, to progress and to make new discoveries.

The wisdom and the experience of life, the advice of the old and the mature is as much necessary as the energy, the adventure, and the new discoveries of youth. The fears and the pessimism of age are as much necessary as the hopes and aspirations and the optimism of youth. The two should be allied and linked together, so that the current of human culture may run in an uninterrupted course in one uniform unity. This is very well expressed in a verse of Rabindranath Tagore :

*Tomar holo suru, amar holo sara,
Tomay amay mile emni ba'be dhara.**

The old man addresses the young man : "My dear boy, you have started the career of your life whereas I have brought my life to its termination, our united and combined efforts, you and I, taken together, shall augment the current of existence and keep alive the eternal flow of life.

The truth that emerges from this discussion is this : that there is really, and there should be no real conflict between the Old and the New. We need both, to realize, to fulfil, to perfect the culture of life, the wisdom of age and the dreams of youth. Now let us see how these generalities can be made, to apply to the problems of modern art, to the dilemmas of the modern artists.

Your problems and the state and conditions of art in China have been somewhat better than those prevailing in India about the middle of the nineteenth century. Whereas Indian artists have been cut off from their old traditions of art, and forgotten their national language of expression, the artists of China have not lost contact with their own valuable artistic heritage. Ever since Hsie Ho formulated in the sixth century the six fundamental principles or limbs of pictorial art, the artists of China have upheld in practice, throughout the centuries, the excellent principles enshrined in theory.

We, Indians, had also our six principles, canons, or limbs of painting, known as *Sadanga*, but practitioners of Indian art had forgotten these principles, which were re-discovered by a research scholar about twenty years ago.

Now, in the present predicament we have to consider if the manners and methods, the techniques and conventions of Chinese painting have become too old, effete, and worn out or lost their energy. It must be remembered that principles are universal and eternal, they never change, but their application and practice may change under new conditions, under new demands, under new environments. The physical and the material paraphernalia of life get worn out, decay, and die. And in such cases you have to abandon them, and replace them by new ones. Thus, our clothes frequently get dirty and are torn into tatters. Sometimes, if the piece of drapery is of a valuable fabric or is a valuable heirloom, the gift of parents or friends on happy occasions, we do not readily discard it, we repair it, and restore and renovate it, and still cherish it as a valuable possession. But if it becomes too much damaged, too much torn in tatters, and too much dirty, we have to discard it.

Such is also the rule with many of our social and family customs and manners, many of them change with changing times except those which are imbedded in principles of universal morality, the fundamental codes of human and spiritual life.

In the realm of Art, methods and techniques are sometimes abandoned even when they are fundamentally sound and based on right philosophical principles, and even if they have not lost their energy and wearing qualities. Because, owing to changing social conditions, and psychological states of the human mind, old but sound principles of Art lose their uses, their meanings and significance.

When the dawn of Renaissance lighted the art of Italy in the fourteenth century, the methods of the old Byzantine paintings and of the Italian primitives of Duccio and Margaritone were discarded in favour of the newer methods of Giotto, Uccello, Cimabue, Raphael and Botticelli, of Michael Angelo and Da Vinci.

Some of the change was inevitable owing to the change of psychology of the Christian devotees. The strange, fantastic, and exaggerated forms of the Italo-Byzantine primitive Frescoes of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and the mosaic pictures of Ravenna and other centres, overpowered and held in chain, more through fears than of hopes, the illiterate, uncultivated and primitive minds of the simple devotees and peasant pilgrims of the pre-Renaissance periods. But present rationalism and intellectual questionings enlarged the boundaries of the outlook of the simple folk and the primitive paintings had no more any charm for them. The Italian primitives, therefore, lost their significance, and survived their usefulness and were replaced by the new kind of pictures with correct anatomy, with rules of perspective, and the use of chiaroscuro, that is, the realistic use of high lights and shadows, yet our modern critics are insisting that it was wrong to abandon the sound method and manners of Italo-Byzantine primitives pulsating with the ring of simplicity and rich in the expressive powers of their lines and the inventive and imaginative treatment of form, unhampered by false and scientific notions of correct anatomy and so-called accurate representation of human form.

Our modern critics after a thorough analysis of Renaissance paintings, assert that the application of the scientific principles of perspective and of the optical rules of light and shade, was a matter of greatest tragedy to the fundamental principles of pictorial art considered as art, that is to say, art as truly conceived as imaginative use of form.

Yet, we, oriental artists, have fallen victims to these two fascinating temptations of Western painting of the Renaissance period, namely, the use of scientific perspective and optical application of lights and shadows, and are anxious to import these scientific appanages which are strictly speaking not applicable in the domain of art.

Having found out the fallacy of applications of these scientific principles to the practices of pictorial art, the ultra-modernists of the Western studios have gone to the other extreme of banishing all principles of perspective and of chiaroscuro—in fact all the apparatus of realistic and naturalistic paintings—and are going back to the methods and manners of the primitives, imitating the technique of El Greco or Duccio, and other anonymous artists of the school of Avignon. And from this point of view, Asiatic artists

* तोमार हकी सुरु, अमार हकी सारा ।

तोमार अमार मिले एमनि बाबे धारा ।

are attempting to drape and dress their art with the discarded and cast-off clothings of European studios.

It is useful to remember that the fundamental difference between Western and Eastern painting lies in the emphasis given by Eastern artists on the value of lines, and in the imaginative, as opposed to the scientific use of form. These principles are very sound and universal and we find the study of Far Eastern painting by European artists has led to the artists of the West borrowing and adopting sound pictorial principles practised by Chinese, Japanese and Indian artists.

Thus it will not be wise for our modern Chinese artists to abandon sound and eternal principles, which lie imbedded in their traditional inheritances of art. They should not be discarded because they are old. I firmly believe that these old Chinese pictorial traditions have not yet lost their uses, nor their vitality or energy. If they were dead and decaying carcasses, I cannot advise you to stick to them or to revive them, for dead things cannot be brought back to life. As a Chinese sage has said :

"You cannot set free a salted fish."

But I firmly believe that, the traditions of Chinese pictorial art have not survived their uses, they have not certainly reached the futile state of the 'salted fish' or the 'dead mutton', Chinese art tradition is still a living dragon yet to impart the dynamic energy and spiritual inspiration to the art-practices of to-day and to-morrow. Even if I am wrong in my assertion that the traditions of old Chinese art are still a living force, and not a spent-out fire, if the forms and conventions of artistic productions have grown too old and have become dead carcasses, still the ruins of old traditions confer valuable riches. To cite a Chinese proverb, again :

"A worn out boat has still 3,000 nails in it."

—:O:—

And if it is necessary to abandon the old boat we must not forget to collect the bags of nails, as they may help us to build a new boat for our new adventure across the uncharted seas to the new ports, to the new continents of Art.

In India, we have a similar proverb which says :

"A dead elephant is worth a million dollars."

For, if it can no longer carry you on your path of progress, its shining tusks will provide for the prizes for the ransom of princes. As a matter of fact, the tusks of elephants have been turned and carved into wonderful works of art.

To the young artists of China with ambition to produce works of art to surpass the old masterpieces, I will remind them of the saying, "One has to grow his eye-brows before he grows his beard" and that "the eye-brows of youth cannot compare with the beard of age."

But, by this, I do not mean to discourage his ambition, or discount the value of his new and youthful experiments. All I wish to suggest is that the future cannot be built by despising the past, or neglecting the present. And 'if there are three roads it is best to keep in the middle one', for, it is risky to incline towards the extreme edges.

If we critically study the trends of modern art in modern Europe, we find that in the admiration and worship of the art of the primitives, the modernists of the West are coming back to the point from which they had originally started. The curve has turned a full circle, the serpent is biting its tail: And nothing is so out of date as the moderns.

For the history of human culture in all its details has always demonstrated that

*The New is in the Old contained,
The Old is in the New fulfilled.*

JASHN AT KABUL Afghanistan's Independence Day Celebrations

By PROF. PARSHOTAM L. MEHRA, M.A.

So here at last, it was Kabul.

For two days on end, interrupted by a bare eight-hour night halt, we had driven along bleak, barren, inhospitable rocks in the hot, sultry July sun. Here and there the barrenness of the rocks had yielded place to a dash of a green stretch, inevitably a valley watered by the nearby babbling stream. From Peshawar we had sped past a Jamrud, a Landikotal, a Landikhana, a Turkham, a Dakka, a Jalalabad, a Duranta—each a name to conjure with, replete with a thousand and one historical associations, rich with past deeds in the chequered story of Anglo-Afghan relations.

At about 4 p.m. Kabul time (it was at Turkham, the Indo-Afghan border post, that we had the pleasant sensation of being able to gain two hours, the hands of every watch had moved back, with a smile) we entered the capital through a huge gate decorated with what we came to know later, the Afghan national colours. For the next hour or so we drove almost triumphantly through a metropolis in the height of excitement, bunted and beflagged to a degree. Time and again we passed arches and gateways with the Afghan black, red and

green fluttering in the breeze, with huge Welcomes and Long Lives for their beloved king.

What was that? Revelry and enjoyment—festive carousals. Kabul wore a gala appearance. Yes indeed, for the Independence celebrations were close at hand.

For six days in the year, every summer, Afghanistan celebrates her Jashn-i-Istaqlal with regal pomp and imperial grandeur. The Jashn commemorates her assumption of sovereign authority and absolute dominion. Pacing the corridor of contemporary events nearly a quarter of a century back, the Afghans' sudden declaration of war with the prompt march-down of her troops through the passes of the north-west, precipitated the third and the last of the Anglo-Afghan wars. The attack though repulsed with exemplary agility (for not only did Indo-British troops hold back the advance, they even defeated the Afghans at Dakka and Spinbuldak, all the more remarkable for a government fully pre-occupied with World War I) demonstrated the Afghan capacity to stand up, against odds, at isolated points : Tahl, Wana, Paiwar Pass. Of these the most famous was the success at Tahl of the late King Nadir Shah,

JASHN AT KABUL

then a general under Amir Habibullah. Here, with unflinching courage, in face of the serious Afghan reverses on all other fronts and the air attack on Kabul which had completely unnerved the government, Gen. Nadir Khan had held out.

This event, above all else, is associated in the Afghan mind with their victory, their Istaqlal. For the war resulted in a peace, the Treaty of Rawalpindi, which by discontinuing the annual stipend to the Amir for control over his foreign policy, was a recognition of Afghanistan's complete independence. She was a free country, master of her own destiny. That year the Afghans raised their Minar-i-Istaqlal, the Column of Independence. It stands near the Wazarat-i-Harbia, the Ministry of War, a tribute at once to the brilliant achievement of the 'liberator' Nadir, and a handsome memorial to Afghanistan's national glory.

On Tuesday, July 24, the 1st of Asad, the Jashn celebrations commenced with a speech by the king. Addressing his ministers and notables in fluent Pushtu, King Zahir Shah stressed Afghanistan's past greatness. He laid due emphasis upon her policy of strict neutrality in the world conflagration, leaving no doubt in those who heard him that his government was determined to defend her national independence against any aggressor. Emerging from this assembly the king drove along a road lined with thousands and thousands of cheering crowds to inspect his armed forces, assembled in the vast grounds in front of the stadium. Later, from a vantage point he took the salute as the infantry, the cavalry, and the gunnery marched past, headed by the War Minister. In the early hours of a pleasant, clear day, the mammoth gathering, (many of them hailing from the most distant provinces) stood in pin-drop silence for the three hours that the march-past lasted. The pin-drop silence was, however, punctuated by an infectious loud clapping as now and again a particular unit would catch the public fancy, or evoke a sentiment of deep respect. It was an impressive array revealing an army remarkably well-equipped with the latest weapons in modern warfare. Just then the roar of a dozen or so aeroplanes up in the skies above the stadium came as a grim reminder that the Afghans had by no means neglected this most potent adjunct of a country's fighting forces.

After the march-past, His Majesty drove to the nearby hillock to pay his homage at the mausoleum to the memory of his late lamented father, king Nadir Shah. In the evening that day there were horse races. Of these, that which excited the greatest interest was the hurdle race. In the protruding porch of the stadium the king was present to witness these wonderful feats of Afghan horsemanship; the wings on either side were jammed to capacity with distinguished foreign visitors and the doyen of the diplomatic corps.

The highlight of the following day's programme was the State opening of the Nandertavan, (Pushtu for Exhibition), by the king. Accompanied by the Prime Minister, H. R. H. Sardar Hashim Khan, the War Minister and a host of high ranking officials, His Majesty wended his way through the different sections. Almost everywhere he had questions to ask, in almost every branch of his country's rapidly marching strides towards industrialisation he evinced the keenest interest. A feature of the exhibition was that the articles exhibited were not for sale, which was to be effected on the closing day of the Jashn. Priorities, however, could be registered. To visitors, on the opening day, a copy

of the king's photograph in full martial uniform and a small booklet in Persian, detailing exhibition particulars, were distributed free.

On this occasion half a dozen teams in Hockey and Football had been invited from this side of the border. And day by day, to the accompaniment of martial music, the Peshawar Wanderers or the Delhi Mughals or the Aligarh Eleven would pitch themselves in battle-array against the Nijat Maktab Hockey or the Ariana Football. At these crowded evenings the king or the prince would be the most interested spectator and nearly all Kabul seemed assembled there to boost and buck up the rival teams.

Just across the road, in the valley below the hillock where the late king's mausoleum is being built, stands a beautiful lake. On its either side are grassy plots and dainty little flower-beds. The lake, none too deep, provides, to the adventurous in spirit, a lovely couple of hours in boating, where the sight of the rower with the boat upside down seems too familiar to occasion much laughter. The lake, the grassy plots, and the dainty little flower-beds to the accompaniment of a gentle breeze promise the visitor an excellent evening in the lap of nature, pure and undefiled. Here, in a tent, of an evening, the rival teams that had played that day would be entertained to a most sumptuous tea. And oft-times I recollect that never-to-be-forgotten moment, as I sat reclining in an armchair, hardly a foot or so from the lake, the breeze blowing in the face and causing the ripples which gently lapped the banks, whilst the hot 'divine leaf' cup lay on the marble table in front.

Scarcely had the golden disc gone down in the west after the day's labour across the sky, when the stadium and the entire 'Chaman' were flood-lit. It was a treat indeed to walk down the Chaman, that tastefully decorated and lavishly illuminated more than half a mile long road, lined with tea-shops and cafes. Packed to the full each advertised its best singers, a Nahu Khan or a Qasim Beg, to attract the largest crowd. This feast of lights and music seemed eternal. For even as the midnight oil burnt or the candle wheezed out its last gasps in the distant hills, the Chaman lights shone with unusual brilliance. And even in the small hours of the early morning the horses' hoofs tramped the road and the pedestrians shifted this way and that as a car whizzed past.

An interesting feature of the Jashn celebrations is the fact, that except for the essential services almost all the government offices, schools and colleges remain closed for an entire week. Until last year the *Islah* and the *Anis*, the two national dailies of the capital, suspended their publication during these days. This year, however, the *Anis* brought out special Jashn editions. Invariably during these days it is a real holiday mood which takes hold of nearly everyone in Kabul. But, it needs hardly be emphasised that there is a complete absence of any levity; on the contrary, almost a religious sanctity seems to pervade the occasion. For tinged with pleasure and enjoyment is the grim realisation of the warding off of any possible danger to Afghan independence, from whatever quarter it be.

Though many a one even from the remotest provinces of Herat and Mizari-Sharif trudges his weary way to Kabul to witness the regal grandeur, in the provincial capitals too the Jashn-in-miniature is not neglected. While in Kandahar on our way back to India,

the provincial... to a vast ex-
...wherein he reminded us,
...with all ceremony. Kandahar,
...three-day holiday. And this
...minister in Rome and

Berlin, so thoroughly versed in his country's ways was
at pains to assure us that even in the farthest village
in the countryside and in the humblest cottage the
Jashn occupies a place all its own. So we thought it
does.

—:O:—

LITTLE INDIA IN MAURITIUS'

By S. A. WAIZ

MAURITIUS—home of the extinct bird Dodo—lies in the Indian Ocean, 1400 miles from Africa, 600 miles east of Madagascar and 2,000 miles from Ceylon. Its area is about 720 sq. miles. Although Mauritius lies within the tropics the climate is mild and equable.

The total population of Mauritius is estimated at about 415,000 of whom about 275,900 or about 70 per cent are Indians. These Indians are descendants of immigrant labourers from Madras, the United Provinces and Bihar. There is a sprinkling of traders from the Bombay Presidency.

Nothing is known of the early history of the island. Probably it was known to the Arabs in the 13th and 14th centuries but there is no trace or record of settlement by them. The Malays who colonized Madagascar visited Mauritius in 15th-16th century. It was discovered by the Portuguese on their way to India in the beginning of the 16th century but it remained without inhabitants until colonized by the Dutch in 1638. For over a century and a quarter the vicissitudes of the island were limited to changes of name. The Dutch called it "Maurice" in honour of Prince Maurice of Nassau. The French took possession of the island in 1715 and called it "Ile de France." It was ceded to the British in 1814 when the change of name to Mauritius was effected.

In 1835 slavery was abolished. The emancipated slaves refused to work on plantations except on their own terms. The planters resorted to the introduction of indentured labour from India which commenced in 1842 and continued without interruption until 1910.

Before the advent of Indian labour a few sugarcane plantations were on the verge of ruination. The greater part of Mauritius was a vast forest. But Indian labourers by their united efforts and by dint of their innate, atavistic virtues of industry, frugality and thrift converted Mauritius into a flourishing colony. They are the pioneers of the tobacco industry of the island. The great majority of Indians are engaged in agriculture whether as planters or labourers on sugarcane estates.

Indians have done well in all spheres of life in Mauritius. There are a number of important Indian firms who have extensive dealings in grain and cloth trade. In not a few cases, Indians whose forefathers went out to Mauritius as indentured labourers without any means whatsoever have amassed considerable fortunes; and Indian owners of land and plantations now number several thousands. There is, however, poverty among Indians but on a smaller scale and less obvious than in India.

Indians enjoy full equality of political status with the rest of the inhabitants. But as they are not politically conscious, they have not yet availed themselves of the opportunity. There are two nominated Indian members of the Legislative Council.

The official languages are English and French and though the former is widely understood, French is the principal language of social use. All educated Indians and professional men speak and write French. Hindu-stani is largely spoken by Indians but Gujarati, Tamil and Telugu are also current.

The Indians, the French, the British and others live amicably without any distinction of race or colour. Their social relations are very pleasant.

There are a number of hospitals, dispensaries, schools and orphanages financed and conducted by Indians. The Arya Samaj and the Sri Ramakrishna Mission and the Tamil Association are rendering useful service to the people of the Colony. The Ramakrishna Mission has an Ashram (Monastery), a Reading Room and Library at Port Louis. It has an Orphanage at Vacoas nearly 14 miles from Port Louis. They give free medicines to all at their dispensary. Their Institute of Culture conducts night schools for adults and children for teaching Indian languages of which Hindi is the principal one. There are other charitable institutions such as Dharamsalas, Yatim Khanas and Madrasas. There are a number of Indian Cricket and Football clubs.

Indians are thoroughly assimilated in Mauritius and take pride in calling themselves Indo-Mauritians. Though they are cut off from the homeland as there is no direct regular steamship service between India and Mauritius, they tenaciously cling to their ancestral traditions. Very few Indians have embraced Christianity. The Hindu festivals—Dassera, Holi, Divali, Shivratri, etc.—are celebrated with the same enthusiasm, delight and eclat as they are done in India. Temples, Shivalayas and shrines are found all over the island. The itinerant priest or Sadhu is almost as common and as welcome on the plantations as in the villages in India. Recitations from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana have the same fascination for these simple, God-fearing folks as they fascinated their forbears in days of yore. In fact religion still dominates their lives. The caste system is retained in a modified form and untouchability is gradually disappearing. In big towns trousers (western style) have replaced the dhoti but the majority of labourers still adhere to the ancestral costumes, though "shorts" are becoming more and more popular. The Sari seems to be irreplaceable.

It is amazing how these people whose forefathers left India almost a century ago and who were born in a foreign country and were brought up under strange surroundings often in the face of adverse circumstances have succeeded, to a remarkable degree, in preserving their ancestral heritage and national culture. They still worship the very name of the country of their origin—India.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE RECENT STATEMENT OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON INDIA

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.),
Lecturer in Political Science, Dacca University

FOLLOWING in the trail of Lord Wavell's last declaration we have had yet another statement on India made simultaneously in both Houses of Parliament on the 4th of December last, by Lord Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Herbert Morrison. It is an authoritative and important document in the sense that it represents an agreed decision of His Majesty's Government about their Indian policy. Beyond that it has no other significance. It does not mark any reorientation in their Indian policy. It breaks no new ground whatsoever. It reiterates the same old policy and objective and even reaffirms the procedure through which the objective is to be reached. There are only two new features about the statement: the first is the proposal to send a representative British Parliamentary delegation to India to contact leading Indian political personalities, and the second is a sort of veiled threat that firm action would be taken to put down any prospective subversive popular movement that might be launched. To all appearance, the statement is a sequel to and the British Government's reaction to the mass agitation and demonstration sometimes taking the form of a surging popular upheaval as in the recent disturbances in Calcutta and Bombay and the speeches of many released political leaders particularly Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with their direct mass appeal. These seem to have upset the mental equilibrium of the British officialdom in India at whose insistence the British Government seems to have been persuaded to show up their hand. Otherwise perhaps they would have kept silent at least till the elections were over. Considering the nature of the statement, its hollowness and lack of substance, it cannot be explained except on an assumption like the one made above.

The statement begins by reiterating and justifying the steps contemplated by His Majesty's Government to be taken to promote early realisation of full self-government in India as announced by Lord Wavell last summer. The reason adduced for making the present statement is that the full significance of the proposals in question does not seem to have been properly appreciated in India and further that the discussion with representative Indians after the elections contemplated therein have been misrepresented in certain quarters as a fruitful source of delay. So it became incumbent on the British Government to remove all suspicions and misunderstandings. The Secretary of State observed:

"I desire to make it plain that His Majesty's Government regard the setting up of a constitution-making body, by which Indians will decide their own future, and also other proposals embodied in the announcement as a matter of the greatest urgency."

With that end in view and as an earnest of good faith and sincerity of purpose of the British Government it is proposed to send a Parliamentary delegation to India to utilise the opportunities of personal contact

between representatives of the two countries afforded by such procedure. The purpose of the delegation would be twofold—firstly, the members of Parliament constituting the delegation would have an opportunity of meeting leading Indian politicians to learn their views at first hand and, secondly, the former in their turn "would be able to convey in person the general wish and desire of the people of this country that India should speedily attain her full and *rightful position as an independent partner state in the British Commonwealth* and the desire of Parliament to do everything within our power to promote speedy attainment of that objective." It should be noted that the political status that is envisaged here for India is that of a partner state in the British Commonwealth, which might be regarded as denying her the choice to remain within or to secede from the British Commonwealth. But the position was made clear by Mr. Herbert Morrison in reply to a question in which he stated that there was no such intention. He said:

"I do not think there need be any misapprehension about that, the offer of 1942 to include the provision of a treaty contemplated between a new self-governing India and His Majesty's Government would not impose any restriction upon the power of India to decide her future relationship with the remainder of the British Commonwealth. His Majesty's Government stand by that position, though it is naturally our hope that India will remain of her own free will within the British Commonwealth."

There was some discussion in Parliament about the exact status and functions of the delegation. The original proposal set forth in the statement was for sending a Parliamentary delegation under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association, an unofficial body. The delegates were to be selected by the Association in consultation with Parliamentary representatives of the chief political parties of Britain. In answer to questions the matter was further elucidated. The delegation was to be something of the nature of a goodwill mission. It was not to submit any formal report, but on its return the delegation may have an opportunity of conferring with His Majesty's Government in order to express its views and impressions. The feeling in the House of Commons was in favour of giving a more official status to the delegation than was provided through the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association. In deference to the wishes of leading members of the House the Government ultimately agreed to give up the auspices of the Association and to give it a more official status by forming the delegation direct from members of the two Houses representing the different parties. The functions of the delegation were to be mainly exploratory in character, directed towards understanding each other more clearly than is possible through official reports etc., by means

of personal contacts and ultimately to place at the disposal of the Government and Parliament the views and impressions as also the considered opinion of the delegation which are to serve as a basis for the eventual settlement between the two countries.

So much about the Parliamentary delegation. To come now to the "threat" part of the statement. It was stated by the Secretary of State that

"During the period of transitions towards complete self-government, the Government of India cannot divest itself of the responsibility which rests upon it and upon all provincial governments in preserving law and order and of resisting any attempt to resolve constitutional issue by force. . . . His Majesty's Government could not permit any attempt to be made to break down the loyalty of the administrative services or of the Indian armed forces, and they will give full support to the Government of India in securing that their servants are protected in the performance of their duty and the future constitution of India shall not be called into being by force or threat of force."

As was to be expected Mr. Eden and the Earl of Munster on behalf of the Tories gave their immediate blessings to this part of the statement. The suggestion of a Communist Member that this part might be left out was met by Mr. Morrison saying that he did not detect any threat in the statement. It simply meant that the Government of India had responsibilities of Government and it must govern. But however much Mr. Morrison may try to represent it in a different light its character as a threat cannot be camouflaged in any way and it was but natural that Indian leaders like Moulana Azad and Pandit Nehru reacted to this part of the statement as such. What little, if any, was there in the first part of the statement by way of a gesture of goodwill was completely neutralised by this show of the "mailed fist". Looking at the matter even from the angle of the British Government it seems to us it has been highly impolitic to associate this threat with the other proposal. It was simply needless to throw out this challenge at this stage, when they know they have the power to use force to meet any possible emergency, should it arise. At any rate this was not a fit occasion for advertising in advance the policy to be pursued by the Government in the event of any attempt in India to precipitate the pace of advance by threat of force. If the purpose was to cow down Indian leaders by a warning it has failed to be effective as is evidenced by the reaction of Indian leaders to this part of the statement and it was only as expected. But what is worse still is the fact that the whole object of sending the Parliamentary delegation, the spirit of conciliation in which it seems to have been conceived for otherwise there was no point in making this statement at all—have been completely frustrated by this part.

In the concluding part reference is made to "the great need of India . . . to raise the standard of life, of education and of health of the masses of the people" and of pushing forward boldly conceived plans of improving social conditions along with the introduction of self-government. It is very difficult to find out the relevancy of this matter to the other parts of the statement unless the intention is to divert attention in part from political to economic issues as has been the tendency in British official circles for some time past

with regard to India. Indian politicians also have never minimised the gravity of India's economic problems, only they have placed priority on the issue of political freedom which to them is the master key to all other problems. In their view, only a national government enjoying the confidence of the people can take the bold measures that are necessary for the economic regeneration of the teeming millions of India. So they plead for the first things first—Indian independence before anything else.

From what we have seen above it would be quite clear that the statement made in Parliament has not served any useful purpose; on the contrary, it has in a way done more harm than good in so far as it has clearly revealed that the advent of the Labour Government has not marked a change of heart on the part of the British Government towards India or a reorientation of their Indian policy. At any rate it is not expected to lead to an improvement of relations with India. Of course, time is long gone when Indian people built expectations as to political advance on a change of ministry at home. Yet in view of the tall professions of the leaders of the Labour Party of sympathy for the cause of Indian Independence and even their election pledges it would not have been anything silly if Indians had built high hopes about India's future on the advent of the Labour Party to power. But this statement would bring disillusionment to those, if there were any, who had any illusions about the promises of Labour leaders in regard to India. If the Labour Government were really sincere in their professions of sympathy for the freedom of India and if they meant business they would have easily realised that the device of Parliamentary delegation would not be of any avail towards the end in view. At least it may cause some delay. Indians have had enough of Delegations, Committees and Commissions. Facts of the Indian situation are all there and nothing new requires to be explored through these agencies. As Prof. Laski has very rightly observed:

"I do not think the all party delegation to India will do any harm, but I am not satisfied that it will necessarily do good. I am not content with the policy of the British Government in India and I regard the conferment of Self-government upon India as the acid-test of the Labour Government."

What is now wanted is a bold policy in the shape of an immediate declaration of Indian independence by the British Government on the basis of the constitution to be framed by the Constituent Assembly that is going to be set up after the elections. It would be betraying a sad lack of imagination and political wisdom for British statesman to view the problem of India in isolation. It should be viewed as a part of the bigger problem of the whole of Asia in the setting of the ferment and upheaval that is evident from one end of Asia to the other and the surging national consciousness of the Asiatic nations who are not prepared any longer to submit to exploitations of the Western nations. The situation in the East is explosive and if the victorious nations do not rise to the occasion a third World War with its epicentre in Asia is unavoidable and that would mean perhaps the end of civilisation. A high responsibility rests on the Labour leaders today. If they take the initiative in India, all the other problems may perhaps be easily solved on this example and thus save the world from destruction.



Kathmandu, the picturesque capital of Nepal
By Sunil Paul

A YOUNG INDIAN SCULPTOR

Sunil Kumar Paul

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,

Professor, Calcutta University

THE city of Kathmandu, the picturesque capital of Nepal, like the other towns of Nepal valley, has got its *Tundi-Khel*, an open grass-covered *maidan* or field where military parades and manoeuvres are regularly held. The Nepal Government evidently intends this plot to be surrounded by statues of its rulers, to form an area which would recall the old Sigessalee of Berlin, or nearer home, the Red Road of Calcutta. Along the west side of the *Tundi-Khel* are bronze equestrian statues of four of the Prime Ministers and Supreme Commander-in-chiefs of Nepal—Maharaja Bir Shamsheer, Maharaja Chandra Shamsheer and Maharaja Dhir Shamsheer, and the great Maharaja Jang Bahadur (the last resembling in style John Henry Foley's well-known statue of Outram on the Maidan at the head of Park Street in Calcutta). A bronze standing statue of Maharaja Joodha Shamsheer (who has just abdicated, in the time-honoured manner of Hindu rulers, who are expected to retire into a life of religious calm when feeling too much the burden of state in old age) terminates the fine new street named *Joodha Sarak* which was built during his rule after the earthquake of 1934.

All these statues, and a few more in Kathmandu, are works of British sculptors. But the latest statue decorating what may be called "the Street of Statues" to the west of the *Tundi-Khel*, is one done in quite a different style. It is a figure of the reigning king of Nepal, His Majesty Sri Sri Sri Sri Sri Tribhuvan Bir Bikram Sah Dev, slightly bigger than life, which stands

in quiet dignity under a tasteful *chatri* in the Indian style at the crossing to the south-west of the *Tundi-Khel*. It is the work of a young sculptor from Calcutta, Mr. Sunil Kumar Paul, who was commissioned by the Nepal Government to execute it from life and to cast it in white cement. The effect of it is like marble: and it is a standing testimony to the artistic powers and technical skill of the young artist who was responsible for it. The statue was set up in its place in December, 1944.

Sunil Kumar Paul was born 25 years ago in Calcutta in one of its old and highly respected families. The background on which his childhood was passed was that of the typical Bengali Hindu boy in Calcutta, in which *Pujas* with clay images of Gods and Goddesses and exhibitions of clay figures as part of religious festivals have a great part. After a few years' schooling at a local high school in North Calcutta (except passing the Matriculation, he did not take any university examination), Sunil Kumar joined the Government School of Art in Calcutta in 1935. From his second year he took up sculpture as his special subject, joining the Modelling Department of the school then under the direction of Ramendranath Chakravarti. After five years' study, he was given the school diploma in 1940 on the result of his examination; and after this, he elected to stay at school, to take the Art Teacher's diploma for which there was a two-year course. In 1942, the Nepal Government wanted a promising young

artist, to be selected by the Government School of Art in Calcutta, to come over to Nepal to execute some portrait busts and statues, and the choice of Mr. Ramendranath Chakravarti (himself a well-known artist and a pupil of Nandalal Bose), who was then Head Master of the School, fell upon Sunil Kumar as the most brilliant young man of his group. Paul went to Nepal in December, 1942, and stayed there for two years, with an occasional break of a couple of months in 1944 when he came home to Calcutta.



His Majesty the King of Nepal (1944)

This gave our young artist a unique opportunity, not only to show his powers, but also to lay by a fund of observation and experience in that home of old-world Indian artistry, the valley of Nepal. With its wonderful architectural and artistic treasures and with the exceedingly picturesque and unsophisticated life of the people, in its four towns which are veritable treasuries of art—Kathmandu, Patan, Bhatgaon and Kirtipur—all set in the emerald green and the enamel reds and blues and yellows of its foliage and flowers and fruits, with the towering background of the eternal snows of the great Himalayan range to the north, Nepal valley forms a real paradise for the artist and the man of imagination and taste. After his formal and orthodox training at school in Calcutta, this sojourn in Nepal, during which he responded with all his being to the appeal of both Nature and Art, both of which are irresistible in their gorgeousness and spontaneity, is bound to prove of far-reaching consequence in the development of our artist's powers.

Sunil Kumar did some good student's work while at school in both modelling and sketching, and drawing and painting. Some of his school essays are in the usual

style of the nineteenth century romanticists of Europe, till recently *de rigueur* in art schools. But he quickly discovered the greatness of ancient and medieval Hindu sculpture, and in his portrait studies he struck out a path that was his own—which did not aim at a meticulous photographic verisimilitude, but sought to bring in a certain formal or symmetric vigour and static grace. Not that he eschewed realism altogether—some of his early work (e.g., the *Head of a Fakir*, 1937) shows a robust realism which has even a certain Gothic quality about it. In his bas-reliefs and decorative compositions with Indian themes, he could not, naturally enough, escape the mannerism and the idiom received from Classical Hindu Sculpture as well as decayed or moribund Folk Art. But the patent sincerity of his effort helped to endow many of these compositions with a certain dignity and seriousness, which we may note in a figure like the one I have called *Sita with her Twin Babes* (1938).



Maharaja Sir Joodha Shamser (1943)

When just out of school, Sunil Kumar took a hand at decorating with bas-reliefs and panels a cinema house in Calcutta, the *Minar*, owned by one of his uncles. (Incidentally, it may be mentioned that another uncle of his is Mr. Santi Paul, well-known champion in swimming, who is also a poet of distinction). Apart from some small panels, the most noteworthy thing in this decoration is the group of three figures, one *Gandharva* and two *Apsaras*, celestial beings of Indian mythology, who are sweeping down from the higher regions to earth (1942). These, in duplicate on either side, dominate the auditorium in a remarkable way.

In Nepal, Sunil Kumar busied himself in executing the portrait statue of His Majesty the King of Nepal, and in making portrait busts of His Highness the Maharaja, Sir Joodha Shamsheer, and other notabilities. He made excursions to all the important shrines and centres of art and crafts in the valley of Nepal, took sketches, and observed the methods followed by the wood-carvers, ivory-workers, metal-casters and other craftsmen of Nepal who have made the art of the country famous in the world; and he also took his fill of the beauty of living in the country, among both

image of Durga on her lion slaying the demon Mahisha is vigorously and convincingly executed—it is, of course, not done in the traditional style sanctified by centuries of association, in which images meant for worship for a few days only and then for casting away in the waters are made, but it is a piece of artistic work we would like to retain. The language of Assyrian sculpture in accentuating the muscles gives an additional vigour to the composition.

A national movement in Art in India began in Bengal when Abanindranath Tagore became Vice-Principal (during the principalship of the late E. B. Havell) of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, and his pupils Nandalal Bose, Asit Kumar Haldar, and the rest strengthened this movement which spread all over India by members of the Calcutta School going to other provinces as Art Teachers (e.g., Asit Kumar Haldar at Lucknow, Sailendranath Kar and Kusal Mukherjee at Jaipur, Pramod Kumar Chatterji at the Andhra Jatiya Kalasala at Waltair, the Ukil brothers at Delhi, Samarendranath Gupta at Lahore, and other members of the Calcutta School and its development the Santiniketan School in other centres of education and art: e.g., the Rajkumar College at Raipur, the Aitchison College at Lahore, the Doon School at



Sita with her twin babes, Laba and Kusa (1938)

Brahminical Hindus and Buddhists, in their numerous festivals, processions and temple-worship. The main work for which he was called to Nepal he has accomplished to the satisfaction of all, the statue of the King of Nepal; and incidentally, he was able to draw out his talents to their full maturity as a portraitist. Among his other successes are the fine portrait bust of Maharaja Sir Joodha Shamsheer, and a most beautifully done bust of a young Nepali nobleman, Colonel Shanta Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana. Some fine paintings and pencil sketches of Nepal scenes and sights form part of his other artistic work while in Nepal. Incidentally, the new Museum Building at Kathmandu, erected by Maharaja Sir Joodha Shamsheer, under the supervision of the Curator of the Museum, Mr. Siva Narayan Sen, was also decorated by a gateway with a series of reliefs in cement by Sunil Kumar.

Sunil Kumar Paul is now back in Calcutta and has set up as a sculptor and artist in his ancestral house. In Calcutta he has done a few good portraits and has received some commissions. A series of panels for the *Durga Puja* ceremony show him in the characteristic style he is developing. He does not disdain to be eclectic, if it gives him the needed articulation. The



Head of a Faqir (1937)

Dehradun, etc., and by students from other provinces coming to Calcutta and Santiniketan, some of whom have now come to the forefront as the best exponents of present-day art in India (e.g., K. Venkatappa from Andhra-desa, P. Hariparan from Kerala, Masoji from Maharashtra, and Kanu Desai from Gujarat). These were mostly artists; the revived Indian School in Calcutta did not go in for sculpture, although Nandalal Bose trained some of his pupils in modelling, who like Ramkinkar Bej and Sudhir Khastagir have shown very

great promise. Following the European model and technique, Maharashtra gave to India a number of distinguished sculptors, like Mahtre, Wagh and Karmarkar. Traditional methods are still followed by sculptors and modellers in the Tamil country, in Mysore, in Orissa, in Rajputana (Jaipur specially), here and there in Northern India (e.g., Benares, Gaya, Bengal), and in Nepal: but there has been no attempt to pool together this reservoir (now fast drying up through want of proper support) of Indian artistic inheritance in sculpture. Bengal gave to India one great sculptor who has acquired a pan-India distinction—Devi Prasad Ray Chaudhuri—now Principal of the Government School of Art in Madras. It requires only the support of the people and the state to bring about the much-needed revival of sculpture all over India.

The Pala period of Eastern Indian (Bihar and Bengal) history from 740 to 1150 A.D., roughly, witnessed the birth and development of a very noteworthy

school of sculpture in Bengal which had far-reaching influences within India and beyond India. The sculpture and painting of Nepal and Tibet are directly derived from the Pala Art of Bengal. Pala influences penetrated into China and Japan, and into Burma and Indo-China, and Java in Indonesia. We have names of some of the Pala masters preserved to us, in epigraphy as well as in literature: Vitpalo (or Vita Pala), and Dhiman, and Sula-pani. Sunil Kumar's surname Paul, or Pal (i.e., Pala) recalls that of the Pala emperors, with the glorious artistic atmosphere of their age. His studio in Calcutta I have named the "Rupa-pali", 'the Fostering Centre of Plastic Art': and I hope that this young artist with the growing unfoldment of his artistic gifts, as the years and decades pass, will be able to assist in making his province Bengal, and his country India, a domain of art, even as they were a thousand years ago.

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LONAR

A Salt Lake in Berar

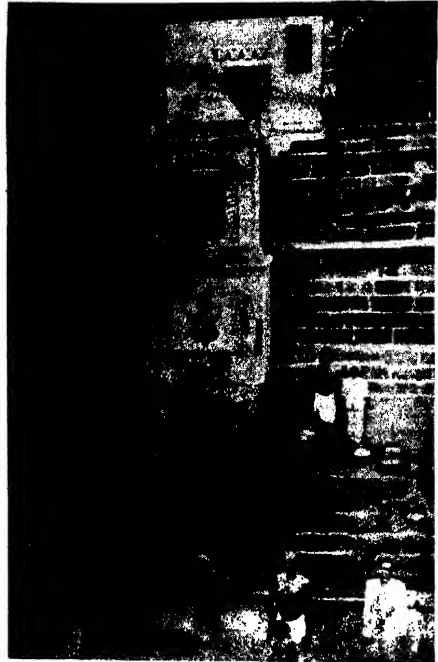
V. G. KAVIMANDAN

LONAR is a place of Hindu pilgrimage situated 15 miles to the south of Mehkar in Berar. It is famous for its water spout called the Dhar and Salt Lake. It is connected with the nearest railway station at Khamgaon by a metalled road which passes through Mehkar. Mehkar is also famous for its idol of Vishnu which was unearthed and installed at Mehkar in 1888. The idol is ten and a half feet high and a very beautiful piece of architecture. Lonar has got a Dak Bungalow overlooking the lake and specially in a moonlit night you can have a very beautiful view of the lake and its surroundings.

The history of Lonar is shrouded in mystery and it is to be unearthed from various sources. It is described in the Skanda Purana as Virja Teerth and there is a special chapter in this Purana called Viraja Mahatmya. Legend about this Teerth is that one demon called Lavanasur was troubling the people and so God Vishnu rescued them by killing the demon who concealed himself in a cave. God Vishnu is said to have opened the cave by His toe. The salt lake is said to be the cave in which the demon concealed himself. Ganga-bhogawati was brought in the form of a perennial water spout to wash His toe. This legend is also depicted in the form of a carving on the canopy of Daityasudan temple. Virja teerth is also described in Padma Purana and Ananda Ramayana. The Puranas are said to have been compiled in a period ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 8th century A.D.

Later on, Lonar is mentioned as a sacred place of pilgrimage in Mahanubhoo literature. Swami Chakradhara, founder of this sect, had visited this place in 1255 A.D. and 1272 A.D. Both these visits are described in *Leela Charitra* by Mahindra Bhat. The book describes the itinerary of Chakradhar Swami. In *Leela* 51 it is described that Raja Krishnadeo Yadao with his brother Mahadeo went to Lonar. They bathed in the Dhara teerth. They met Chakradhar Swami and the Raja donated gold coins to the Swami but the latter did not

accept them. So the Raja got the temples of Kamalajadevi, Kumaroshwar, repaired and the ghat of Dhara teerth



Dhar—the perennial water spout of Lonar

constructed with that money. This visit of Raja Krishnadeo Yadao of Deogiri to Lonar is ascertained by Dr.

LONAR

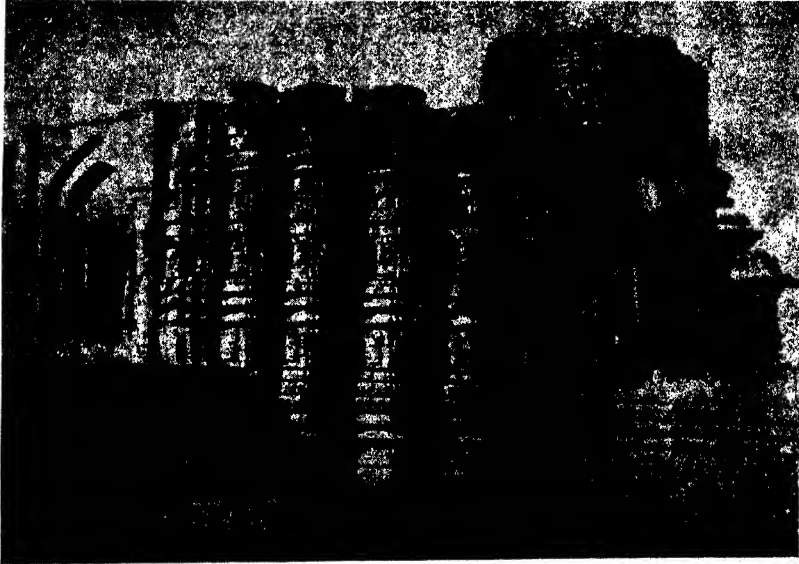
Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal and according to him it took place in 1255 A.D.

The second visit of Swami Chakradhar is said to have taken place in 1272 A.D. when he bathed in Dhara teerth along with his two female disciples. *Leela Charitra* is written in a code language called *sakal* script but it has been deciphered by scholars.

Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazl gives the description of the Salt Lake and Dhara teerth. Dhara teerth is described by him as Bishan Gaya. (English translation of *Ain-i-Akbari* by Jarrat, Vol. II, Edn. 1891, pp. 230-231). Abul Fazl was a minister of Akbar and a great scholar. He accompanied the then Subedar of the Deccan

tain and vegetable gardens. They use this water by rotation both by day and by night. There is a temple of Kumareswar 100 feet below the Dhar in this area. In the extreme south of the Dhar towards the other end of the tank there is a temple of Kamalaja Devi and a well in front of it. The forest area around the lake is infested with tigers and there is good sport for shikaris.

The circumference of the Salt Lake is about 3 to 4 miles. There are various salts in the water of this tank and formerly these salts were used in manufacturing soaps and bangles. These cottage industries vanished long ago because of foreign competition. Recently attempts are being made to exploit these salts for indus-



Daityasudan Temple

and stayed for some time in Berar and personally visited all these places. He prepared a statistical account of Berar in 1596-97 A.D.

The Dhar is a perennial water spout coming from an unknown source though the Hindus believe that the water comes from the Ganges. Water falls from a height of 10 to 12 feet in a Kund which is surrounded by steps on three sides. This water is used by pilgrims for bath and drinking purposes. The water then passes through the Kund to the south into the famous Salt Lake area. This water is used by cultivators for irrigation purposes and on both sides of this water current there are plan-

trial purposes but these attempts have not yet borne fruit.

In the centre of the town there is an ancient temple of Daityasudan which is built in stone and is in the Chalukya style of architecture. It is said to be the finest specimen of early Hindu architecture in Berar. It is built in solid stone in the form of an "irregular star, the exterior walls being covered with carved figures". This temple is worthwhile a visit by pilgrims.

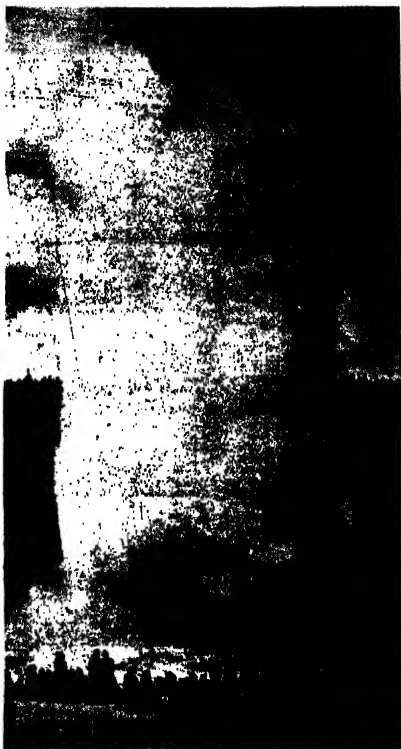
This town is a seat of Hindu-Muslim trouble but recently the Nagpur High Court held that the Dhar is a Hindu Devasthan.



YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

First and Largest of America's National Parks

LONG-HAIRED, leather-garbed scouts and trappers who ranged westward in America during the nineteenth century sent back incredible tales of a land high in the Rocky Mountains where the earth boiled under foot, where spouts of scalding water as tall as a flagpole came roaring out of the trembling ground, and where a whole valley resembled the infernal regions steaming with sulphurous fumes and plumes of vapor rising from the ground.



Queen of all the geysers in Yellowstone National Park is "Old Faithful" which rises to a height of about 150 ft. and which has been erupting day and night, winter and summer, ever since its discovery in 1870

These explorers told of "petrified birds" who sang "petrified songs" on "petrified trees" and of petrified sagebrush bearing diamonds, emeralds, and ruby fruits as large as walnuts. Aroused by these tales, the United States Government sent an expedition westward in 1871 to explore the area. Although many of the reports were found to be myths, the members of the expedition saw the country that was indeed wonderful.

The expedition found an amazing region where

3,000 hot springs and geysers steamed and spouted, and mud volcanoes bubbled and boiled near an icy lake. If there were no petrified birds or precious jewels, there certainly were great petrified forests, layer on layer of them, forming a cliff 2,000 feet high. In the Grand Canyon a waterfall nearly twice as high as Niagara Falls leaped over a cliff into a gorge a thousand feet deep lined with yellow stone. There was a river that was hot on the bottom, not as the trappers had thought "because it ran so fast," but from hot springs in the bed. There was a mountain of black glass and a mountain of sulphur and a mountain that growled continuously from the steam vents near its summit. And all these wonders were in the heart of a vast unspoiled region of mountains, lakes, rivers, and forests teeming with thousands of wild animals and birds.

The reports of the excited U.S. Government party led to the creation of Yellowstone National Park, in the western state of Wyoming, in 1872 as a "pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people," the first and still the largest of the 26 national parks that exist in the United States today. The park now covers 3,472 square miles, an area nearly as big as the states of Delaware and Rhode Island combined.

Nearly half a million visitors flock to Yellowstone National Park every year to see for themselves the wonders that bewildered and amazed the early pioneers. Far from the milling crowds of the great cities in the United States, these visitors find peace in the ancient rock-ribbed hills and changeless forests. They fish in lakes stocked by the U.S. Government. They ride horseback or tramp over wooded trails, taking pictures of the wild animals that roam freely in the park. They swim in icy lakes or in natural swimming pools warmed by the waters from nearby hot springs. In winter visitors toboggan or ski down the snowy slopes of the great mountains. Forest rangers teach them the rich history and geology of the region on guided tours. At night the visitors sleep in comfortable hotels or housekeeping cabins or pitch their own tents on the park's free campgrounds. The park offers excellent accommodations to nearly half a million visitors every year. National Park authorities have established a system of fine hotels, free campgrounds, and housekeeping cabins. Guests may eat at one of the park restaurants or cafeterias or cook their own meals over open campfire. Boats may be rented to explore the many lakes, and horses are for hire to penetrate the forests over numerous woodland trails.

Large government-operated fisheries at Yellowstone Lake attract fishermen from all over the nation who have their choice of pitching tents on the free campgrounds, staying at one of the many fine hotels or renting a cabin.

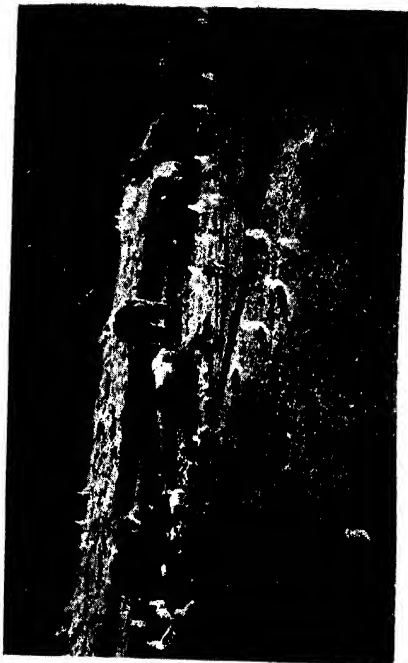
During the war, visitors are limited mainly to war-workers living in the region of the park who spend their brief vacations there, and to members of the United States armed forces returning on furloughs. Now the park is host to hundreds of thousands of people from all over the world.—USIS.



Visitors to Yellowstone National Park swim in a pool of naturally warm water which flows from one of the hot springs in the park



Spawned by the great volcanoes of the past, these austere and rugged hills and this blasted rocky earth and a river exposing the layers of a dozen petrified forests piled one on top of the other, are typical of the grandeur of Yellowstone National Park



Bears and birds roam freely, protected by law in Yellowstone National Park which is one of the largest animal-life sanctuaries in the world



American vacationers follow the trails among the seething pools, bubbling hot springs and spouting geysers of Yellowstone National Park

AN INDIAN SCIENTIST IN AMERICA COMMENDED BY U.S. ORDNANCE OFFICER

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Special Lecturer on Oriental History and International Relations, College of the City of New York

In the United States several Indians have distinguished themselves in their professions and Dr. Surain Singh Sidhu, Associate Professor of Physics and Director of X-ray Laboratory, of the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania is one of them. He was born on June 8, 1902 at Shamnagar, Amritsar, India. After finishing his high school education at Government High School at Amritsar, he came to the United States and joined the University of California and later took his admission to University of Pittsburgh, where he took the degrees of B. S. in Electrical Engineering and Physics, M.S. in Physics and Ph.D. in Physics. Because of his excellent record as a scholar he was elected as a

X-ray Physicist for Radiological Society of North America, etc.

Dr. Sidhu has risen to his present position of responsibility in the University of Pittsburgh by his ability. He began his career in this great institution as Graduate Assistant in Physics in 1925. After three years of service he entered into Industrial field as Research Physicist, with Union Switch and Signal Company, Swissvale, Pennsylvania (1928-32). He became a Lecturer in Physics at the University of Pittsburgh in 1933 and was promoted to the position of Instructor in 1938. In 1941 he was made an Assistant Professor and in 1944, he was promoted to the position of Associate Professor and Director of X-ray Laboratory, University of Pittsburgh, and also elected as a member of the University Senate.

It may be of interest to the Indian public that Dr. Sidhu, during the last world war has played his part effectively in the field of scientific and industrial research, and in the training of specialised personnel. Major George H. Knode, Chief of Engineering of Pittsburgh Ordnance District of U.S.A., in a letter to Dr. R. H. Fitzgerald, the Chancellor of the University, commends Dr. Sidhu's work as follows :

"For the past four years I have had many occasions to consult with Dr. S. S. Sidhu who heads your X-ray Section. He has spent many long hours teaching our men the use of X-ray equipment especially in steel castings. Practically every foundry now has this equipment which is operated by students who have received their instructions from Dr. Sidhu.

"When first coming to Pittsburgh, I inquired as to the man who was best versed in this subject and everyone agreed that Dr. Sidhu was the one who should be contacted.

"Will you extend to Dr. Sidhu our appreciation for the work he has done for the war effort. It is the co-operation of men like him that has made this country the Arsenal of Democracy."

The above is a very high compliment extended by the U. S. Ordnance Officer to an Indian scientist, and India should be justly proud of Dr. Sidhu, who by his work is demonstrating that an Indian scientist, given an opportunity, can contribute effectively in the field of National Defence, in this age of Atomic Bombs.

Dr. Sidhu is deeply interested in the promotion of scientific and industrial research, and education in India and thus raising the standard of national efficiency. Thus the Watumull Foundation has selected him as one of the members of its Advisory Board. In one of his recent letters to me he has given his views on raising the standard of Indian universities which may be of interest to Indian university authorities. Dr. Sidhu writes :

"I fully agree with you that India cannot afford to send all deserving students to be trained abroad.



Dr. Surain Singh Sidhu

member of *Sigma Pie Sigma* (Physics Honorary Society) and of *Sigma Xi* (Scientific Honorary Society). Because of his professional success, he is counted as one of the American Men of Science and his name is listed in the National Roster of Scientific and Specialised Personnel, prepared by the Government of the United States. Dr. Sidhu is a member of various Scientific Societies : American Physical Society, American Society for X-ray and Electron Diffraction, American Institute of Physics, American Industrial Radium and X-ray Society, American Association of University Professors, American Association for Advancement of Science, Consultant

As far as that goes no other country can do it, either. It is neither economical nor practical. They should and will have to raise standards of their universities. Wherever they lack faculty for certain type of training, for example, faculty to teach radar or applied nuclear physics or any other new field, they should send abroad a few qualified young men to study just these subjects, and then have them teach these subjects. The other alternative would be that they can hire a qualified person from abroad for certain length of time to teach such subjects. It will benefit a larger number of students and will be more economical in the long run."

The University of Pittsburgh (as well as Carnegie Tech.) is located in one of the most highly industrialized districts in the world and is one of the best in the United States for technical education, although it is not so well-known in India. First class graduate students from India will find excellent opportunities for higher studies in this institution. But it is my earnest hope that none but the very best type of students should come to the United States for higher education; and none should ask for any special favour from an American institution. In the United States men of merit receive recognition they deserve; Dr. Sidhu is one of the best examples of deserving Indians receiving recognition in the United States, in their respective fields.

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GROW BETTER CATTLE

By P. J. KAYANDE, B.A., J.D.

INDIA has to fight many problems in the post-war period. One of them is the problem of cattle production. It is essential for Indian agricultural development that India should have live-stock which is better in milk-yield and working capacity than the present one. The rapid improvement in cattle-breeding is possible in India if we realise the immense practical potentialities of the art of artificial insemination.

Artificial insemination differs from natural service only in so far as the spermatozoa or the male seeds are introduced into the female passage by means of instruments instead of by the male himself. It is not a new thing. The Arabs were quite familiar with the art of artificial insemination which they practised in the breeding of horses in the middle ages. It was left however to an Italian named Spallanzani to make a scientific approach to the problem. He practised this art for the first time in a scientific way (in 1780). Progress was very slow until World War I. After World War I, rapid development was made in the technique of artificial insemination especially in Russia. By its introduction in practical husbandry immense progress was made in improving the cattle and its quality in Russia. The Russian experiment was emulated by many European and other countries and much research was done concerning the technique of artificial insemination. In England researches of far-reaching importance were done with great zeal at the Cambridge University by Dr. Hammond and Dr. Walton.

Although the lead has been taken by India late, it has not been a silent spectator in this respect. The Government of India have recognised the value of the art of artificial insemination. In 1942, a scheme was sponsored by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for special study of this science with special reference to Indian conditions at the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar.

It has been already realised that this method can be adopted with advantage in the future animal husbandry system of this country. In India valuable

sires are very few and small herds innumerable. So the extension of the services of these few sires will be very valuable and this can only be derived through the use of artificial insemination. A tube of preserved semen is evidently more handy than a travelling sire. Progeny can thus be obtained from outstanding animals separated by long distances. Higher fertility can be achieved because of the regular supervision by the technical staff.

The collection of semen, its distribution and preservation and its subsequent insemination cover the technique of artificial insemination. At the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar, research is being done in all these branches and the results are striking. In one instance, one-sixtieth fraction of a single collection was enough to result pregnancy in a cow. Pregnancies have been obtained from six days preserved bull semen and ewes inseminated with seven days preserved semen have dropped lambs.

It should not however be presumed that the employment of this method will work wonders like the wizard's wand. There are many handicaps in achieving the ultimate in the utilization of this method due to the peculiar difficulties existing in India. Many factors like the conservatism in the Indian farmers, their ignorance about the functions of the reproductive organs, lack of transport facilities, bad insanitary conditions in villages, etc., are some of the handicaps under which the village extension work of the Institute is being carried on. To find how far these difficulties will limit its applicability in India and how best they can be removed, the Institute has resolved to contact and organise villages on a regional basis and to open a few centres for this purpose in different parts of India the work of which will be supervised and co-ordinated by the Animal Genetic section of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar. It is to be hoped that with Government help and co-operation of the farmers many of the above-mentioned difficulties will be surmounted and the way paved for progress.

FROM DIFFERENT ANGLES

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

It seems that there is going to be a big change in the Anglo-Indian relations in the near future. It only seems to be so, because no one can definitely say what shape it would take or if any shape it would at all assume. We have been led to think as living in an atmosphere where Lord Pethick Lawrence, the Members of the Parliamentary Delegation in India, the Viceroy Lord Wavell, down to the self-seeking, freedom-scared members of the British mercantile community in India have been, as if, dying to transfer power to the Indian people. To quote only two relevant responsible utterances on the point, I would very naturally give preference to one by the Secretary of State for India which he was pleased to broadcast on the New Year's day :

"I want you to realise that I myself, the British Government . . . desire to see India rise to the full and free status of an equal partner in the British Commonwealth."

And again,

"We will do our utmost to assist India to attain that position ; there is no longer any need for denunciations or organised pressure to secure this end." There have been many paraphrases of such sentiment here and there and the latest is attributed to Maj. Woodrow Wyatt, a member of the Parliamentary Delegation given in an interview on January 18 last at Bombay :

"The idea of domination has vanished. Some Indians with whom I have talked seem to think that Britain is not sincere about Indian independence. There could be no greater mistake."

And about another mistake which the Indians are prone to commit, he said :

"If the people of India think that the British people are not sincere about their desire for Indian independence, I regret to say they are making a great mistake."

Before passing on to other topics I would point out that there is no unanimity about the nature of the power which the British people are going to transfer to India. The Indian demand is 'Quit India'. The Secretary of State wants India to be "an equal partner in the British Commonwealth" and Mr. Wyatt speaks about "the sincere desire" of the British people "for Indian independence." He is very explicit on this point and his remarks satisfy the "sincere desire" of the Indian people and when the "sincere desires" of the two people meet on a common plane it can create an atmosphere of lasting peace among two great nations of the world. Says he :

"The idea of domination has vanished . . . It is not weakness that is behind the British desire to transfer power to India. It is the realisation that in the world of today *domination of one nation by another is more harmful to the nation that dominates than to the nation dominated.*" (Italics mine)

If the reason for the transference of power to India is exactly what Maj. Wyatt says and if this spirit imbues the

British Parliament then there is hope of India's aspiration being realised in the near future. Otherwise, not ; no other sentiment can prompt the British people to lose the brightest and the most coveted jewel in the crown of the English monarch.

II

But can the British manoeuvrings inspire any hope of an early settlement even if utterances of some British statesmen do ? The transference of power, according to them, depends on all classes, sub-classes, communities, political and religious groups, vested interests, etc., coming to an *agreement*. The Congress must agree. The Hindu "Mahasabha" is not taken into account but the other communal organisation, the Muslim League, which is given a greater prominence than its position warrants, must agree. It has been proved that intransigence of one man can torpedo all efforts at political settlement. Nothing can be done or should be done if the Princes do not agree. The clauses relating to commercial discrimination in the statute book. Sections 111-125, cannot be removed unless the British merchants agree and so on and so forth. And yet the postulate stands that there can be no settlement until all parties agree ; as if the Labour and the Tories agree on the question of nationalization of the Bank of England and of the coal mines ; or they do agree on all matters of policy and in their mode of approach to the world problems. Why was it at all necessary to go to the polls if there was and is agreement between the different political parties in the U. K. ?

III

While laying enormous stress on the common agreement, the British Government through their accredited representative the Viceroy of India holds up to ridicule the method adopted by the Indian National Congress for attainment of its cherished goal. It is presumably with an idea of weaning the sympathies of all potential agitators that Lord Wavell does this annually before a picked gathering of his own countrymen. If it had been a gathering of Indian intelligentsia with liberty to speak out the mind, then Lord Wavell would have been able to gauge the feeling that his bantering remarks engender in Indian minds. In 1944, on December 14, said Lord Wavell before the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta :

"If I may be permitted to assume for the moment the role of medical adviser to political India, my advice would be something like this : 'I do not believe that your condition calls for a serious operation, I should certainly try all other remedies first. But I do not think that "Quit India" mixture or those *Satyagraha* pills have done you much good. I should suggest your leaving off medicines altogether, and you may find that you are not as ill as you think."

His Excellency seems to have been overjoyed at his own discovery and he repeated the recipe of his

previous mixture just a year after and before the same gathering on December 10, 1945, by saying that

"Quit India' will not act as the magic 'Sesame' which opened Ali Baba's cave."

In other material points regarding political settlement he was the same in 1945 as in 1944 with the material change that in 1945 His Excellency said that the Indian people is to have a *Government or Governments of their own choice* which in 1944 was to the effect that His Excellency did not believe "*that your condition calls for a serious operation.*" Has not a patient the right to choose his own medical adviser if he finds that the one which he is confronted with changes his mind very often?

IV

There has been a serious attempt to stop all future major political upheavals by good counsel, by threat, by action and by all possible means. Everybody in India has by now become conversant with the legal actions, more active measures in the shape of declaration of unlawful assembly, 'Section 144', restrictions, curfews, martial laws, *mild* (and also vigorous) *lathi charge*, firings and all like that. Persuasion *cum* threat meant for Indians are broadcast in plenty and naturally they assume different shapes. In the interest of all concerned this aspect should be discussed in greater detail.

The most mild form of advice was tendered by His Excellency Lord Wavell to the Indian people through his English audience on December 10, 1944, when he prescribed 'a faith cure' i.e., 'a belief in the good intentions of the British people and in their genuine desire for a settlement' and it was His Excellency's "earnest wish and endeavour to give India freedom, but we cannot abandon our responsibilities without bringing about some reasonable settlement." (Italics mine). Until such happy days arrive the people must be waiting in faith because 'Quit India' problem "cannot and will not be solved by violence." In His Excellency's view

"Disorder and violence are in fact one thing that may check the pace of India's progress"

and therefore the minions of law and order in India with Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the C-in-C, as the exalted heads of Indian administration should be allowed to forge a reform of purely British manufacture and the people of the land should hold their breath in suspense.

V

The great all-India Services are not to be disturbed in any way because that would surely check the smooth progress of India towards the realisation of her goal.

About the all-India Services His Excellency was pleased to say on December 10, 1945 :

"The welfare of the people, the greatness and prosperity of a nation depend on the efficiency and devotion of its Services—the Civil Service, the Police and the Armed Forces—who must be servants of the Government, not a political party. There could be no greater disservice to the future of India than to endeavour to undermine the confidence of the Services or to draw them into the political arena."

Here Lord Wavell did not stop and went on saying :

"I can assure the Services, . . . that they will receive all support in the proper fulfilment of their duty."

The same thing was told by Lord Pethick Lawrence in the House of Lords on December 4, 1945, which runs as follows :

"No greater disservice could be done to the future Indian Government and to the cause of democracy than to permit the foundations of the state to be weakened and the loyalty of its servants to those who are in authority to be undermined before that new Government comes into being. Therefore, the Government of India cannot divest itself of the responsibility which rests upon it and upon all Provincial Governments in preserving law and order and of resisting any attempt to resolve constitutional issue by force . . . H. M. G. could not permit any attempt to be made to break down the loyalty of the administrative Services or of the Indian armed forces, and they will give full support to the Government of India in securing that their servants are protected in the performance of their duty, and that the future constitution of India shall not be called into being by force or threat of force."

Round the above statements a whole world of controversy—a controversy of a conquered and helpless people and their domination by foreigners holding the keys of the Government—resolves. What should a man belonging to the services do when he is confronted with the dilemma of looking to the interests of his own self, on his friends and relations, his society and the nation to which he belongs and of a demand on his allegiance or 'loyalty' to the Government whose interests are oftentimes in conflict with that of his own? It is beyond the scope of the present article to enter into such a controversy; it is just intended to deal with facts as they are.

VI

Firstly I shall deal with the question, what is 'proper' duty the 'fulfilment' of which will 'receive all support' of Lord Wavell. The public may remember that General Dyer was allowed to go home peacefully by the Government of India perhaps with a suitable pension and was rewarded by a grateful British public with a sum of about £30,000 for the discharge of his 'proper' duties and making the empire secure for British Imperialism. I would like to repeat some of the answers of Brigadier General H. E. H. Dyer, C.B., to the Hon'ble Lord Hunter, the President of the Punjab Disorders Inquiry Committee, in his evidence on November 19, 1919 because they disclose the working of minds of officials faced with a difficult situation. Most of these are known to the readers of *The Modern Review* but they have a grim relevancy to the present setting.

General Dyer admitted that though every government order or news spread very rapidly in places like that but at the same time, there might have been a good many who had not heard the Proclamation. At the time it did not occur to him that there was that risk of people being in the crowd who were not aware of the Proclamation. He merely felt that his orders had not been obeyed, that martial law was flouted, and that it was his duty to immediately disperse by rifle fire. Martial law had not been proclaimed before he took that step but he did not consider about the propriety of consulting the Dy. Commissioner who was the civil authority responsible for law and order. There was no Dy. Commissioner there to consult at the time. Neither did he think it wise to ask anybody further. He had

made up his mind immediately as to what his action should be. He considered from a military point of view that he should fire immediately, that if he had not done so, he should be failing in his duty. Before firing he did not ask Mr. Rehill (the Dy. Commissioner) who was present while the firing was going on, whether in Mr. Rehill's judgment it was necessary to fire. His mind was made up as he came along in his motor car—if his orders had not been obeyed, he would fire immediately. In firing his only object was to disperse the crowd. The crowd began immediately to disperse as soon as he fired. Though the crowd was going to disperse he did not stop firing because he thought it was his *duty* (please mark, Lord Wavell!) to go on firing until it dispersed. If he had fired a little, the effect would not have been sufficient. If he had fired a little he should be wrong in firing at all. (Italics mine.)

Asked Lord Hunter :

- Q. What reason had you to suppose that if you had ordered the assembly to leave the Bagh they would not have done so without the necessity of your firing, continued firing for a length of time?
- A. Yes : I think it quite possible that I could have dispersed them perhaps even without firing.
- Q. Why did you not adopt that course?
- A. I could not disperse them for some time ; then they would all come back and laugh at me, and I considered I would be making myself a fool.

As regards the measures which he adopted in the discharge of his *proper duties* such as curfew order, crawling order, public lashing, recruitment of special constables, etc., I would request the kind readers, Lord Wavell and the Hon'ble Members of the British Parliament forming a non-official Delegation now in India to go through the evidence of this gallant General and form their own opinions regarding the meaning of 'proper duty' in the context of Indian climate.

I have given the nature of the duty performed by the great General of immortal fame in a little detail only to show that such duties have been performed from time to time by most officers in the Police and Military Services with or without the aid of the Civil Authorities up to the time when firing was resorted to in the Dhurrumtollah Street on the evening of the 21st November, 1945. The following days found a method of quelling mob violence by firing on unarmed and unsuspecting general public without any notice to disperse, without any order restricting people from moving out of their houses at periods when armed police and military personnel might go round the streets of Calcutta, and even without declaring a chance collection of four or more persons an unlawful assembly. Verily a British officer writing home from Calcutta on November 22, 1945, said that the "British authorities used Fascist methods against peaceful student demonstration in Calcutta." The *New Statesman and Nation* in which extracts of the said letter appeared further quoted :

"Last night in one of the main streets of Calcutta there was a procession of young students marching to hold a protest against the trial of the I.N.A. men. The police barred the way so they just sat down hundreds of them, peaceably, on road, blocking the traffic. They were like that prolonging time ; I am watching them.

"Then the military police moved off all service-

men—presumably authorities do not want to have any unnecessary witnesses of their Storm-trooping prowess—so unfortunately I was unable to watch developments. Apparently from what I gathered today the deadlock continued for some time, student leaders asking permission for the procession to go on and the police refusing.

"Finally students tried to march on and the police charged with their lathis ; mounted police also charged and seized nationalist banners, causing casualties with their lathis and rode over the people with horses. Students threw books and anything they had at the police ; shortly afterwards a police van was set on fire. The police then opened fire upon a completely unarmed crowd of young students killing at least one and wounding over 60, some seriously. A sad comment on how we maintain order all over South-East Asia."

• VII

Perhaps no comment is necessary except that on the advice often tendered to us by Lord Wavell to forgive and forget. His Excellency asks us to forget the injuries, mental, moral and physical, inflicted on us just a moment past. We have not yet heard Lord Wavell teaching us the Christian virtue to forgive the events of Sathazari at Chittagong and to receive the offenders with open arms !

We do not know if the persons responsible for the "wheeled blackhole", for adopting inhuman measures for the suppression of the non-co-operation, civil disobedience and the 'Quit India' movements, acted within the 'proper' sphere of their duty to the State. Cases of arson, loot, homicide, rape, cruel tortures, etc.—some of the most heinous offences against humanity, have been attributed to the government officers high and low and still there has been no open enquiry, no trial against those who are charged by the public openly. The third degree methods adopted in the Lahore Jail, Delhi Fort and at other places put the horrors of Belsen into insignificance. The Bahadurgarh Camp incident throws lurid light on the administrative system of India. There has been no enquiry into these serious allegations, the aggrieved have not been allowed to legally proceed on their own responsibility and we do not know whether the caressing arm of the British Government is not extending, as the Secretary of State says, "full support to the Government of India in securing that their servants are protected in the performance of their duty."

It is one thing to support an officer who has exercised judgment and acted within limits of the legal and moral code of the land and it is another thing to openly support any act that offends against provisions of civilised law and principle of morality simply because it has been committed by one of the officers of the State in the discharge of his duties, (im)proper or otherwise. We may remind Lord Wavell and the Secretary of State that if they think of preventing undermining of the loyalty of the services by threatening the people and supporting their officers without prompt and impartial enquiry, undermining of the morale of the services can be checked for a time, but in fact such support is bound to encourage irresponsibility in officials and to undermine more and more the foundation of good relations between the two nations and also the foundation of the British Empire in the East.

VIII

Then there is another question relating to this subject: *Who undermines?* It is said that whom God wants to destroy, He, in his benign Providence, confounds them first. It is unthinkable that an intelligent people like the British, instead of going into the root cause of the whole trouble try to salve the sore, which burrows deep into the marrow and to the bone, on the surface, and then rest in peace. In all the Services in India, racial discrimination more than anything else has eaten into the vitals and any national upheaval is bound to create repercussions in the minds of the Services' personnel. Besides, as human beings, of being Indians first, every self-respecting man and woman is bound sometimes to react in a manner not quite palatable to the taste of their British masters. Racial discrimination is a canker in world politics, in the relation between people and people; and it is extremely harmful to the body politic of a nation when the members of the Services smart under it every moment of his official career. About the evil effects of 'racial discrimination' a man of the eminence of Sir M. Zafullah Khan, who is known to have cherished no feeling of support for the political movements of India, was constrained to say at the Commonwealth Relations Conference in London on March 5, 1945:

"For the Commonwealth to continue as a Commonwealth at all, it is essential that there should be no racial discrimination in any shape or form. So long as there is practice of the idea that any race has a right to dominate another race, there are bound to be wars, San Francisco notwithstanding. The only difference between us and the Nazi theory of 'racial superiority' is that Nazis profess and practise it openly, while we want to practise it but do not want to profess it."

I would request Lord Wavell and the British Government to please read this sentiment in the background of Indian service conditions and to find out the causes of chance defection or general discontent—divine or not—in the hearts of the members of the all-India Services.

Look at such 'giants' in the Indian Civil Service, viz., Sir K. G. Gupta and Sir A. C. Chatterjee. Both of them became entitled in the course of their respective careers, to the Governorship of Indian provinces. One was shoved to the post of President of the Fisheries Commission, a line with which he was hardly conversant, and Sir Chatterji was shunted to the post of High Commissionership of India in England. What was the feeling of his Indian juniors in the chain? Excepting Lord Sinha, nobody has been allowed to occupy the Governor's musnud permanently even for a short time. We had had Messrs. Tambe, Raghabendra Rao, Sir Usman, Nawab of Chhatari, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, etc., serving the purpose of a plug in the interim arrangement for a period extending from a few weeks to a few months. They never belonged to the Services and the real man is Sir C. Trivedi. Sir Chandulal is anxiously waiting for the Orissa guddi where an obscure Mr. Dain was once unsuccessfully thrust from his position of a Divisional Commissioner. As regards the regime of Lord Sinha of Raipur, we have on the authority of the Editor of *The Modern Review*, that His Excellency's life was simply miserable, buffeted as he was by his able white Secretaries of the Indian Civil Service and

he had neither time nor opportunity, and ultimately lost all inclination to delve into the deep matters of statecraft. He returned home broken in health, a sadder but a wiser man.

Dr. Sacchidananda Sinha, a safe and sober man from the official point of view, expressed his opinion in the following language at Cuttack on November 2, 1945, on the conditions prevailing in the services that particularly relate to his own countrymen:

"I can tell you from my experience that there are, in almost every province, public men and others, who had been members of the Central or Provincial Government, and who have lived to see not only Secretaries, but even Under-Secretaries, to Government, in their time, elevated as members of the Government of India, and even to the rank of Governors in various provinces while they themselves (in spite of their knowledge and experience gained from inside, of the working of the administration) had been ploughing the sands, or at best, the lonely furrow, since their retirement from office."

About the post of Governors his remarks were:

"Except once (in 1921) and that for less than a year, no Indian has been appointed a permanent Governor of an Indian province, and the recent photographs taken of the Governors' Conference at Delhi—the Viceroy sitting in the midst of eleven Governors not even one of whom was an Indian—which has appeared in the Press, had evoked feelings which I have no desire to describe."

His remarks regarding men and policy of the state and the inevitable conclusion it suggests support my contention and I make no apology for quoting a further passage from his speech:

"Those amongst us who repeat the slogan that it is not high offices that matter, but it is the constitution alone which does, have yet to learn that it is men who mould systems and transform even defective ones to subserve the end in view. All these facts clearly point their own moral, if they do not adorn a tale. A system of administration so galling and humiliating to the self-respect of the people of this country, as the one that obtains at present, carries condemnation on the very face of it, and the point needs no elaboration at my hands."

IX

The British Government ought to remember that young men who join the Civil Services come of well-to-do families having a charm for high government posts. The recruits are themselves highly educated and it is a great slur on them to say that they are likely to be influenced by agitation-mongers and that they allow their morale to be undermined by political happenings in the country until and unless they themselves are convinced of the righteousness of the cause or their self-respect prevents them from keeping their connection with the services any longer. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose (Netaji, as he is now) a beaming bright young man, still in the midst of his post-graduate studies in experimental psychology, took into his head to sit for the next I.C.S. Examination in London for which only nine months remained to be held. Impressive in appearance, dignified in stature, rather grave in his mien, he was then not known to have actively taken

part of his political education of his youth. Intense love for his country was expressed more in his dress and private life than in any active participation in open movements. And excepting that he became involved in a small incident which gave birth to an English word, i.e., 'Gutenise', he left the country for London to qualify himself for the heaven-born service, the steel frame of the British Empire. He resigned while he was still in England and nobody was there to influence him to sever his connection with the Civil Service. Nobody ever undermined his faith in the British dispensation of justice and good governance of his country. It was a high degree of self-respect which transcends the lure of lucre and influence and a sense of wrong under which his country had been smarting that led him to embrace a course that brought him into constant conflict with the Authority of which he was about to become a unit and an escape from which or rather a sincere but abortive attempt to bring it to an end has brought him eternal glory. Others followed, Messrs. Kamath, Patil, Moon and Rose (R.), and it is travesty of truth that anybody had tried to undermine their loyalty to the services. Ask them, they are alive, and have the answer.

The British Government ostrich-like, want to keep their eyes closed to ominous portents appearing all round. Nobody has said anything about happenings in a still higher sphere. The times are such when Hon'ble Members of the Viceroy's Council can kick at their chairs and come out. Therefore, it is wrong to accuse the innocent public when the whole administrative machinery is at fault.

X

About the tampering with the loyalty and devotion of the Army it is not necessary to say many things at the present moment. The revolt is nearly hundred years old, thanks to the racial discrimination policy of the British Government. The first fight for freedom, mis-called Mutiny, showed to the world that the Indian Army, specially its Indian element, was not dead to the demands of national honour and national sentiment. The ordinary criminal law of the land (Sec. 131 I.P.C.) runs :

"Whoever abets the committing of mutiny by an officer, soldier or sailor, in the Army or Navy of the Queen, or attempts to seduce any such officer, soldier or sailor from his allegiance or his duty, shall be punished with transportation for life, or with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall be liable to fine."

There have been very few cases in India under this section and yet there was and is grave discontent in the Indian Army. It has been contended by responsible Indians that the Indian soldiers are mere mercenaries and had their stomach been full there would have been few recruits to fight Britain's battle under a false slogan of *Democracy in jeopardy*.

Wrote Mr. David Carpenter, a British Army Officer in the London *Tribune* in the second week of October, 1945 :

"A transcendent feature of the political situation in India is the volcanic hatred that one finds in the people's hearts for England and everything English . . . Nowhere is this hatred stronger than among the officers . . ."

In case of a civil turmoil of great magnitude breaking out in India again Mr. Carpenter says,

"Then the rank and file of the Army will side with the people and the officers will lead the rank and file."

About the attitude of the Army towards the British he says :

"Though their experience in the Army has not taught them to hate the enemy less, it has taught them to hate the British more. I hope they will leave the Army embittered by discrimination and by the superior attitude of their British fellow officers, confident in their own ability to administer and command and passionately determined that India must govern herself and equally determined that India must be united so that she may be strong." (Italics mine).

By the way, did Mr. Carpenter have an opportunity of talking to the members of the Azad Hind Fouz? Otherwise how could he analyse the mind of the Indian army men so minutely and the political situation so critically and write his impressions in such a prophetic strain?

Maj. General Shaw Nawaz has had long connections, through generations, with the Indian Army and the whole crux of the situation will become evident from the statement which he made before the Delhi Court Martial on December 7, 1945. He was inordinately vehement against differential treatment in the Army and amongst other causes for joining the 'Fouz' he said :

"When I thought of the starving millions who were being ruthlessly exploited by the British and were being deliberately kept illiterate and ignorant to make this exploitation easier, I developed a great hatred for the system of rule in India, which to me, it seemed, was based on injustice and to remove this injustice I decided to sacrifice my everything—my life, my home, my family and its traditions." (Italics mine).

About the mean suggestion that they joined the I.N.A. for comparative ease and also to save their skin, Shaw Nawaz said :

"I wish to bring to your notice and to the notice of my countrymen that no mercenary or puppet army could have faced the hardships as the I.N.A. did. We fought only for India's independence."

Capt. Sehgal has his own views. His statement runs thus :

"Lt.-Col. Hunt, as the representative of the British, handed over the Indian officers and men to the Japanese like a flock of sheep. This came as a great blow to us all. The Indian Army had fought bravely against the heaviest odds, and in return the British High Command had left them completely at the mercy of the Japanese."

There is queer coincidence of a charge and its reply being made on December 10 and December 7, respectively by Lord Wavell and Lt. Dhillon of the I.N.A. It seems strange that Lt. Dhillon's statement, chronologically, comes earlier than Lord Wavell's charge. Said Lord Wavell before the Associated Chamber :

"Whatever your political views, if you cannot acclaim the man who prefers his honour to his ease, who remains steadfast in adversity to big pledged

faiths, then you have a poor notion of the character which is required to build up a nation."

This is what Lt. Dhillon said two days before Lord Wavell spoke and it must be that by this time His Excellency's speech had been prepared. In the Chetwode Hall in the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun, are engraved the following words :

"The honour, welfare and safety of your country comes first, always and every time. The comfort, safety and welfare of the men you command comes next. Your own safety and comfort comes last, always and every time."

May we ask His Excellency, whose honour and the welfare and safety of which country is referred to here and also in Lord Wavell's speech ?

Lt. Dhillon became apprehensive of the fate of his own people in case Japan invaded India and

"It was at this time that I got to realise the full significance of the havoc done to my unfortunate country by the one and half a century of British rule. While the British, I thought to myself, had exploited all our material resources for their own benefit and had freely drawn upon our manpower to fight their own imperialistic wars, they had not only done nothing to prepare us for the defence of our motherland in case of need but had in order to keep us in bondage for all time to come completely emasculated us."

It is needless to dilate the point any further but it is necessary to impress upon the authorities who may be still ignorant of this big event that, according to the Lucknow correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard* (vide issue of January 5, 1946), the release of the I.N.A. heroes was demanded by the Indian Army. The C-in-C, who is its head, generously, and intelligently too, acted according to its wishes.

XI

About the police service, the British Government should remember that racial discrimination is more rampant here than anywhere else. White colour brings more opportunities, privileges, pelf and position than the coloured personnel in the same rank. The police service is extremely large and it is likely that some relation, it may be a son, has suffered some *disability* through the indiscretion of our British masters. They are liable to be influenced by the conduct of common people who suffer extreme physical pain from police lathi charge but do not retaliate ; thanks to the non-violent technique of the Mahama ! There are points—very large in number—when the 'political agitator' and the common policemen are in agreement. The Garhwal Army desired by the authorities to act as police, refused to fire upon unarmed demonstrators at Peshawar. Cases have been there, and they are more frequent with every new movement, when Indian constables fail to discharge their 'duties' in the manner in which the authorities desire them to perform. In the recent Dhurrumtolla disturbances, Indian police were conspicuous by their absence and during the 1942 August movement some

constables acted in such a manner that their case had to be brought before the military courts of law.

It is better for all concerned that the Britishers should leave us alone to work out our own destiny. We have begun looking at things from different angles and whatever they say, even if it is for the benefit of India, we at once become suspicious. Mahatma Gandhi has said that if the British Parliament cannot find any solution, they should not wait here to prevent civil war ; they should leave us to anarchy if to nothing else. We have lost five millions of human lives from Famine in Bengal alone. You have taken a few more lakhs to safeguard your interest in the world. We cannot lose a larger number through civil war. Even that is dying for a cause. It is much better than death through starvation. It passes one's comprehension when Britain has not been able to restore permanent peace in Europe why should she be so solicitous for the peace of a country which is as big as Europe minus the U.S.S.R. Prof. Albert Einstein rightly said on January 12 last from Washington :

"Trouble making is a British enterprise. It is my impression that Palestine is a kind of a small model of India."

No greater condemnation can there be on British rule in India !

The solution lies in what Sir Frederick Whyte, formerly President of the Indian Central Legislature, says in *The New York Times* in its issue of January 13, 1946 :

"I suggest China will reach her own conclusion more quickly and more effectively—even at the cost of some bloodshed—if all United Nations, especially the United States, will consent to leave the Chinese to make their own Government in their own Chinese way."

"It is obvious that the same principle applies throughout Asia today, including British India. The sooner the Western Powers can transfer effective authority to the people themselves, the sooner those peoples will settle down to the essential task of creating political institutions of their own."

"Your own history in England shows that people don't and cannot name a Government of their own unless and until they take charge of it themselves. They say : until you clear out, we shall not settle down to the real task of fulfilling our own purpose."

My request to the Britishers, and Rev. Sorensen agrees, please name a date and quit India. Even, if the various communities fight amongst themselves for political supremacy, so far as you are concerned, you will enjoy friendship and confidence of all and will be able to carry on with your trade unhampered.

Mahatmaj has given his final verdict on the matter on January 24 last at the Constructive Workers' Conference in Madras and it is well for the Britishers to follow his advice. Said he :

"We want the British rulers to quit in a friendly spirit. If they do that, it will augur well for them, for India and the world."

No more camouflage please !

JOURNALISM

The Free-Lance Variety

By C. L. R. SASTRI

As a free-lance journalist for more years than I care to remember I suppose I ought to be able to speak on that branch of journalism with authority, and not as the Scribes. But, before doing so, I should like to warn my readers of the many snags and pitfalls with which it is surrounded. Contrary to the common belief it is not all gas and gaiters. Free-lance journalism, as I understand the term, is a very real and a very honourable part of journalism; and, as one of that brotherhood (howsoever insignificant), I do not think that those practising it need bow their heads, or bend their knees, before their fellows of the other kinds. Comparisons, I am aware, are said to be odious: nor is it my purpose here to indulge in them—certainly not if I can help it. But the indisputable fact remains that free-lance journalism "takes it out of us", as the phrase is, more than the regular variety, and receives much less in return. The free-lance journalist suffers all the disadvantages of journalists in general without, at the same time, enjoying any of the latter's undoubted advantages.

As a paying proposition Indian journalism, as everyone knows, has almost become a byword: though it would be only fair to acknowledge that, of late, there has been an appreciable change for the better—especially among the top ranks. It would be idle to deny that some of our "high-ups" in the line are quite well off according to *any* standards. Four-figure salaries are not, by any means, uncommon, and even those who have not the good fortune to belong to that favoured fraternity cannot, legitimately, complain that their profession has been to them as "a stony-hearted step-mother", as De Quincey lamented that London's Oxford Street had been to him in his early days.

NOT "WAIFS AND STRAYS"

This myth should be dispelled now. Indian journalists are no longer among "the waifs and strays" of our society. Probably, if the truth is to be told, they never had been such even "in the dark backward and abysm of time". Let us remember, in this connexion, that while our country could boast of lawyers, doctors, engineers, businessmen, administrators galore from *auld lang syne* journalists were rather belated growths on the body-politic, suffering the natural disabilities of all late-comers. That was why, at the beginning, those whose eyes were glued to the main chance, the glittering prize, who regarded life as worth living only if it could, by a stroke of rare luck, be turned into "a gilt-edged security", were careful not to knock at a newspaper office's door: for that way lay penury (as they judged penury), all kicks and no ha'pence. But some few there were who looked on journalism as a sort of life-mission and, gazing from that "Pisgah-height", could reconcile themselves to a Spartan existence, an existence devoid of any frills and far-below. It was these dedicated spirits who, scorning power and pelf, raised their profession to its present eminence; and their gerdon

would have been the satisfaction that, as the Athenian put it, they left their patrimony, not worse, but a little better, than they found it. Every noble endeavour, of necessity, rests for its success on such fine spirits. No religion, for instance, could have been founded if there had not been forthcoming persons who were absolutely disinterested, who despised low joys, low gains,

"Disdained whatever Cornbury disdained."

But that formative period is, fortunately, over; and Indian journalism (thanks be!) has firmly come into its own. It is no longer the Cinderella of the professions. It has reached "man's estate" and can claim to be treated accordingly. There are in our midst several journalists whose inherent worth has, at last, been assessed at its proper monetary value and who can be numbered, from that point of view also, as being among "the Captains and the Kings". This, of course, applies only to the regular journalists—that is, to those who have a place reserved for them in a newspaper office: all the more so as not a few of these latter are, at this hour, owned by one or other of our celebrated financial magnates, who can afford to scatter largesse among their employees with both hands, and have, in fact, scattered them without stint—with abandon even.

BRITISH AND INDIAN

The general improvement in the standards of journalistic employment, however, has not affected the free-lance journalists: or, if it has, has affected them only perfunctorily. Free-lance journalists, it is evident, are not among the favourites of fortune: revolutions pass them by without making any appreciable impression on their placid lives. This is not so in England: there free-lance journalism is not unhonoured and unsung—having, in sober fact, its appointed niche in the temple of fame. There is, indeed, a definite meaning in writing at length on the British variety: there is not much in descanting on its Indian counterpart. I stated in my book on *Journalism* that Indian journalism is but an offshoot of British journalism and that it has a lot of leeway to make up even now. My contention gains in force if it is construed as applying to free-lance journalism. Nothing less, it seems to me, than the whole width of the heavens separates the parent from the child in this respect. I am thus tempted to take the line of least resistance and expatriate to my heart's content on the former. If, therefore,

*"From the soul's subterranean depths upborne,
As from an infinitely distant land,
Come airs and floating echoes"*

in what follows of the profession as it is to be encountered on the banks of the Thames and of the Mersey, and not as it is to be found on the banks of the Jumna and of the Sutlej, I must plead two excuses: my slant of mind as well as the dictates of sheer necessity.



Top : (left) Maj. Gen. Shah Nawaz Khan, Col. P. K. Sehgal and Col. G. S. Dhillon : (right) Lt. Col. Burhan-ud-Din
Bottom : (left) General Mohan Singh : (right) Maj. Singara Singh and Maj. Fateh Khan



Top : (left) Maj. Gen. J. K. Bhonsle : (right) Col. K. Roy
Bottom : (left) Col. S. M. Hussain and Col. Habib-ur-Rahman : (right) Col. S. A. Mallik

SERVING MANY MASTERS

NOT A HACK WRITER

But before plunging into my subject in *medias res*, I should give a description of what free-lance journalism is. The gist of it, it is clear, is that it postulates burning incense before many deities, the votary being, so to speak, extremely broad-minded in this matter and not a whit parochial: there is, obviously, no place in it for those who, to use modern terms, are inclined to "cut their ethical corners rather fine." In other words, it does not cater for the high-hats, for the exclusive sets. There is no point in dubbing that votary as serving both God and Mammon, as serving more than one master, because, by the very nature of the case, he serves a multiplicity of masters: he is an opportunist if there is one. It is not that, like the Apostle, he is all things to all men—or, rather, to all editors. He may send his contributions impartially to all papers, but that by no means implies that he is a turn-coat or a waverer, that he has no centre within himself, no inward monitor to refer to on questions of principle. It indicates only that he has a right of way over all editorial demesnes. The ideal free-lance journalist sits at home—preferably in a sun-lit verandah—writing as the mood prompts him and taking his time over it and addressing the finished product to the proper quarter: because it is of the essence of his trade to "study his market", and not to waste precious stationery by misdirecting his effusions.

STUDYING THE MARKET

Those who have read Mr. P. G. Wodehouse's interesting story, "The Inferiority Complex of Old Sippy" (*The Jeeves Omnibus*), will understand what I mean. Bertie Wooster's friend, Oliver Sipperley, is the editor of a small society paper, *The Majar Gazette*; but he experiences the greatest possible difficulty in rejecting the articles of the "head" of his old school who, every now and then, weighs in with scholarly stuff on "The Old School Cloisters" and "Some Little Known Aspects of Tacitus". At last, however (thanks to the immortal Jeeves), getting rid of his accursed inferiority complex, he becomes the master of the situation and tells old Waterbury to his face, *anent* his latest effort on the Elizabethan dramatists:

"No earthly use to us. Quite the worst sort of stuff. This paper is supposed to be all light Society interest. What the *debutante* will wear for Goodwood, you know, and I saw Lady Betty Bootle in the Park yesterday—all that kind of rot . . . You want to study your market. Keep your eyes open and see what editors need. Now, just as a suggestion, why not have a dash at a light, breezy article on pet dogs? You've probably noticed that the pug, once so fashionable, has been superseded by the Peke, the griffon, and the Sealyham. Work on that line and . . ."

Free-lance journalists must *work on that line* if they want to bring home the gravy, to copy another expression of Mr. Wodehouse's. They must know not only what to write and when to write but where to direct the products of their brains. On the one hand, they must put their finger unerringly on the psychological moment: on the other, they must be an equally sure ground about the ultimate destination of their studies or contributions.

The journalist who is tied down to a particular paper, to whatever eminence he may have attained, is still a hack writer in one sense: he has to write to order, and the treadmill always stares him in the face. In the end it becomes, as Tennyson said of the composition of his poem, *In Memoriam*, a mere

" mechanic exercise
Like dull narcotics, numbing pain."

He has a job to do and he does it according to his lights. If he is an artist, like the late C. E. Montague, he revels in the "mechanic exercise" itself and, by dint of his genius, transmutes it into the finest art—even as Tennyson transmuted his poem into art of the noblest. But your true free-lance journalist is not thus "cribb'd, cabin'd, and confin'd." He is not a slave to the daily task and the common round, having obtained his manumission, as it were, and, thenceforward, being his own master. That is how it comes about that he is enabled to infuse more life into his work than his colleague at the official desk. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and your free-lance journalist is prepared to wait till inspiration comes to him, so that he may soar on its wings—not, indeed, to "the illimitable inane" of the poet's imagination, but to the highest empyrean of success within the resources of his intellect.

Writing against the clock is not conducive to extracting the best out of a man—though it, too, has its uses. There is some undoubted freshness about it. That, in substance, is the excuse that C. E. Montague offers for reprinting his dramatic criticisms:

"And yet for old theatre notices there may be a kind of excuse. You wrote them in haste, it is true, with few books about you, or moments to look a thing up; hot air and dust of the playhouse were still in your lungs; you were sure to say things that would seem sorry gush or rant if you saw them again in the morning. How bad it all was for measure, containment, and balance! But that heat of the playhouse is not wholly harmful. Like sherris sack in the system of Falstaff, it hath a two-fold operation: 'it ascends me into the brain . . . makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery and delectable shapes'. At least, it sometimes gives you that illusion; below yourself in certain ways, you hope you are above yourself in others." (See his "Prefatory Note" to his *Dramatic Values*.)

"C.E.M.", as usual, hits the nail on the head: still, on the whole I am right in saying that, effort for effort, the free-lance journalist is in a better position to deliver the goods. "Sleeping on a thing" is calculated to fetch results that are unobtainable by the other method of grabbing pen and paper and dashing off an article at so many words to the minute. In practice, however, it would be useful to be proficient in both the kinds of writing so that one may employ either at need.

CLASSIFICATION

I have suggested that the free-lance journalist is to be differentiated from the journalist who is tied down to a particular paper. But this statement needs some qualification. Those who are on the staff of a weekly paper are, generally, not in the same position as those working on the staff of a daily. They need not attend

office, except once in a while and, in their case, there is no question of racing against time, as they have an entire week during which to hatch their products. So far as this is concerned they are to be classed among free-lance journalists. I should like to classify thus :

The ideal free-lance journalist is he who, like the flies in the field, toils not, neither does he spin. He is a *free lance*, he calls no one his superior, he writes when the mood is upon him and sends his effusions to the paper he likes, and sits back and waits for the cheque, or the return of his effusions, according to his *kismet*. He is not an Apollo serving in the house of Admetus, but an Apollo serving in his own house—and, may be, serving ill.

Next in the scale is the free-lance journalist who is fortunate enough to be commissioned to write regularly for the weeklies or the monthlies on the subject nearest his heart. Should his interest, for instance, lie in politics he would be the person to unravel week after week, to his readers the tangled skein, say, of San Francisco or of the Simla Fiasco. Preferably (in the latter event) he would operate from Simla itself, taking his stand alternately at the Cecil Hotel and the Manor Villa, do some hand-shaking and face-reading, attend press conferences and evening prayers, cry a few assorted "Zindabads" in turn, and then write an elaborate account to his paper of his jumble of recollections, not failing to stress the personal note and ending the whole caboodle with this pregnant sentence : "All the parties will see to it that the bus will not be missed this time." The week after the bus had been missed, of course, he will delight his *clientele* with an expert *post mortem* on the tragedy, reminding them how all along he alone among the press correspondents had emphasized the snags in the Wavell Plan and the fundamental differences in the ideologies of the parties invited, which, he had anticipated from the beginning, would prevent the Conference from becoming an outstanding success.

Then comes the free-lance journalist who pontificates on different subjects in different papers and even obliges the editor with a leading article on occasion just to keep his hand in, so to speak.

SYNDICATED JOURNALISM

After this we have to deal with the free-lance journalist who is a "regular" journalist on a particular daily and a "free-lance" in the other papers. *This is the bane of free-lance journalism in our country*, and takes the bread out of the mouths of the *real free-lance* journalists. I am reminded, in this connexion, of the unkind Frenchman who said of New Zealand : "There are no snakes but a great many Scotchmen." I may say of Indian free-lance journalism : "There are no free-lance journalists but a great many regular journalists."

With the growth of "syndicated" journalism things

have come to such a pass that a reputed journalist (a "regular" journalist, or a "regular" journalist at present out of employment in the "regular" sense) is permitted to write articles that are then *simultaneously* published in several papers. *The space that these occupy is so much space denied to the genuine free-lance journalists.* Indian journalism has all along been an extremely partisan, personal, partial affair ; with "syndicalism" added to it the bottom automatically drops out of free-lance journalism as such, free-lance journalism *tout court*. Indian journalism has never been noted for its encouragement of the free-lance journalist, and now it must be still less so, owing to these obnoxious growths on its body. The system is pernicious in itself and doubly pernicious in India.

JOYS OF FREE-LANCING

The joys of free-lance journalism are immense. Most celebrated authors started in life as journalists, and many amongst these as free-lance journalists. Charles Dickens has recorded somewhere, after having bought a copy of the Magazine containing his first appearance in print as an author :

"I walked down to Westminster Hall and turned into it for half an hour, because my eyes were so dimmed with joy and pride that they could not bear the street and were not fit to be seen there."

Now the paper which opened the fount of these boyish tears, as the late Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch informs us, was entitled "A Dinner at Popular Walk", which its author reprinted as "Mr. Minns and his Cousin" among Sketches by Box.

In his celebrated Rectorial Address delivered at St. Andrews University on "Courage" in 1922, the late Sir James Barrie refers to his early free-lance journalism :

"The greatest glory that has ever come to me was to be swallowed up in London, not knowing a soul, with no means of subsistence, and the fun of working till the stars went out. To have known anyone would have spoilt it. I did not even quite know the language. I rang for my boots, and they thought I said a glass of water, so I drank the water and worked on. There was no food in the cupboard, so I did not need to waste time in eating. The pangs and agonies when no proof came. How courteously tolerant was I of the postman without a proof for us ; how McConnachie, on the other hand, wanted to punch his head. The magic days when our article appeared in an evening paper. The promptitude with which I counted the lines to see how much we should get for it . . . Oh, to be a free lance of journalism—that darling jade! Those were days. Too good to last. Let us be grave. Here comes a Rector."

I am proud to belong to that august company !



THE FATEFUL CHOICE

By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

Is History be the record of crimes, follies and mistakes of mankind, the war which has just ended has added another lurid chapter to that record. This fresh chapter in the history of mankind is no mere reproduction of any previous one. It contains on the one hand not merely a threat to civilization but to the very existence of the race of *homo sapiens*. It contains not only the record of the most disastrous man-made calamity but also the germ of a calamity far more disastrous than any so far, viz., the extinction of the human race itself. To the cynic it may not appear as a calamity at all but as a cause for rejoicing and he may well gloat over the prospect of the end of a race of idiots who did not know what they were doing. But to the common man who realizes the hardships and pains through which mankind has evolved, the struggles and toils of humanity through millenniums, such a prospect cannot be pleasing. Through all the dark ages of unreason, prosecution and war, men have striven for a better moral and material order; from all the dust and bog of circumstance they have reached out for the stars; their toils and sacrifices have lent a meaning to the *raison d'être* of their race and now all that may be wiped out at a stroke like a brief candle puffed out at one breath.

On the other hand, concealed within the murky inkprints of this chapter may be found a promise of a new millennium, an age of endless beauty, romance and kindness, a golden age far more glorious than any ever imagined by poets and prophets. The secret of new weapons which now loom like a limitless shadow over the future may turn out to be of incalculable material benefits which would transform the present life of toil, misery and fear for two thousand million men. The atom can not only destroy but build and build better and vaster than all our present sources of energy. It can do away with the *raison d'être* of exploitation of one group of men by another, with capitalism, imperialism, fascism, with superstition, greed and vice and strike out a new moral vista based on material well-being and security of all peoples.

Never was such a fateful choice offered to men; the choice between extinction and unlimited riches, between utter chaos and unimaginable prosperity, between death and life. What course will battered humanity follow? What choice will it make? Will it vote for sanity or rush headlong into the abyss, unable to shake off the shackles and shibboleths of a dead past? Will men rise above their petty moral stature and meet boldly the call of the future or perish in the coils of their own making? This is the vital question calling for a decision on which would depend the fate of humanity.

What are the factors which will guide humanity to this decision? Or to put it more realistically how will those on whom the burden of the choice has fallen behave? Will they free mankind from the bondage of want and fear or betray humanity once again and condemn it to extinction? The choice must necessarily

be made by the three victor nations, as represented by their respective governments and since men at the helm of affairs are but a part and parcel of the society in which they live the decision taken by them will reflect the attitude of mind and inner impulses of men whom they govern. Now, what is the attitude of men of the victor nations? How do they view these new developments which are fraught with such revolutionary possibilities?

At the outset we are met with the fundamental problem of the moral stature of mankind. If the material stature of mankind were represented by a six inch figure on this page, the moral stature will be more than adequately represented by a half-inch figure. It is indeed this difference between moral and material stature of mankind which during the last two centuries of science has been the cause of untold misery all over the world. It is not that science is to blame. The moralists who have condemned science have really gone off the track. Science has brought comforts within the reach of ordinary man such as were beyond his wildest dreams. What has lagged behind has been the moral education while science has progressed full steam ahead. Men who have learnt such difficult things as building bombers, calculating the distance between the stars and splitting the atom, have not learnt or practised such elementary moral principles as love thy neighbour, or that all men are brothers. Again, while science can boast of an endless galaxy of brilliant men standing like giants among pigmies, the moral giants have been but few and far between. How many like Christ and Buddha have taken the poor and the fallen to their bosom? How many have practised and preached love and charity for all men? How many like Mahatma Gandhi have taken a vow of voluntary poverty and dedicated their lives to the service of their fellow men? These moral giants who have realized the conflicts of humanity at different epochs stand like candles lost in the general darkness. Likewise, the spirit of love and kindness has not informed the lives of the masses particularly where the scientific spirit has flowered forth. The men there have shown themselves to be completely oblivious of the implications of the scientific advance and its far-reaching impact on the future of humanity. As long as men have not become aware of their moral responsibility in the light of the changed circumstances, so long will the fate of *homo sapiens* hang in the balance.

The very first step towards a new moral consciousness on the part of victor nations is the recognition of the right of political independence of all nations. Perhaps no generation has paid such a bitter price for political slavery as ours has. Millions of Frenchmen, Poles, Czechs, Russians, Dutchmen, Chinese, and others who were removed from their homelands, had to work like slaves for their captors and undergo tortures that would make the terrors of the medieval inquisitors look like kindness itself. Their countries were plundered, and laid waste; their moral and economic backbone shattered. In our country the terrible Bengal famine

Ever-True, the Ever-Uncontradicted Being. The world is, thus, neither absolutely *unreal*, like a sky-flower; nor momentary or short-living like an illusion or a dream; nor even eternally and absolutely *real* like Brahman. So, it is *mithya* or false, neither real, nor unreal, but indescribable (*anirvacaniya*).

From the higher, absolute standpoint, *Brahman* alone is real, there is no creation, no creator, no world. But from the lower, empirical standpoint, the world is real; creation is real, so a Creator, too, is needed. This Creator Samkara calls *Isvara* or God. *Isvara* is Brahman as associated with *Maya*, or rather, as exercising its illusion-producing power of *Maya*. Such an *Isvara* is endowed with infinite, auspicious qualities; as the creator of the universe of mind and matter, He comprises individual souls (*jiva*) and the world (*jagat*) as His internal differences. He is distinct from individual souls and worshipped by them. In short, from the lower, empirical standpoint, *Isvara* is conceived as endowed with all the characteristics of an ordinary theistic God. But from the higher standpoint, *Brahman* is without any attributes, differences, activities and changes, and like the created world, the creator *Isvara*, too, is negated ultimately.

From the higher, transcendental standpoint, the soul is absolutely identical with *Brahman* and as such all-pervasive, one only, without a second, with attributes, distinctions, activities, changes and limits. But during empirical existence, this eternal, non-material soul becomes associated with certain material limiting adjuncts or *upadhis*, viz., gross body, sense-organs, vital-breaths (*prana*), mind (*manas*), intellect (*buddhi*) and subtle body, and as such becomes subject to birth, growth, decay, and death, innumerable, infinite miseries. Thus from the lower, practical standpoint, the souls are different from *Brahman*, and as such, knowers, agents, enjoyers, limited, atomic innumerable and mutually different.

In the very same manner from the higher standpoint, the material world is but a false appearance. But from the lower standpoint, it is gradually evolved out of *Isvara* according to the process of Quintuplication (*Pancikarana*).

From the higher standpoint, the universe of soul and matter is absolutely identical with *Brahman*, or rather, as from this standpoint, there is only one reality *Brahman*, there is no question of any relation between *Brahman* and the Universe. From the lower standpoint, *Isvara* is both identical with and different from the Universe.

Salvation means realising one's oneness with *Brahman*, e.g., the ether within a pot, though really identical with the universal ether all around, appears to be different from it through the limiting adjunct 'pot', but as soon as the pot is broken to pieces, the ether within it becomes completely merged in the universal ether, without any trace of distinction. In the very same manner, when the soul gets rid of its limiting adjunct of the psycho-physical organism, it becomes free as one with the Universal soul. Here "getting rid" is not to be taken in a literal sense of an actual getting rid of the physical body. This is called *Jivanmukti*—salvation here and now. Though possessed of a body, a *jivan-mukta* is not any longer affected by its states and conditions—though in the world he is not of the world.

Salvation, being due to ignorance, can be attained only through the knowledge of *Brahman*. The aspirer after salvation first learns of the great truth of the essential identity of Brahman and the soul indirectly through Scriptures. This is called "*Sravaṇa*". Next, he ponders over the matter and considers whether he can accept the truth on grounds of independent reasoning. This is "*Manana*". Next, after having satisfied his reason, he finally accepts it and continuously meditates on it for directly realising it. This is "*Nididhyasana*". Thus, performance of good deeds, devotion, worship, etc., are not ultimate or direct means to salvation—they are but preliminary preparations for a higher life. And, ultimately, the soul attains salvation through a pure knowledge of identity with *Brahman*.

Such is, in very brief outlines, the system of Samkara, the greatest philosophic genius the world has ever produced. It is impossible to do even a semblance of justice by such a short summary to the very profound, yet strictly logical, philosophy of Samkara, which is really unique and incomparable in the whole history of human thought. But still the above is sufficient to give us an idea of the essentially Monistic character of Sankara's philosophical doctrine. It is a kind of strict, absolute Monism that devalues and negates even a strict *Monotheism*, as ordinarily understood by theists. Before comparing this strict Monism of Samkara with the strict Monotheism of Islam, let us consider, as briefly as possible, the sources of Samkara's Advaita-vada.

Though the preposterous idea that the polytheistic Indians learnt Monotheism for the first time from the Moslems and the Christians has been completely exploded by modern research, yet it is strange that even to-day some should continue to cling to this fond delusion. Monotheism in India is as old as the Rig-Veda, the oldest Indian Literature, nay, the oldest Literature in the whole world, as well, so far known. The Vedic Religion is generally supposed to be entirely polytheistic. It is true that the Vedas contain hymns to many gods and goddesses, like Indra, Varuna, Agni, etc. But those deities are not considered to be as separate and independent; on the contrary, they are taken to be different manifestations of One supreme deity. There is absolutely no trace of image-worship in the Vedas. Vedic Religion is really a kind of Nature-worship, a spiritual anthropomorphism, based on the idea that a Universal Spirit is immanent in the whole world. It is this Supreme Self that animates every grain of dust, every blade of grass, every drop of water; it is this Universal Soul that manifests itself now in thunderbolt, now in rain, now in fire, now in water, now in the sun, now in the moon. Hence, the fire-god and the water-god, the sun and the moon are all nothing but manifest forms of the same unmanifest, underlying God. We have a famous passage in the Rig-Veda (1. 164. 46) which declares unequivocally that Reality is one only, and wise men call it by different names like Indra, Mitra, Varuna, etc. In another passage of the Rig-Veda (10. 114. 5) it is said that the very same Being is simply imagined to be manifold. Again, in the Rig-Vedic hymn to *Prajapati* (10. 121), we find an undeniable evidence of a very high type of Monotheism. Here, one supreme God is described as the creator of everything, as the support of heaven and earth, as the giver of life and strength, as the God above all gods.

In the Vedas, we find strong evidences for not only

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Monotheism (Belief in one God), but also for Monism (Belief in one Reality). For example, a female seer, named Vac (Rig-Veda 10. 125) having realised her oneness with all the gods, all the individual souls, all the world, cries out ecstatically : "How great is my Glory !" The seer Camadeva also declares (Rig-Veda 4. 26) his identity with Manu, Surya, Kakasana, Usana, and Indra. Again, the seer Trasadyu (Rv. 4. 42), too, realises himself to be the lord of the whole universe, as the god of gods, as identical with everything, visible and invisible.

This Monism of the Vedas is fully developed in the *Upanisads*, the later and the philosophical part of the *Vedas*. In fact, the Monism expounded in the *Upanisads* in their incomparable language and way stands out as a unique product of human thought in the history of the world. Rightly has it been said that "in the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the *Upanisads*" (Schopenhauer). It is not necessary to enter into details here. Only a few famous passages are quoted by way of illustration. "In the beginning all this was nothing but the Atman (soul) (Brh. 1. 41.), "In the beginning all this was Brahman (Brh. 1. 4. 10). "He who knows that 'I am Brahman' becomes all this" (Brh. 1. 4. 10), "Brahman is all this" (Brh. 2. 5. 1.) "There is no plurality in it (the soul). He who sees plurality here gets death after death." (Brh. 4. 4. 19.), "All this is Brahman" (Chhand. 3. 14. 1.), "All this has that for its soul. That is true, he is the soul. Svetaketu ! thou art that." (Chhand. 6. 8.), etc. ,

The teachings of the *Upanisads* were systematised and summarised by the *Brahmasutras*, Samkara, the first and the most well-known of the commentators of the *Brahma-sutras*, developed his system from the *Upanisads* direct. He claims no originality for his system, but takes it to be his mission to supply a rational, logical basis for the fundamental monistic ideas of the *Upanisads*, which contain no systematic deliberate attempt at detailed argumentations. Thus, the seed of Monism first sown by the Vedic Seers at the very first dawn of human civilisation becomes a sprout in the *Upanisads*, and that again under the able supervision of Samkara grows up to be a well-rooted, huge tree in the Vedanta. Taking up the few scattered elements from the *Upanisads*, this great intellectual giant of India succeeded in building up an entire, logically consistent system of Philosophy, by filling up the gaps, supplying missing links, removing contradictions and drawing logical conclusions from the given premises. No lesser genius could have reached such lofty heights of speculation, no lesser logician could have supplied such a strong rational basis for such a very profound theory.

Now, let us compare the system of Samkara with that of Islam. As pointed out above, Samkara's system is a strict Monism that has no place for even Monotheism in the technical sense of the term. Monism is belief in one and only one Reality. But Monotheism means belief in one God, and not in one Reality. On the contrary, Monotheism necessarily insists on dualism—on an eternal distinction between God and man, the worshipped and the worshipper. Hence from the Monotheistic standpoint, there is one and only one God, no doubt, but there must be at least two realities, God and man. For, if man becomes identical with God, then Religion in the technical sense of the term, as "Man's belief in a Being or Beings mightier than

himself and inaccessible to his senses, but not indifferent to his sentiments and actions" (Flint), becomes impossible. Thus, whether the relation between man and God be a slave-master relation of awe and terror, as in the lower forms of Religion, or a lover-beloved relation of love and intimacy, as in the higher forms of Religion,—an ultimate distinction between the two must be upheld at any cost. In this sense, Monotheism necessarily excludes Monism, which aims at obliterating all distinctions between the two. Strict Monism, on the other hand, seeks to rise above this God-Man duality and merge man completely in God. In this sense, Monism attempts to transcend, and thereby ultimately negate, Monotheism, in fact, Theism of any sort whatsoever, in the ordinary, technical meaning of the term.

It may be urged, of course, that Monism, after all, is not the negation, but rather the completion of Monotheism, properly understood. From Polytheism, we rise to Monotheism, from Monotheism as naturally to Monism. The consciousness of a distinction between many gods is completed in the fuller consciousness of one Supreme God as distinct from man only, and that, again, in the final consciousness of one Man-God, one Absolute in whom man loses his identity. According to this theory, man fails to realise God fully when he remains a separate worshipper, but can do so only when he himself becomes God,—this is the height of all religious aspirations. Now, Monotheism, thus understood as naturally leading to Monism, is what Samkara himself vehemently propounds. He himself emphasises two points: (i) The lower empirical plane is not to be ignored simply as a mere empty dream ; on the contrary, it is through this empirical life of work and devotion alone that the soul can ever rise to the level of pure knowledge. (ii) The empirical life, though thus important, is only a means to the end, and not the end itself. Thus duality should lead to unity. In other words, Monotheism can be taken to be the stepping-stone to Monism, Monism can be considered as the culmination and completion of Monotheism *only when* Monotheism is admitted to be a lower imperfect stage, needing perfection in a higher, perfect stage of Monism. In this sense alone can it be asserted that Monism is the natural outcome of Monotheism, Monotheism being the first stage of Monism. This kind of Monotheism alone is perfectly consistent with Monism.

But Monotheism, as technically and ordinarily understood, is not at all of this kind. Technically Monotheism is an end by itself—a perfect, completed stage, needing no higher and more perfect stage of Monistic realisation. Not only that, the very thought of an identity between God and man is the greatest blasphemy from this ordinary Monotheistic standpoint. The highest aim of the Monotheist is to love and adore God eternally ; that is, to cling to a consciousness of his eternal distinction from God, however much he may come near God and realise Him directly. Hence, Samkara's strict Monism is directly opposed to this kind of ordinary, technical Monotheism which aims at keeping up eternally, what Samkara calls, the illusion of duality.

Now, Orthodox Islamic Monotheism is a Monotheism in the above technical sense of the term. That is, just as on the one hand, it insists most strongly on the worship of one and one God alone, so, on the other hand, it equally strongly emphasises the eternal distinction between God and man. Man, it unequivocally

points out, is for ever the humble servant of God ; and however much he may love and come near God, however much God may love and be "nearer to him than his own neck-vein." (Qur'an 50. 15), man is for ever distinct from God and inferior to Him. In fact, according to Orthodox Islam, the greatest sin, the most unpardonable blasphemy, the most heinous heresy is to think oneself God. Thus, Monotheistic Islam is opposed tooth and nail to that form of strict Monism which seeks to annihilate all distinction between God and man.

In Islam, the monistic trend of thought is found in the mysticism of the Sufis. But though the Sufis themselves trace the origin of their doctrine to the Qur'an, Orthodox Islam as a class has always looked down upon Sufism as a heretical innovation, opposed to the real spirit of Islam. That is why, Sufis throughout the ages have been persecuted by Orthodox Moslems. The great Sufi Hallaj, for example, was cruelly tortured and put to death for his famous utterance, "Ana'l-Haqq"—"I am the truth (God)". The Monism of the Sufis, of course, falls far short of the Monism of Samkara. The former is a kind of emotional Monism, comparable only to the Vaisnava emotional monism of India. That is here, as in the Vaisnava system, the devotee, though eternally distinct from God, becomes one with Him temporarily when enraptured—in a state of mystic intoxication and strong emotional ecstasy. But Samkara's Monism, as we have seen above, is a purely intellectual rational, logical Monism, where the soul realises its oneness with Brahman through knowledge, and not through emotion or ecstasy, and is for ever identical with Brahman. But as Orthodox Islam cannot even tolerate this comparatively milder Monism of the Sufis, it goes without saying how vehemently must it be against the uncompromising, absolute Monism of Samkara.

Thus, the Absolute Monism of Samkara and the Absolute Monotheism of Orthodox Islam are directly opposed to each other so far as philosophical tenets go. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to see how Samkara could have ever been influenced at all, directly or indirectly, by Islam. Had he been really imbued with Moslem thought even to the slightest extent, he would have rejected in horror the very thoughts of "I am Brahman", "Thou art that", etc., as stark, utter blasphemies.

Again, just as the identity between God and man, so exactly that between man and man is equally unthinkable from the standpoint of Orthodox Islam. This, too, is a great bone of contention between Orthodox Islam and Sufism. According to the former, the distinction between a Muslim, or a true believer, and a *Kafir*, or an unbeliever is an eternal one, and can never be obliterated. Thus, though emphasising the brotherhood of man, Orthodox Islam can never take a "Kafir" even under the same category of a "Muslim", far less than identifying the two³ if necessary. Even two "Muslims" are not identical. Hence, the oneness of all souls, insisted on by Samkara from the transcendental standpoint, is absolutely foreign and opposed to the teachings of Orthodox Islam. So had Samkara been influenced by Islam in any way, he could have never

for a moment entertained this doctrine of the oneness of all souls.

Thus, as Samkara strongly insists on a final obliteration of all distinctions between God and man, and man and man, while Orthodox Islam as strictly insists on an eternal distinction between God and man, and man and man, there is nothing in common between the two systems at all from the transcendental standpoint, so that any hypothesis of mutual influence is at once and for good ruled out. If Islam influenced Samkara at all, it must have done so in two fundamental directions—(i) Strict Monotheism. It must have taught him "There is no God but He, the mighty, the Wise" (Qur'an 3. 13. and repeated numerous times). (ii) Eternal servitude of man to God. The fundamental precept of the Qur'an is "Obey God and the Apostle" (Qur'an 3. 298. 20. etc.), "And remember thy Lord within thyself humbly and with fear" (Qur'an 7. 202. 8. 3. etc.). Now, as regards (i), Samkara inherited the Monotheistic idea directly from the Vedas, as shown above. But he further developed and completed it in an Absolute Monism. As regards (ii), here too, Samkara transcended servitude by oneness of God and man. But if Islam did not influence Samkara in these two fundamental principles, which are its very life-blood, it is impossible to see how it could have influenced him at all, as Islam has no meaning apart from these two principles.

III

From the empirical point, too, there is much distinction between Samkara-Vedanta and Orthodox Islam : (i) From the lower empirical standpoint, *Isvara*, according to Samkara, is both the material (*upadana*) and efficient (*nimitta*) cause of the world, as souls and matter are internal powers of God, through manifesting which He creates the Universe of mind and matter. But according to Orthodox Islam, God is only the efficient and not the material cause of the universe, as He creates the world out of terrestrial matter.⁴ So, Samkara's empirical doctrine is *Parinama-vada*, or actual transformation of God into the Universe. But according to Orthodox Islam, God is a transcendental Creator, and though nearer to man than his own neck-vein (Qur'an 50. 15), is not contained by the Universe and transformed into it. (ii) According to Samkara, the soul and the world, as eternal powers of God, are eternal. Hence creation means only manifestation and not new origination. But according to Orthodox Islam, the Universe as a created thing can never be eternal. Hence, though man is the crown of creation, and though even angels were asked to pay homage to him (Qur'an, 2. 32. etc.) yet he is a created thing, and is not co-eternal with God. (iii) According to Samkara, from the empirical standpoint, the soul and the world are both different (in forms) and non-different (in essence) from God. But according to Orthodox Islam, the Universe is eternally different from God. (iv) Samkara is a staunch believer in the Law of Karma and the constant process of births and rebirths. But Orthodox Islam rejects this categorically. (v) Samkara admits Incarnation from the empirical standpoint. But this

³ Qur'an 9. 23 "Ye who believe, take not your fathers and your brothers for patrons if they love unbelief rather than faith". *op. cit.* 9. 23. "Then fight the leaders of unbelief", etc.

⁴ Qur'an 40. 69, "He it is who created you from the earth, then from a clot, then from congealed blood." *op. cit.* 40. 70 "He it is who quickens and kills, and when he decrees a matter, then He only says to it 'BE' and it is," *op. cit.* 21. 31. "We made from water every living thing."

doctrine is wholly opposed to the spirit of Islam. According to it, even Prophets are men and God's humble servants—they are simply God's messengers on earth, but not His embodied forms (Qu'ran 41. 6. etc.). As such, they are to be highly revered and believed, but never worshipped like God. (vi) Samkara admits the necessity of approaching a Guru or Spiritual preceptor as the first step in the moral path. But this doctrine of priesthood is wholly alien to the spirit of Orthodox Islam. According to it, no one can intervene between God and man, and if one wishes to approach God, it is not necessary for him to go through a spiritual preceptor, but only through the Command and Law of God Himself, embodied in the Qu'ran, Saint-worship or Guru-worship is opposed to the fundamental principle of Islam, viz., worship of God and none but God.

Examples might be multiplied to show that even from the empirical standpoint, Samkara propounds numerous doctrines that are not only altogether absent from Orthodox Islam, but are further directly opposed to its fundamental principles. So, the very possibility of Samkara being ever influenced by Islam even in his empirical theories is absolutely and once for all ruled out. Thus, there is no similarity between Samkara-Vedanta and Orthodox Islam from the *doctrinal point of view*, either transcendental or empirical. Of course, from the *ethical point of view*, the two systems are similar in many respects. Truthfulness, benevolence, self-control, etc., are given the highest place in both. But, it is not necessary to discuss this point here. For, (i) No allegation has been made here as to the *ethical* influence of Islam on Samkara-Vedanta. (ii) Here, too, some peculiarities are found that exclude the possibility of mutual influence. (iii) The ethical principles of Samkara-Vedanta are as old as the Vedas; and in fact, they are, broadly speaking, fundamental ethical codes found in all great religious systems of the world, so that the question of mutual borrowing is meaningless here.

IV

(i) Hence, we fail to see how it can be ever asserted that "there are reasons to believe that it (the Vedanta of Samkara) was a direct outcome of the impact of Moslem and Hindu modes of thought." We do not know, and cannot think or imagine what these reasons may be. But so far as we know from internal evidences of Samkara's own philosophical system, there are not only no reasons to assert any external influence, Islamic or otherwise, on Samkara, on the contrary, there are positive reasons to deny this supposition. As shown above, Samkara's system is a wholly indigenous product, a direct development of the Upanisadic tradition with gaps filled up by his own, original philosophical insight.

(ii) Hence, also, we do not see how "scholars today discover in it (Samkara's Vedanta) traces of the influence of Moslem thought." We do not know who these scholars and what their arguments are. But if they do discover in Samkara-Vedanta any trace of the influence of Moslem thought, then surely they cannot be said to have grasped at all the real meaning of Samkara's philosophy. For, as shown above, on the face of this undeniable evidence of Samkara's own writings, the hypothesis of any external Islamic influence is ruled out, completely and for good. Even if we suppose, for the sake of argument, that Samkara directly sat at the feet of a Moslem savant, that must have only led him to

reject the absolute Monotheism of Islam in 1000 just as he did all other forms of Theism and Monotheism that insisted on eternal duality. That Samkara differs entirely from Orthodox Islam in his empirical views no less; has been shown above.

(iii) Further, to say that "perhaps each single item of Samkara's philosophy was derived from Upanisadic sources, but the temper and shape of the synthesis achieved suggest the operation of some novel element" is wholly unwarrantable. First, as shown repeatedly above, all the elements in Samkara's system were derived wholesale from the Upanisads, they are only supplemented and systematised. Hence there is no scope at all for the "perhaps"—no doubt can be raised at least as regards this point. Secondly, just as all the items were derived from the Upanisads alone, so all the shaping and synthesising was due to Samkara's inherent philosophic genius alone, not to any external influence. In fact, if every single item be derived from the Upanisadic sources, we do not see how all on a sudden an altogether alien temper and shape of synthesis could have crept in. The temper of Samkara's system is absolute, non-dualistic Monism, the shape of its synthesis is the synthesis between One and many, the Absolute and God, transcendental and empirical, in which the many is ultimately merged in the one, God in the Absolute, the empirical in the transcendental. But the temper of Orthodox Islam is dualistic Monotheism, and the shape of its synthesis is that between God and man in which man progressively realises his utter dependence on God and God's mercy for him, but never, never rises to be God. But how can ever this "novel temper and shape of synthesis" have anything to do with Samkara? That the temper and synthesis of Samkara's system from the empirical standpoint, too, are entirely different from those of Orthodox Islam has been shown above.

(iv) We do not understand how the "old religious faith and world outlook of Northern India" alone can be called "tolerant, decorous and contemplative", in contrast to the "new South Indian philosophy of life", characterised as "aggressive, intolerant in abundance and intensity." Though, bold in its outlook and outspoken in its utterances, Samkara's system is neither intolerant nor emotional. On the contrary, as emphasising the essential oneness of man, it is tolerant; as strictly logical and rational, it is contemplative. There is absolutely no place for any emotional ecstasy in Samkara's purely rational, intellectual, well-balanced, sober system. Emotionalism is a characteristic of later Vaisnava systems only, never of Samkara's philosophy. However, if as asserted, the new South Indian Philosophy was really aggressive, intolerant and emotional, it is difficult to see how it could have been influenced by Islam. For, we do not think that Orthodox Islam can at all be characterised as emotional. On the contrary, it is marked throughout by a sober, practical tone, at variance with the mysticism, ecstasy, intoxication etc., of the Sufis. The fact is that any "emotional abundance and intensity" is due to conceiving the relation between God and man as that between the Beloved and lover. This is found both in Vaisnavism and Sufism. But to Orthodox Islam God is both a Merciful Protector and Stern Ruler, and the eternal relation between God and man is that between a Master and a humble servant, and not between two lovers. So, Orthodox Islam insists not only on love, but also on a feeling of awe and respect for God, as

besting a humble and obedient servant. Hence, an excessive, gushing emotionalism is foreign to the very spirit of Islam. In fact, if we insist on a similarity between Samkara-Vedanta and Orthodox Islam, it lies in this spirit of soberness and saneness, and not in "emotional abundance and intensity" as implied above. But here, too, there is no question of any mutual influence,—for this spirit, though in effect similar in both the systems, is entirely different as regards its causes. Samkara's soberness is derived from an intense speculative tendency, a relentless logical method, an uncompromising intellectualism that stoops to nothing. But, the soberness of Orthodox Islam is due not to intellectualism, but to practicalism, not to any abstruse philosophical discussions, but to a healthy, realistic grasp of the facts of life. While Samkara-Vedanta is essentially philosophical and anti-theological, in the common, technical sense, Orthodox Islam is essentially practical,—a practical rule and religion of life, rather than any completely and consistently worked out system of Philosophy. So, even here, an inherent difference of spirit cannot be ignored.

As regards the implication that the new South Indian philosophy derived its "intolerant" spirit from the Arab traders of the seventh century A.D., it is for the Moslems to decide whether their own system is really "intolerant" or not. As for Indian philosophical systems, whether northern or southern, we can assert strongly that from the philosophical standpoint at least, they are absolutely free from any intolerance, bigotry or fanaticism. Of course, it cannot be denied that from the practical standpoint, this sublime spirit of tolerance and broad-mindedness has not always been followed.

As regards the "aggressive" character of the new South Indian philosophy, supposed to be derived from Islam, see just below.

(v) The writer asks, "Is it fanciful to find in Samkara's fervour and zeal traces of the influence of the revolutionary zeal of Islam?" With every respect to the learned writer, we have to say that it is fanciful and entirely so. We do not see why without an iota of evidence of any sort, external or internal, we should all on a sudden suppose that this great intellectual giant of India, this relentless logician, this uncompromising fighter of all sorts of dualism, this bold upholder of the age-old Vedic tradition of Monism, derived his "fervour and zeal" from an altogether alien form of thought, even if he ever came into actual contact with it. Are "zeal and fervour" foreign to the Indian tradition that Samkara, the very soul of intellectual India, had to learn it from a foreign source? Historically, Samkara's philosophy is taken as a direct reaction to the growing influence of Buddhism that threatened to eclipse Hinduism totally. At this juncture, Samkara, the greatest champion of Hindu thought, placed Vedic Hinduism on a solid basis of reason and logic, and thereby re-instituted Vedic tradition, so long left in the lurch by anti-Vedic Buddhism. Hence, "Samkara's fervour and zeal" were due entirely to his desire to revivify Hinduism as against Buddhism, not to any "revolutionary zeal of Islam". If he had to learn "fervour and zeal" at all from others, he had his very own Vedas and the Upanisads to get a direct inspiration from, for every line of the Vedas, every letter of the Upanisads breathes forth such an intense fervour and zeal, such a noble spirit of boldness and frankness that finds no peer in the whole world.

We conclude, therefore, that neither on historical grounds, nor on the more important philosophical ground can it be ever asserted that Samkara was in any way influenced by Islam, not to speak of his system being "a direct outcome of the impact of Moslem and Hindu modes of thought." His system was from the beginning to the end a purely Indian product, without an iota of any foreign element, Islamic or otherwise. He could not have "absolved out of it (Islam) elements that suited his cast of mind" as alleged, for as we have seen above, neither from the transcendental nor from the empirical point of view, could he get any single element from Islam "suited to his cast of mind". In fact, what suited his cast of mind was altogether foreign and opposed to Orthodox Islam. Hence, all the elements of his system, its entire temper, spirit and outlook were derived from the Vedas and the Upanisads alone; and the whole process of synthesis, by which he gave such a consistent and complete shape to those elements, was entirely his own.

V

It may be asked as to why in these days of communal synthesis, when every one is trying to trace the mutual influence of Hindu and Moslem cultures and civilisations, we have thought it fit to bring out the intrinsic differences between Orthodox Islam and Samkara-Vedanta, rightly called by the same writer "the supreme manifestation of Hindu Spirit." The reply is that we firmly believe that a false, fanciful assertion of mutual influence, reciprocity or synthesis, where it does not really exist, though well-meaning and born of an over-zealous eagerness to contribute to communal harmony, is sure to produce just the opposite result. That during the Middle Ages, there has been a real "synthesis and co-operation between Hindus and Moslems, on a thousand planes" no one can consistently deny. In religion, literature, art, sculpture, architecture, painting, music, and in many other departments of Culture, as well as in social customs and daily habits, there are in many cases unmistakable signs of direct impact and fusion of Hindu and Moslem modes of thought. This far-reaching mutual influence of Hindu and Moslem Cultures has produced a most beneficial effect in enriching and vivifying Indian Civilisation. And common understanding and mutual sympathy being the first requisite of a communal harmony, all lovers of Indian Nationalism should try to bring to greater light this history of communal give-and-take during the Middle Ages. But while admitting all this, we cannot but sound a note of warning to over-enthusiastic patriots who in their zeal may forget truth, and thereby unwittingly foster bitterness and bad feelings. For, though there was a close fusion of Hindu and Moslem Cultures, that was never the whole of the picture. On the contrary, each had something original to contribute, something that was a direct fruit of that particular Culture only, without being in any way influenced by the other. To call these original contributions "fusions" or "direct outcome of impact of Moslem and Hindu modes of thought" is not only false, but also dangerous. e.g., the Moslems were not only influenced by Hindu Culture, but they had many new things of their own to give to their Hindu brethren. But if we in our enthusiasm try to prove even these entirely original contributions to be direct outcome of Hindu influence, will not the Moslems become incensed

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and in one voice protest loudly? In the very same manner, Hindus had also many new things of their own to give to their Moslem brethren and no Hindu can tolerate any attempt, however well-meaning, to pass these off as the direct outcome of Moslem influence. The Samkara-Vedanta is one of these original contributions of the Hindus not only to Islam but also to the whole world. It is indeed a unique contribution, for no other philosophical system of the world has ever reached such lofty heights on such strictly logical and rational grounds. This led the great philosopher William James cry out enthusiastically in appreciation of the Advaita-Vedanta: "The paragon of all Monistic systems is the Vedanta Philosophy of Hindusthan." Thus, the Vedanta

is the cream of Indian (Hindu) Culture, and the Advaita-Vedanta is the cream of the Vedanta. In fact, the very soul of India found a complete manifestation in the person of this great intellectual savant Samkara. That is why, as Indians, as Hindus, we are justly very proud of Samkara and can justly claim him to be the greatest exponent of truest and absolutely original Vedic Hindu Culture. Hence, even at the risk of being misunderstood, we cannot pass off, without a strong protest, this well-meant but misdirected attempt at foisting Islamic influence on Samkara-Vedanta without an iota of evidence at hand. However, we firmly believe that "*differences in India are hyphens that unite, and not dashes that divide.*" (P. Sitaramayya).

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ANGLO-U.S. FINANCIAL AGREEMENT

By J. G. NARANG, M.A.

SIXTH December, 1945, will go down as a most important day in the history of the financial world; for it was on this memorable day that the epoch-making Anglo-U.S. Financial Agreement, after a period of three months' negotiations and deliberations, was signed in the U.S.A. The Agreement which is awaiting Parliamentary and Congressional ratification and about which there appears to be no difficulty is likely to cement the relations between the two countries at least for another 55 years to come. One of the U. S. influential papers has described this Agreement to be the most important single step taken to create in the world the free conditions of trade essential for winning the peace on the Economic side. This declaration obviously presumes that the peace has been won on the political side which view would not be shared by all. But it may, however, be stated that behind the Agreement is probably the feeling that U.S.A. and U.K., if they are striving to draw the world politically, must also do the same thing economically. Though the Agreement is between England and the U.S.A., it has, nonetheless, an important bearing on the economy of other countries, especially the Dominion, the mandated and the dependent countries. By this Agreement, Great Britain will get a loan of four billion and four hundred million dollars. According to the joint statement the objects of the loan are stated to be

"to facilitate purchases by the United Kingdom of goods and services of the United States, to assist the United Kingdom to meet transitional post-war deficits in its current balance of payments, to help the United Kingdom to maintain adequate reserves of gold and dollars, and assist it to assume the obligations of multilateral trade. This credit would make it possible for the United Kingdom to relax import and exchange controls and generally move forward with the United States and other countries towards the common objective of expanding multilateral trade. These arrangements, if carried out, will put an end to the fear of an economically divided world and make possible, throughout the world, expansion of employment and of production, exchange, and consumption of goods."

It is, therefore, understood that a part of the said credit would be used for the following purposes: (1) to enable Britain to make direct purchases in the U.S.A.; (2) to allow the countries in the sterling area to convert their accumulations from their current trade with Britain into dollars for purchases in the U.S.A.; and (3) to help Britain to maintain adequate reserves so as to free the sterling from the present restrictions and thus enable Britain to meet its trade deficits for the next few years. All this means that a part of the credit will be used to pay for purchases made by England of American property and equipment now located on British soil and the remainder of three billion and seven fifty million dollars will be available to Britain on any day after the Agreement has been ratified by both the Parliament and the U.S. Congress and before December 31, 1951. The repayment of the loan will begin on December 31, 1951 and the repayment will spread over a period of 50 years. The rate of interest, it is understood, would be 1.62 per cent and may, in certain circumstances, be lower and even not charged under the 'waiver clause'. Though the Agreement has been signed, it has been received not with unmixed feelings both in Britain and America. Before an examination of those reactions is made, it will be interesting to know the background of this Agreement and to study the circumstances which brought these two countries together in this financial deal as also to know why America agreed to give the loan and why Great Britain wanted it.

It is well-known that on account of the war, Great Britain has been economically bled white; her economy has suffered a great economic and financial strain; she has incurred a heavy expenditure on the conduct of the war and during that she has incurred a heavy debt which she is being called upon to pay at an early date. To pay her financial obligations, and to come up to its pre-war economic position, she wants blood transfusion which she has decided to get by an all-out programme of augmenting her export trade by 75 per cent. It is with this programme that all the financial policies of Great Britain are being planned and it is in this job that Sir Stafford Cripps, the President of the British

Board of Trade, is engaged. Even the last Budget which envisages a huge economic plan calls for huge amounts of money which cannot be raised inside the country by all the possible sources and the means of taxation. In order to increase her export trade she must also import raw materials apart from essential foodstuffs for which she depends solely on other countries. She must therefore require a huge loan for which she requested America and after three months' deliberations and of bargaining the Agreement has been reached between these two countries whereby she is to receive a loan from America. There were various other important reasons too mainly arising out of her previous obligations and pledges to U.S.A. and to the cause of world free trade which made it practically obligatory on her part to require and take the loans. These reasons will be discussed at a later place.

As regards America, it was not out of generosity or munificence that she was impelled to give such a heavy loan. It is stated that the money she will lend to Great Britain will be raised from America at the interest of 1.92 per cent, i.e., 30 per cent higher than she would get from Great Britain in the form of interest. As already stated, there is a 'waiver clause' in the Agreement by which in any year of unfavourable trade balance or if it is necessary in view of the present and prospective conditions of international exchange and the level of its gold and foreign Exchange reserves, she would be exempted from the payment of interest. A question naturally arises as to why U.S.A. should be so willing to give such an enormous loan to Great Britain when apparently she does not stand to derive any material benefit so far as the transaction itself is concerned? But a closer examination of the terms of the Agreement will reveal that America stands to benefit a great deal from this Agreement not only in the near future but in the distant future too. As it will appear from the terms of the Agreement, which have been reported so far, that the sterling area will have to be liquidated and countries falling within that area will be permitted to trade freely and with any country they liked, which evidently means the liquidation and abolition of the imperial trade preference. A study into the past history of American trade will show that America had no free trading with countries falling within the sterling area because of imperial and empire preferences and she was thus deprived of a huge volume of the British Empire trade. Now within one year after the Agreement, countries in the sterling area will be allowed to buy anywhere and will also be provided with dollar Exchange to buy anywhere. In this way America will be able to export her goods to those countries which it was not possible before. Moreover, even for her exports to Great Britain, she must provide U. K. with the necessary dollars. In other words, U.S.A. by giving the loan to U.K. will be financing her own exports.

The reaction in Great Britain after the culmination of the Agreement has not been very encouraging. The opposition in the House of Commons led by Mr. Churchill must, as a matter of course, oppose. But their objections during the discussions in the House of Commons are not without any foundation and are therefore worth consideration. The main objections to the proposals had been on the grounds that they involve abolition of the sterling area; secondly, a return to the gold standard and, thirdly, destruction of imperial preferences. Trading in British Empire under imperial

preferences had been the very life-breath of British export programme. Similarly, the dissolution of the sterling area would also put Great Britain to a great handicap and might deprive her of a large portion of her trade which may ultimately be shared by the United States as a serious rival. Return to the gold standard, which was abolished in 1931 would not also help Great Britain. Apart from these, it is also being asked if at all this dollar loan was essential. It is argued that the matters have been precipitated with indecent haste and England could have waited for at least another 5 years after which she would have considered if a loan was at all desirable. It is also stated that without the loan Great Britain could have carried on. This assumption is based on the following grounds:

(1) That American exporters are ever anxious to maintain their links with British importers and that they would have been too willing to sell to Great Britain against blocked sterling in spite of large size of British external floating debt.

(2) That there would have been no difficulty in obtaining through private credit transactions all the American goods which Great Britain urgently needed without having to use up the dollar reserve and for that the treasury bill rates would have been accepted by the American holders of blocked sterling and the cost of transaction with interest charges would have been incomparably lower than that of the loan.

The loan was also opposed on grounds of psychological and material reasons. It is stated that as a result of the big loan the spirit of the country would be totally different. Without the loan the Government could have asked the populace to put up with the austerity and all the hardships and privations that they are now undergoing as a result of the aftermath of the war. The Government could have also appealed to the coal miners and other workmen to do their utmost to increase the output and the Government then would not have been pressed with their demands of reduction of working hours, increment of wages and other various demands. Besides, this would have avoided party strife and class antagonism. Above all, there would have been no critical conditions which have been attached to the Agreement now and the country would not have been called upon to sacrifice its empire trade and jeopardise her foreign trade for the sake of immediate relief.

The arguments of the protagonists are well-known. It has been stated that the Agreement was very essential and when it was admitted that she wanted a loan she must submit to the conditions of the creditor than to dictate terms to the creditor as she was doing in the case of India which though, being a creditor of Great Britain instead of dictating terms to Great Britain, is being dictated to by Great Britain with regard to the settlement of her accumulated sterling balances. Besides these arguments, the loan was essential in order to redeem her pledge and discharge her obligations to other countries. If the Agreement had not come into existence, England bereft of cash credits could not have redeemed its pledge under article 7 of the Lend-Lease Agreement to relinquish trade and exchange controls after the war. And what is more important it would have also been impossible for U. K. to become a party to the Bretton Woods Agreement which had been arrived at before this financial Agreement nor could it have been able to accord it full and effective support to the charter of free international trade. So

a loan was necessary. The alternative would have been to find money within the British Empire and to trade in a separate economic Block consisting of countries to which, according to Lord Keynes, "we already owe more than we can pay, on the basis of their Agreement to lend us money they have not got, and buying only from us and one another goods that we are unable to supply."

This Agreement has given rise to many other issues two of which require a mention here. The first is with regard to the participation in the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference. This Agreement will bind Great Britain to join that arrangement and to participate in the actual Monetary Bank which will come into existence as a result of the Agreement. Secondly, no other choice has been left before Great Britain than to join the International Trade Conference which is shortly being convened by U.S.A. to discuss matters relating to the lowering of the tariff-walls and to put the whole world on the basis of free and liberal trade.

The reaction in U.S.A. may be studied from the trend of discussions that were held at the recently-concluded three-day 32nd National Foreign trade convention. The loan has been advanced in accordance with the principles laid down by that meeting where the consensus of opinion was that though the loan was risky it must be incurred if America wished to stimulate world recovery and free foreign trade from its restrictions. The opposition was voiced by Mr. J. Reuban Clark who advocated private loaning than risking public or the tax payer's money.

It will be dangerous to speculate on the ultimate result of this Agreement. It will also be too early to say whether the Agreement will achieve its objective of freeing the world trade from restrictions and bilateral controls to the better advantage of all the countries. But it may be stated that collaboration between U. K. and the U.S.A. in the economic field, though at present to the mutual advantage of both the countries, is bound ultimately to result in serious rivalries as it has been on the political side. Now U.S.A. is helping Great Britain to build up her export trade but time will come when U.S.A. though not dependent like U.K. for her financial and economic stability on exports, is sure to come into conflict with U.K. export programme and her exports therefore will have to face a keen competition from British exports despite their joint declaration for close co-operation. In the world of free trade, U.S.A. no doubt is likely to acquit herself better as an efficient and better producer of goods than Great Britain. In that case the position of Great Britain can be better imagined than described.

We in India are interested as to what would be its repercussions on Indian economy and its financial position. India being a part of world economy, cannot remain without feeling the impact of this financial Agreement. India definitely stands to benefit in certain respects, for instance, with the dissolution of the sterling

area and removal of imperial preference and the liquidation of Empire Dollar Pool, India stands to gain in so far as she will be able to trade in a wider world area than hitherto. Furthermore, it has also been made explicit in the Agreement that Great Britain will have to make an early settlement of the sterling balances accumulated by the sterling area and other countries prior to this Agreement but the *modus operandi* on which the two big powers have agreed upon shows a sinister move on the part of America and Great Britain to wipe off a considerable portion, though not specified, of India's sterling balances. For example, it has been stated that the settlement with sterling area countries will be on the basis of dividing those accumulated sterling balances into three categories, *viz.*, (a) balances to be released at once and convertible into any currency transactions, (b) balances to be similarly released by instalments over a period of years beginning with 1951 and (c) balances to be adjusted as a contribution to the settlement of the war and post-war indebtedness and in recognition of benefits with the countries concerned who might be expected to gain from such a settlement. It has not been made explicit as to what part would be released at once and what part would be released after 1951 and what portion would be adjusted as a contribution which, in other words, means whittling down a considerable portion of India's sterling balances which she had accumulated as a result of the sweat of her brow.

It is being stated that soon a conference between Great Britain and the sterling area countries will be held, to decide upon this question of settling the sterling accumulations. One, however, wonders as to what would be the utility of such a conference as the *modus operandi* had already been decided upon by the two powers. No choice has therefore been left for India to negotiate further in the matter except that she should resist all attempts of Great Britain which may be connived at by U.S.A. to wipe off even a small portion of her sterling balances. On every occasion whenever it has arisen, the demand of the settlement of the question of payment of sterling balances has been let down. At Bretton Woods Conference, though the matter was ably put forward by the Indian delegates, it did not get the response and the encouragement which it expected from other powers. Besides, influential circles in Great Britain have tried not only to ignore India's right to her sterling balances but have actively resisted all attempts to settle this question. Even now, the same sinister ideas and feelings persist in the minds of the British leaders, the latest to have come from Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons during discussions on this Agreement. The Agreement has provided Britain with the moral backing of America a free hand to tamper with the balances or even to repudiate them if it so decided. It is therefore very necessary that the Indian public should voice their protest against what has been decided by these two powers *ex parte*.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

PARTITION OR FEDERATION: By D. N. Bannerjee, Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University. Published by General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. Pp. 159. Price Rs. 2.

The author who has already several valuable works to his credit, e.g., *The Reforms Scheme: A Critical Study, The Indian Constitution and Its Actual Working*, besides two books on the early land revenue system in Bengal and Bihar and the early administrative system of the East India Company, dedicates what he calls a study in the Indian constitutional problem "to those who have been fighting for the maintenance of the unity and integrity of India", thus revealing at once the point of view from which the problem is approached.

All the seven chapters which constitute the book were contributed to periodicals and it appears from the preface that the impulse to write came from the publication of the C. R. formula and Gandhiji's assent to it. The first is an open letter addressed to the latter showing that he had been inconsistent in blessing the scheme as also that he had no right to do so without consulting the wishes of the people vitally affected if and when the formula was accepted. The second is an examination of the C. R. formula from the standpoint of the constitution of the Congress. These may be regarded as introductory to what the reviewer regards as the really valuable part of the book, consisting of the next four chapters, which appeared originally in *The Modern Review*. In the first two of these, the author examines the positions taken by Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi during the negotiations and after, and in the third the two-nations theory of the former. The fourth presents the generally accepted nationalist view that communalism which has culminated in the demand for partition of India has been encouraged by Britain proof in support of which is offered by the author. The seventh and last chapter examines Professor Coupland's zonal scheme but not in as great a detail as the Lahore resolution of 1940. Then follow eight appendices consisting of extracts from documents and three articles by the author.

In the above four chapters (Nos. 3-6) in addition to facts and arguments used by previous writers on this subject, all of which have been presented convincingly and the exclusion of which would have tended to make the treatment perfunctory, the reader will notice much new and valuable material for the inclusion of which those impartially minded must feel grateful to Dr. Bannerjee. A fact which has struck the reviewer, as it must strike all readers of this book, is that while he has tried to preserve the detached attitude of the student all through his admirable exposition of the problem, he has, now and again, permitted himself to be carried away by his conviction of the necessity of maintaining the unity of India which he has conclusively proved beyond any doubt.

Along with the books on this subject by Prof. K. T. Shah and Doctors Ambedkar and Ansari, Dr. Bannerjee's book can rightfully claim to be one of the as yet best presentations of the views of those who stand against the partition of India.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

GANDHIJI'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT 1942-44: Second edition, September, 1946. Pp. xxvii + 360. Price Rs. 2-8.

Soon after Gandhiji was released in May, 1944, it was reported that he was circulating typewritten copies of his correspondence with the Government to interested friends. The Government of India accordingly issued its own edition of the correspondence from its headquarters at Delhi. But the book did not contain all that Gandhiji wished that the public should know. So the Navajivan Press, after the Government had withdrawn its ban, followed by issuing its own edition of the correspondence. The first edition ran out very soon, and the present edition had to be printed in larger number.

In many respects this book will remain one of the most important documents relating to India's struggle for independence. The whole case in defence of the Congress attitude towards the War since the failure of the Cripps negotiation in April 1942, has been presented here. In trying to defend the Congress against the unproved charges levelled against it by the Home Department of the Government of India, Gandhiji brought together all the relevant extracts from his now famous writings in the *Harijan* of 1942, as well as the draft resolutions of the A.I.C.C., the Working Committee and so forth. They prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Congress was forced into the position it took only due to the panic-stricken and hostile character of the official war measures; and how the 'Quit India' resolution was really intended to help the cause of Democracy, and thus meant for the real welfare of Britain, India, China, as well as of Russia. It was one of the wisest and the most statesmanlike steps ever taken by the Indian National Congress.

That the Government of India had nothing more to say after the publication of Gandhiji's defence is proved clearly by the fact that it never again raised the question of bringing up the Congress leaders for trial in connection with the August Disturbances, as had been rather pompously threatened by the Viceroy in one of his letters to Gandhiji.

The present publication also contains documents connected with one of the most poignant chapters of Gandhiji's life; and, from the Government point of view, one of its most sordid examples of bureaucratic inefficiency. This is in relation to the illness of Kasturba Gandhi in prison, from which she was destined never to recover.

The publishers have also added in the present edition the draft of a circular, which was to be made over to Members of the Working Committee, in case negotiations between Gandhiji and the Viceroy failed,

and a movement had to be launched by the Congress. This document shows clearly what the nature of the August Movement was going to be, if Gandhiji had been there to conduct it personally.

The publishers should be congratulated for the cheap price at which they have made this most important book available to the public.

FROM YERAVDA MANDIR : By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Third edition. 1946. Pp. 67. Price eight annas.

This forms one of the basic writings of Gandhiji, like his Hind-Swaraj or Ethical Religion. During his incarceration in 1930, Gandhiji used to write letters to members of the Sabarmati Ashram in which he explained his ideas about the Ashram vows on Truth, Non-violence, Humility, Non-possession, Bread Labour and so on. These were translated from the Gujarati, first published in the *Young India*, and later on issued in book form.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

LENINGRAD : By Alexander Werth, Hamish Hamilton, London, Indian Edition by Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1944. Pages 198. Price Rs. 8-14.

Alexander Werth, the well-known author of *The Last Days of Paris* and the only British newspaper correspondent to have been in Leningrad during the blockade, tells in this book a fascinating story of Leningrad's ordeal and salvation. The author was born in Leningrad, the city of Pushkin and the cultural capital of Russia ever since the eighteenth century, and was welcomed by the military as well as political circles of this beleaguered city to study at first hand the terror and grandeur of Leningrad's ordeal. He describes poignant scenes of wanton destruction wrought by German artillery and aerial bombs and pathetic scenes of starvation and death. On the other hand, he records the undying faith and unity of thousands of its anonymous men, women and children who by their courage and sacrifice saved Leningrad against German molestation. Werth's narrative, written in the form of a diary, is at once tragic and noble. It is a document of outstanding human interest and brings out in bold relief those arresting features of the Russian spirit which the trials of war have for the first time revealed to an admiring world.

Werth's chronicle does not attempt to dogmatize on the political significance of Leningrad's survival, but contains an interesting reference to the impact of war on Leningrad's literary life. According to the author, Leningrad does no longer hold the cultural ascendancy over Moscow which it once enjoyed, but Leningrad writers have their face turned towards the West much more deliberately than any other cultural unit of the Soviet Union. They do really thirst for a closer contact with the rest of Europe. This yearning is of course spreading throughout Russia today, because the political need for cultural isolation is perhaps over. The war, however, has thrown up two distinguished Leningrad writers, Nikolai Tikhonov, the chronicler of war-time life in Leningrad and writer of patriotic verses now popularized throughout the Soviet Union, and Vera Inber, the authoress of *The Pulkovo Meridian*, that grim and tragic poem of the blockade, written in perfectly chiselled lines and a metre as light as the Byronic octave. The outer lightness of this tragic poem, with such light-hearted similes as that of "a little coffin like a violin case" in which a Leningrad father takes his dead baby to the cemetery during the famine, not only places this poem in the Pushkin tradition, but reflects the ironic resignation with which so many men and women of Leningrad accepted the simple fact of death through hunger.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

MY STUDENT DAYS IN AMERICA : By Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. Padma Publications, Bombay. Pages 108. Price Rs. 8.

The author of this book was a student at Hartford, Conn. U.S.A., for three years (1919-1922) after which he went to Europe to take further education. As a political prisoner in Nagpur Central Jail he gave twenty talks (on his experience in America) to his fellow prisoners during February and July, 1943, and the present volume is the outcome of these lectures. Unlike ordinary travels, these lectures reveal a deep insight into American life and civilization in all its aspects so far as the experience of the author goes. He gives vivid description of the vigorous life of the New World freed from age-long shackles of custom and conservatism. It is the land of freedom and youth and as such even a man from a subject country like India feels the throb of liberty in U.S.A. In the words of the author, "In America I drank the wine of freedom. No one preached it to me. It was in the air in which I lived and moved and had my being . . . If America taught me nothing else, it taught me the virtues of self-help, self-respect and sturdy independence and no more would I of my own free will co-operate with any form of bondage or oppression." This is America. America is nearer to us to-day than ever before. In India's struggle for freedom, America should supply us with inspiration and guidance to be true to its traditions. The book will inspire young minds with hope. But the lessons drawn by the author will work as an eye-opener to the readers blinded by the glare of a civilization primarily devoted to the material welfare of a highly efficient and youthful race. The author is wedded to village industries and believes that salvation of India lies in reviving cottage production rather than in following the centralised method of the industrialised West. Thus, though the author speaks good of America, the moral he draws is clear that India's salvation does not lie in western capitalism and industrialisation but in reconstruction of her villages, revival of her cottage industries and rebuilding of her ancient civilization on the stable foundation of plain living and high thinking.

A. B. DUTTA

OCEAN SKIES AND LOST CARGOES : By M. Beckman. Published by Messrs. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 301. Price Rs. 7-14.

This is an interesting story about an adventurous voyage, one of the many occasioned by the Pacific war. A merchant-man started from the English coast for the American, and during its prolonged and perilous voyage, had experiences of the most thrilling kind, which are told in a simple, natural and highly attractive manner. The book abounds with various descriptions and details of its career through the sea, including an attack on a convoy. From the beginning, the story is of an absorbing interest with its exciting descriptions and realistic details of sea-life, and is sure to find favour with the public.

DEVADASI : By Santosh Chatterji, M.A. Published by S. K. Chatterji. 1946. Price Rs. 8.

The present volume is an historical and analytical study of the institution of Devadasi as prevalent in India. The learned author traces the origin of this system in India, and refers also to other eastern countries like Babylon and Egypt where this system is supposed to have existed. He analyses the various customs and manners connected with the temple dancers, describes their social status and significance, and discourses upon the ancient art of Hindu dance of which the Devadasis were the repository. The ex-

position of the various forms of classical Indian dance, accompanied with profuse illustrations of *mudras* and other dance forms, is highly illuminating. The book is, in short, a compound of legends, archaeology, history and aesthetic criticism, and has the stamp of scholarship necessary for the present discourse. The book is profusely illustrated.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD : By Syed Nurullah and J. P. Naik. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 278, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Pp. xxiv + 643. Price Rs. 6-12.

Besides Introduction and Index, the book contains twenty-five chapters covering 634 pages. In this pretty big volume, the authors have attempted a resume of the history of education in its various aspects during roughly one hundred and fifty years. Changes in educational policies from time to time have been stressed. Different chapters are devoted to the discussion of primary, secondary and collegiate stages of education in different provinces with especial emphasis on those in the three major provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. In this period the governance of the country was first vested in the East India Company whence it passed into the hands of the British Crown in 1858. The scope of education was gradually widened, and universities were established in various provinces. The authors have tapped original sources, and so far as the history of the later period, i.e., since when the country came under the British Crown, is concerned, they have traced it with considerable success. Materials for reconstructing the history of education in the earlier period, i.e., the period from 1800 to 1850, are not only meagre, but it is very difficult to search them out. Hence this portion of the book could not but be somewhat scrappy. For example, the case of Bengal may be cited. English education was first started in this province. Many papers and documents in MSS. have been unearthed in recent years, without which no history of education can be properly written. Missionary efforts with regard to women's education in this part have not even been referred to, which is a glaring omission for such a treatise. Educational efforts, at least in the three major provinces, in the first half of the nineteenth century require to be treated separately in different books, so that proper justice may be done to each one of them. However, in spite of these shortcomings, the authors should be congratulated on this attempt. The book will be of much use to the students of Indian education.

JOSEPH C. BAGAL

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SHRIMAD BHAGAVAD GITA : By Bengali Baba. Published by Sham Sundar Mukh Raj Puri, B.A., LL.B., 36/11, Nisbet Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 3.

The Gita is the sublime narration of what was, of what is and what will ever be. It is more real than history. The words of the Saviour Lord Krishna have mystic meaning which have baffled the intelligence of so-called learned men for centuries, but the hidden meaning of the Bhagavad Gita is open to all such devoted men who have reverence for the Great God as well as their Guru, as is said in the *Setaswatara Upanishad*. They only realize the deep intellectual meaning of the Bhagavad Gita. The Bhagavad Gita solves all the questions of human life.

The annotations by the venerable learned author are really original and most wonderful. They have expressed the synthetic view of the Bhagavad Gita. The language of the book is very simple but its thought is very deep and scientific.

We recommend this book for the reverential study of all Gita scholars.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

BENGALI

BANGLA PRABAD (Bengali Proverbs) : Sushil Kumar De. Ranjan Publishing House, 25/3, Mohanbagan Row, Calcutta. Pp. xii + 80 + 480. Price Rs. 6.

Dr. Sushil Kumar De has acquired a reputation among scholars for painstaking thoroughness, sound critical faculty and selective insight. Here he has taken up a new role, not as an historian of Bengali literature or of Sanskrit prosody but as a collector and editor of Bengali proverbs. It is not an entirely unexplored field; from time to time there have appeared compilations of Bengali sayings and adages, some good and some indifferent, but they seem to be more in the nature of cataloguing and selections than of being thorough and systematic. The collection that Dr. S. K. De has made excels other publications of the kind not only in the amount of materials contained in it but also in the matter of arrangement, numbering, indexing and incorporation of different readings. The eighty-page preface of the book is a store-house of information. It treats of proverbs in general and Bengali proverbs in particular. It contains among other things the definition, analysis and evaluation of the proverb. It is highly interesting in so far as it gives a picture of the Bengali family life as reconstructed from proverbial sayings. The very useful index of important words and the bibliography add to the value of the book. The collection comprises six thousand six hundred and eighty-one proverbs including Khana's sayings which are given in the Appendix. It is a difficult task and we must admit that Dr. S. K. De has succeeded in it. *Bangla Prabad* will for long remain the most authoritative reference-book on the subject.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BANGLA VARSHALIPI : Edited by Sisirkumar Acharya Choudhury. Sanskriti Baitthak, 17, Pandit Place, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

Sanskriti Baitthak has been rendering valuable service to Bengali literature by publishing this informative and interesting Bengali Year Book from the last year. Its debut in 1945 removed a long-felt want. This year's *Varshalipi* contains much more valuable information regarding not only Bengal, past and present, but also a brief survey of the main socio-political movements which are moulding the destiny of the whole of India. "Bharatiya Jatiya Congress", "Hindu Mahasabha" and "Muslim League", these three chapters are well-written and are replete with facts and figures. The chapter on the distinguished personalities of modern Bengal is not quite complete; it should have been fuller. The arrangements of facts and the manner in which they are presented testify to Mr. Acharya Choudhury's capable and careful editing. We recommend this Year Book to the reading public of Bengal.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

KAVYA-MALANCHA : Compiled by Abdul Kadir and Resaul Karim. Nur Library, 12-1, Sareng Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.

It is a carefully prepared anthology of representative Bengali poems composed by Muslim poets. In these days of communal discord, it is particularly gratifying to realise that when our Muslim brethren speak out their hearts, they reveal their innate unity with their Hindu countrymen. In the medieval period many Muslim poets wrote Vaishnava lyrics, certainly not under any external pressure but out of genuine inspiration. The contribution of Muslims to the development of our language can never be ignored, and those who want to be remembered for ever as poets cannot be blind to their natural environment and heritage. The present collection which contains many beautiful poems of old and modern writers bears evidence to that fact. The two introductions by the compilers are instructive and provocative of thought.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

PRATHAMIK SIKSHA : By Sreemati Renu Mitra, M.A. Published by Messrs. General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., 119, Dharmatallah Street, Calcutta. Pages 116. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is a book on primary education by a lady who is not only interested but connected with such education. Books of this nature in Bengali are cent per cent text-books but the present book is an exception to rule and such persons interested in the subject will find it a pleasant study. Unfortunately the state of primary education in our country is deplorable and as a result a vast amount of human material is allowed to run waste—a disgrace which no civilized government would tolerate. Our education takes no notice of the child's mind, environment, aptitudes, his shortcomings, merits or demerits and as a result, it does not help in the building up of the Nation, but deformed minds and misfits in society and to environments. The authoress discusses Wardha and Sargent Schemes of education and suggests improvements of our system in the light of modern child psychology keeping in view our rural requirements, and economic and social structure. Principal A. K. Chanda has written a short preface to the book and a bibliography has been added at the end.

We have no doubt that this book will be a real help to our primary school teachers and the general readers interested in the education of the young will find this book useful and illuminating.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

LENIN KE SANSMARAN : By Clara Zetkin. Translated by Shyamun Sannyasi. Published by Jan Prakashan Griha, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.

Clara Zetkin, one of the outstanding personalities of Socialist Germany long before the Russian Revolution, was the right-hand comrade of Lenin during the first two decades of the current century. After Lenin's death she wrote down her reminiscences about the great leader. It's an intimate study of Lenin, the person, philosopher and the leader. She has not burdened these reminiscences with ideological discussions and chronology of his multifarious activities. The translation is quite good and makes interesting reading. But for ordinary people the language of translation may prove a bit terse.

M. S. SENGAR

PURVI AUR PASHCHIMI DARSHAN : By Dr. Devaraj. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 199. Price Rs. 2.

Here is a pocket compendium, so to speak, of the diverse contributions made in East and in West, down the ages, to the sum and substance of the philosophic thought of humanity. The author has refrained, and very wisely, too, from assessing the comparative merits of the respective "schools", and contented himself with a pure presentation of the postulates of each, even though, in terms of treatment thereof, here and there, the scales appear to be tilted (maybe, unconsciously) in favour of Western philosophy. The learned doctor has also avoided the use of highly involved language. His coining of Hindi equivalents for some of the terms, employed in European systems, is quite happy. For the layman, keen on acquainting himself with the principal concepts of Eastern and Western philosophy, indeed, no better book than the book under review, could be recommended.

G. M.

MARATHI

RAJYOGINI : By Purushottam Mahadeva Vaidya. Navras Karyalaya, Indore City. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.

This is a short play, in two Acts, dealing with the heroic deeds of the patriot-queen, Ahalyabai Holkar of Indore, who is the heroine of every Hindu student of Indian history. It is replete with historical events (as against imaginations and inferences, as so often is the practice of some playwrights) and histrionic effects. It can serve easily, therefore, the purpose of a primer in the passion and philosophy of patriotism, with its multi-coloured skein of sentiments and sacrifice.

G. M.

KANNADA

MUGIDA YUDDHA : By Shivarama Karanth. Puttur, South Kanara. Pp. 406. Price Rs. 3-8.

The book under review is a novel written by Shri Shivarama Karanth of Puttur. He is known for his versatile writing. He has several books to his credit—plays, pantomimes, novels, operas and satirical essays. The characters in his novels throb with life due to his penetrating insight into the working of the humorous mind. In the present novel the writer gives us the life story of a poor school teacher vividly portraying the several trials and tribulations through which he had to pass on account of his unenviable financial job. The meagre resources of this school teacher—teachers as a class possess very little—could not sustain the tension put on them by the uninviting exigencies of the war and hence the life-string had perforce to snap. The miserable plight of the teachers is laid bare to the public gaze in all its lurid ugliness by the soft and tender touches of an exquisite artist. The narration of details and sketches is not only not boring but positively attractive and gripping. There is a fascinating charm in the simplicity of Shri Karanth's style without any extraneous imposition of scintillating ornament and jewellery.

V. B. NAIK

TELUGU

RAJANIPRIYA : By Guntur Satyanarayana, M.A. Printed at Vasanta Press, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 87. Price Re. 1-4.

This romantic poem introduces a fast moving tale of good dramatic possibilities. The theme, set against a moral background, centres round the life of an orphan girl, Rajanipriya—the heroine of the poem. It may be said that the ingeniously worked out climax shows the fine insight of the promising author.

Mr. Satyanarayana portrays conflicting personalities like Thoraman and Rajani, shrewdly and skilfully. One significant feature about the characters is that they are all intensely human.

Considering the youthful spontaneity of the verse form, it can be warmly recommended to all lovers of poetry.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

ANIL KUMAR : By Dr. M. O. Suraiya. Printed at the Shashank Printing Press, Bombay. 1943. Velvet-bound cover. Pp. 169. Price Rs. 6.

With numerous photographic pictures of young Gujarati educated ladies, who have given their opinions on Dr. Suraiya's work, this *Samashloki* rendering into Gujarati of Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*, adds one more volume to those already published by him compared in the same lines, as here. Dr. Suraiya is a Muslim, and therefore the greater the credit for composing such verses which require a wide knowledge of Gujarati vocabulary. The set-up is excellent.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Race Prejudice : A Two-Edged Sword

Although race prejudice is one of the most universal attitudes, very few people seem to understand just what it really is. Dr. Oliver C. Cox observes in *The Aryan Path* :

The crux of this problem seems to inhere in the difficulty of distinguishing race prejudice from other conflict or social-distance attitudes common among all peoples. It is well known, for instance, that any organized social group will ordinarily tend to think of itself as better than other groups. And sometimes the basis of the favourable estimate may appear exceedingly trivial. The sociologists have called this tendency of a people to judge all others according to its own standards ethnocentrism. Sometimes ethnocentrism is mistaken for race prejudice.

Then, too, there is the separative attitude known as intolerance. Intolerance is probably known among all peoples ; and it may engender violent conflicts between groups living in one society. The expression of intolerance will always become apparent when a subordinate group attempts to reject some aspect of the culture which the dominant group deems vital to the peaceful continuance of the social order. Some of the most conspicuous examples of intolerance are the antagonistic relationships of the Roman Catholic Church and heretics or Protestants in the later Middle Ages, and the continual antagonism between the Western nations and the Jews. Sometimes, also, intolerance is mistaken for race prejudice.

Then, again, there is caste relationship. The caste system apparently had its beginning in the Vedic days of the struggle for power between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, the resolution of which was the ascendancy of the Brahmans and the ordering of Hindu society principally on a basis of group function. There may be extreme forms of social distance, frequently called impurity, existing between caste and caste, and this has been mistaken for race prejudice. Indeed there is a convinced school of race relations, especially in the United States, which believes that race relations are caste relations. This school, however, has been rather more spectacular than creative.

All these types of social attitudes—ethnocentrism, intolerance, caste distance—may generate apparently the same conflict emotions between groups, but they should not be assumed to be identical because of this.

What, then, is race prejudice ?

To answer this question we should clearly realize that race prejudice was unknown to the world before about 1492, the period when Europeans, white people, began to move into the countries of the coloured peoples of the world for the purpose of exploiting them and their resources for a financial profit. Race prejudice developed gradually from the days of the Portuguese adventurers of the fifteenth century to the modern age of German Fascism.

When the Portuguese began to move into the lands of the coloured peoples to exploit them according to the principles of the nascent capitalism, Europe did not know race prejudice. It had, however, well-developed attitudes of intolerance. As a consequence, the degradation of Moors and Africans was justified in terms of

religious intolerance ; thus the early relationship of Africans and Europeans involved only the rudimentary beginnings of race prejudice. The captured Africans who became servants in Portugal and in Spain were conceived of as heathens or infidels, not as innately inferior human beings. Therefore they were rather readily converted ; and, upon this, they became Christians of full status in society.

Of course, to convert a man was to lose the right to exploit him as a slave ; in the bringing of souls into the service of God the exploiter's pocket-book tended to be affected adversely. The conflict of interests had to be resolved, and the immediate problem was that of bringing God to the side of the pocket-book. In the West Indies, the Spanish priest Las Casas, champion of the Indians, opposed their enslavement, but the mine and plantation owners argued that only through enslavement could the Indians be converted to Christianity. And so, in the process of converting them, all the Indians of the West Indies were exterminated.

The next great step in the development of race prejudice was taken principally among the Anglo-Saxon capitalists.

The problem of conversion always limited the exploitative freedom of the capitalists but the northern Protestants were hardly restrained by the old religious views. First, they argued that even if the coloured person was converted to Christianity, he would not, because of that fact, be relieved from his duty to be a slave. Then they evolved the grand philosophy that the coloured peoples were incapable of cultural conversion. At least, they developed scientists to show that the coloured peoples possessed only lower degrees of capacity for cultural conversion, which meant that they were innately inferior, a fact which justified their continued exploitation by the superior white race.

Race prejudice is an attitude developed almost exclusively among white people for the purpose of facilitating the capitalistic exploitation of the coloured peoples of the world.

It insists that the coloured people are inferior, but the basis of this insistence is the capitalist need for exploitation.

Of course, we do not mean to say that only white people have the capacity for race prejudice. What we mean is that it is among Europeans that the tremendously dynamic system, capitalism, developed ; and that Europeans carried this system, in person, all over the world. The Europeans organized the world for race prejudice. If we see the real basis of race prejudice, its exploitative basis, it should become clear that none of the coloured people had race prejudice for whites when the first contacts were made.

In fact, no coloured people today are race-prejudiced against whites in any part of the world for, wherever whites live among coloured peoples, the whites are the exploiters.

By about 1900 the Anglo-Saxons had achieved undisputed mastery of the world. But there were other white people, the Germans particularly, who were developing a philosophy of racial superiority and the terrible means of implementing that philosophy. Almost all the coloured people of the world and their resources had been divided up among the Europeans and

And even the justification for this being that white people are the superior race of the world.

In theory the Germans proved to themselves that they were fundamentally successful. Hence they proceeded to develop new leadership and, finally, with an outspoken ambition to rule the world as a super-race, they plunged Europe into a second catastrophe, making it an earthly inferno for Europeans themselves. And the end is not yet—race prejudice is indeed a two-edged sword.

India and Britain

K. M. Munshi observes in *The Social Welfare* :

The Parliamentary delegation is in India to establish contacts and collect firsthand impressions of the Indian situation. One of them, Rev. Dr. Sorensen at any rate, for years has been the most outspoken friend of India in Parliament. To doubt its *bona fides* is therefore both unfair and impolitic.

In considering our national problems the implications of the international situation in Asia are generally forgotten. Russia is within striking distance of India. South East Asia is in a ferment. Turkey, Iraq, and Iran are menaced by Russia. Britain, therefore, in its own interests, must stabilise the international situation in Asia. This, the Britishers know, cannot be done without consolidating the Commonwealth by bringing in a contented and free India as a partner sufficiently powerful to resist aggression.

A vital bond, under these circumstances, links us to England. We cannot place the strength and integrity acquired during the last century at the mercy of a third world war. Before the next trouble starts a National Government in India, fully equipped and assisted by Britain, must emerge as a self-controlled unit of international strength. To that end India and Britain must bend themselves.

It is therefore of the highest moment that Britain and India should come to a closer understanding. The elections are a foregone conclusion. The Congress stands for the whole National India, that is India except the League and the Communists.

India is denied the gift of international awareness. The alliance of the League and the Communists is not accidental. It is not innocent. Before now I have drawn attention to the fact that Russia favours Pakistan. The Pakistan issue is to inscrutable Moscow a promising egg, from which a bird will some day emerge leading the Soviet to the port of Karachi. That the League may never dream of such a thing, or that the Indian Communists may love India too well and Russia too little is entirely irrelevant.

But ironically enough the League will, in these elections, come to represent substantially the Muslim opinion in Hindu provinces and a section of Muslim opinion in Muslim Provinces. If I can foresee, the League will not be able to form a compact ministry in more than one or two out of the four Muslim Provinces. Unless the Congress in the Punjab behaves with unexpected tactlessness there is likely to be a Coalition Ministry in the Punjab and also in Sind.

The central fact is that the Amery-ite formula that no political progress will be permitted in India unless Mr. Jinnah lifts his veto has done incalculable harm to the country.

Mr. Jinnah claims India's disruption. He claims Pakistan, not of purely Muslim areas but of large Hindu areas including Assam, a Hindu Province; a Muslim State of 103 millions in which 44 million will be non-Muslims; of a quasi-theocratic state for the

claim is to have a State according to the Shariat—in which there will be more than 40 per cent of religious serfs. This is a claim which can never, never be conceded.

India cannot afford to be disrupted. If it is, the internal communal rivalries will flare up as an international issue which must precipitate a world war on the soil of India.

If, therefore, the British stick to the Amery-ite veto, no solution is possible. The Congress must in the nature of things make yet another attempt—and this time a much more formidable attempt—to get the British to 'Quit India.' National India cannot wait on Mr. Jinnah's pleasure. If Mr. Jinnah sees light, a solution is easily possible. But he will not, perhaps he dares not. He may count on the traditional horror in which the British bureaucrat holds the Nationalists in India. But if Mr. Jinnah stands out, will the Congress agree to form a National Government within the ambit of British international influence? The Congress is a marching, fighting machine; it is traditionally anti-British. And once on a march, it becomes difficult for it to resist its native fighting impulse—unless at the behests of Gandhiji. He alone, of all leaders, knows when to fight and when not. In any settlement, therefore, his influence is of supreme value. The Simla Conference augured well for an Indo-British alliance. It is a pity that its atmosphere was allowed to deteriorate. The recent contacts between Gandhiji and the Viceroy and Mr. Casey hold out promise of friendliness. Neither Britain nor national India can do without a mutual alliance.

Of any settlement an All-India Federation of power is the first essential. India can never be a strong and free member of the international community without it.

The integrity of Indian frontiers cannot be disturbed. The States cannot be allowed to drift away as

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floating islands of foreign territory. Under no conditions can we have Pakistan, unless—unless we are insane enough to open the flood gates of international horrors in our land.

What internal adjustment can be made within the framework of such a federation is a matter of give and take.

But these internal adjustments are of minor importance, though they may look to us otherwise. So long as political changes are kept pending before us, as has been done by Britain for the last thirty years, the internal situation cannot settle down.

Hence, Britain must take a decision which in the light of the world situation must necessarily take the following shape.

First and foremost, India as a whole must be definitely and finally provided with an iron framework of a Federation, wholly Indian, in personnel and with plenary powers over external affairs, defence, communications and Tariff and Income tax.

Secondly, the Federation must be invested with full independent status under the Westminster Statute in the field of international affairs with a machinery for settling and maintaining inter-Commonwealth adjustments.

Thirdly, a constituent assembly should be set up with full power to adjust the international structures within the framework of such a Federation.

Fourthly, a transitional government should be set up representing the Provinces and the States to carry on the Federation on the one hand and usher in the adjustments on the other.

A Short History of the Geological Survey of India

The Geological Survey of India completes in 1945 just a hundred years of its existence. The history of the Geological Survey of India is linked up with the modern coal mining industry. A. K. Ghosh writes in *Science and Culture* :

During the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings, Messrs Sumner and Heatley (1774) obtained the first permission to carry out coal mining at a place near Sitarampur. At that time coal used to be sent by boats from Raniganj to Amta and thence to Calcutta. From 1845, coal began to be transported by rail from Raniganj. The Jharia coal field was leased in 1858.

The demand for coal grew up as railways and steamships began to be introduced in India, and anticipating this demand, a Coal Committee was formed by Lord Auckland in 1836, which recommended in 1845 for 'a Geological Survey of the Coal Formation of India', to the Court of Directors in London, with the approval of the Bengal Government.

Mr. D. H. Williams of the Geological Survey of Great Britain was sent out to India immediately as Geological Surveyor to the Hon'ble East India Company. Mr. Williams with the help of two assistants examined the Raniganj coal-field, and extended his survey to the Ramgarh field in 1847, Karanpura coal-field in 1848 and thus laid the foundation for a Geological Survey of India.

He was succeeded by Dr. Thomas Oldham, Director, Geological Survey of Ireland, in 1851, who was designated Superintendent, Geological Survey of India. Oldham recruited H. B. Medicott in 1854, and Blanford brothers in 1855. The office of the survey up to this time was housed in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1, Park Street, Calcutta). In 1856, No. 1, Hastings Street, Calcutta, was rented to locate the office of the Survey and a Museum of Economic

Geology. Oldham, with true Gaelic characteristics, converted the Survey into a colony of Irish men, with a total strength of 12 officers. But in spite of such tendencies, Oldham was sympathetic to the Indian aspirations and had introduced the system of training Indian assistants.

Between 1857 to 1876, several eminent geologists joined the Department, e.g., W. King, R. B. Foote, F. R. Mallet, A. B. Wynne, F. Stoliczka, V. Ball, A. Waagen, R. Lydekker and O. Feistmantel, the paleontologist.

Dr. Oldham retired in 1876, after 25 years service, when the Department had 15 geologists.

It was largely due to Oldham's energy and ability that the Indian Museum in Chowringhee was erected and thrown open to the public in January 1877.

The amount of information collected during his tenure was later compiled and produced as the official *Manual of the Geology of India*, in four volumes, written by Medicott, Blanford, Ball and Mallet.

Mr. H. B. Medicott, F.R.S., succeeded Oldham as Superintendent in 1876. New recruits included L. Griesbach, R. D. Oldham (Dr. Oldham's son), P. N. Bose (1880), La Touche, C. S. Middlemiss, F. Noetting, the paleontologist. In 1885, the designation of Superintendent was changed to that of Director, Geological Survey of India, and grades for Superintendents, Deputy Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents, adopted in place of first, second, and third grade assistants. Medicott retired in 1887 after 33 years of service.

Medicott was succeeded by Dr. William King in 1887 and the latter retired in 1894 (at the age of 60) after completing 37 years of service in the Geological Survey. He discovered the Singareni Coal-field which has brought considerable revenue to the Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1893, R. D. Oldham published the second edition of the *Manual of Geology of India* what remained a standard work on Indian Geology, for a long time. During King's time, P. N. Datta (1888) and T. H. Holland (1890) joined the Department.

Mr. C. L. Griesbach succeeded Dr. King in 1894, when there were 12 geological officers in the Department. New recruits during his tenure included H. H. Hayden, E. W. Vredenburg, L. L. Fermor and G. H. Pilgrim.

To sum up, the Geological Survey was established in 1845, was put on a sound footing in 1856, reorganized in 1885 and had made initial surveys of the important minerals before 1902.

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the Department possessed 6 specialist mineral experts, e.g., Maclaren for oil, Simpson for coal, etc., and was prepared for a big utilisation drive. The Government of India at that time, however, did not agree to this utilisation work and stripped the Department of its personnel by turning the experts into simple mining inspectors. The Department of Mines being established in the same year.

At this time, the only place where Geology was seriously taught was in Calcutta, due to the efforts of Sir Thomas Holland.

Sir Thomas Holland (then T. H. Holland) succeeded Griesbach as Director in 1903 at the early age of 35. He superseded P. N. Bose who joined eight years earlier and P. N. Datta who had joined two years earlier. The number of officers at that time was 14, including 2 Indian sub-assistants.

P. N. Bose felt the injustice of supersession so strongly that he retired from the Geological Survey the same year (1903).

In a way this led to great and unexpected happenings. He was engaged by the enlightened Maharajah of Mayurbhanj as State-geologist, and in course of his geological expeditions, surveyed more critically the Garumahisani iron deposits (Hematite Ores) in the jungles of Mayurbhanj, which had been previously discovered by him. He now found the deposits to be the richest in the world. At that time Mr. J. N. Tata was negotiating for the establishment of iron and steel industry in the C. P.; it is said that Mr. P. N. Bose met Tata accidentally in a railway train, while travelling together, and could convince the latter that the present Jamshedpur site was far better for such an industry. The rest of the story is well known.

In a way, Mr. Bose's supersession proved a boon to the country for had he continued for a few years in the Geological Survey of India, his knowledge could not have been made available to the Tatas.

Both the Indian officers who were superseded in their claims on directorship were men with the highest academic record, and had achieved great reputation in their lines by their solid work in C. P., Burma and elsewhere. They naturally resented the injustice done to them, and gave vent to their feelings before the Islington Commission on public services in 1914.

To P. N. Datta, India owes a deep debt of gratitude for the discovery of many important manganese ore deposits in the Bhandara and Chhindwara districts in the Central Province, as early as 1893-94. But his discoveries were never made public by the departmental authorities till Sir Lewis Fermor (then Dr. Fermor) with a true scientific spirit acknowledged the valuable discoveries of Datta in the field of scientific exploration. Dr. Fermor writes:

"The fact of the existence of manganese ores in this district (Chhindwara) seems to have been first noticed by Mr. P. N. Datta of the Geological Survey of India, who, while mapping the valley of Kanhan river in the cold season of 1893-94 discovered the deposit of Kachi-Dhana, the most valuable in the district and noticed fragments of one on the ground three-fourth mile South-west of Khairi on the Kelod-Sausar Road . . . Nothing more was heard of these deposits till the late Mr. A. M. Gow Smith, when prospecting in the year 1902, re-discovered both the above."

But for this statement of Fermor the discoveries of P. N. Datta would have possibly remained in the oblivion.

In his evidence before the Islington Commission Mr. Datta has quoted Holland about the ability of P. N. Bose: "Mr. Bose retired on 1st December, 1903, after service of over 23 years and had the satisfaction of knowing that in his last year's work, he has put the country in possession of a piece of property which, without counting his other services, is sufficient to balance the total expense to Government."

Thomas Holland retired early in 1910 and was succeeded by H. H. Hayden.

In 1910, the Cadre of the Department was increased to one Director, six Superintendents, twenty Assistant Superintendents and five Sub-Assistants. New recruits during Hayden's time included H. S. Bion, C. S. Fox, H. Crookshank, E. L. G. Clegg, D. N. Wadia, G. V. Hobson and J. A. Dunn.

Sir Henry Hayden was succeeded by Sir Edwin Pascoe in 1921. During Sir Edwin's tenure the Raniganj and Jharia coal-fields were re-surveyed geologically on the scale of 4 inches to a mile. Generally survey had so far been conducted on the scale of one inch to four miles. New recruits included A. L. Coulson, E. R. Gee, W. D. West, M. S. Krishnan, S. K. Chatterjee, J. B. Auden, V. P. Sondhi, H. L. Chhibber, P. K. Ghosh, and M. R. Sahni.

Sir Edwin Pascoe was succeeded by Sir Lewis Fermor as Director in 1932. At this time the budget grant to the Geological Survey amounted to Rs. 6 lakhs a year and the same amount is being voted on Geological Survey even today. Sir Lewis retired in 1935 and was succeeded by Dr. A. M. Heron. Sir Cyril Fox succeeded Dr. Heron in 1939.

During Sir Cyril's tenure, the World War II commenced and this led to the establishment of the utilization branch of the Geological Survey of India (sponsored by Sir Cyril) at a huge cost to assist in the war efforts. A number of geologists were added to help in the exploration of several unexplored areas in search of new minerals and co-operation of the Universities was sought for mineral investigation. This became imperative after the fall of Burma. Sir Cyril retired in 1943 and was succeeded by Dr. E. L. G. Clegg. The latter died in 1944, when Dr. H. Crookshank succeeded him. For some mysterious reason and since the improvement of the war situation, the utilization branch is retrenched involving a huge loss of money to the Government. This department to some extent showed the way to the industrialists, the scope and importance of research in minerals, etc.

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Wanted a Sociological Institute

Sociology means scientific study of human life in organised communities. In an article under the above caption in the *Behar Herald*, M. C. Samaddar says :

According to holy books, society is a divine award on man which he gets as a going concern and his privileges and responsibilities to the group interest are laid down in the scriptures which can be disobeyed only at great peril to the life after death.

It was early in the 19th century with the beginning of modern science that the study of man himself in the light of cause and effect relationship in Nature began to press itself.

Auguste Comte was the father of the word sociology. In 1839, he propounded that the phenomena of social life are included within the unity of Nature and are subject to inevitable natural laws. In this definition social laws lifted from the supernatural guardianship came to be placed within the boundaries of natural causation.

These laws discovered that human behaviour has nothing divine in it but is based on the gross promptings of man's physical constituents, the central point of which is self-preservation. In other words, defence against the forces of disintegration that assail his innate desire to exist.

The old idea of Hobbes and his successors, that the human society was the outcome of a reasoned choice yielded place to the conception based on the obvious analogy between the social behaviour of man and certain animals according to which the grouping is more due to an instinctive attraction of like for like as inherent in nature.

To understand the social structure of Man, we must understand Man first.

In the last analysis we can reduce him to a unit of self-defence. His activities radiating from this urge flows into various channels and at the end we find him either as one who has won or one who has lost. In the former case he passes into new adventures and in the latter he awaits either extinction or resurrection on a new plane.

The evolution of species, according to Darwin, is subject to a law of natural selection, but Herbert Spencer puts it as survival of the fittest. Whatever it is, the ascent is worked through a blind law of Nature in which Man as others are subject to a uniform treatment.

Given the first spark of progress in the desire to exist which in other words being self-defence, the human society at its core is nothing other than the expression of instinctive desire on a collective plane.

But again under the law of survival of the fittest there will be some going ahead and some falling behind. It is thus human societies are being split up on the broad basis of classes, which holding antagonistic interests against each other recoil on human progress as a whole.

As human behaviour is fundamentally subordinate to Nature's law we have to investigate the matrix of man in relation to the law of Nature operating on him.

Instead of emphasising on his free choice either to be good or bad, we must apply ourselves to the finding of causal state in his behaviour so that, where necessary, efforts may be made to remove a causal state. This will be the proper way to address to the subject.

Sociology aims at this study, it therefore comprises studies in a series of complementary subjects which may be broadly classified as Geology, Biology, Anthropology, Social psychology and studies in social institutions and development of political philosophy and political economy.

It is being mooted to found an Institute of Sociology at Patna and elsewhere. The Institute that we propose to start will stimulate and disseminate these studies. While these subjects must be approached compartmentally for specialized studies they may also be co-ordinated and correlated by the Institute in a single whole to make up a natural history of Man, with special reference to his origin, growth and development against the Indian background.

Mr. H. G. Wells has done pioneering work in this direction in his History of the World but his being a study in a world canvass it necessarily misses many of the essential life lines in the mosaic growth of Man. The Institute, therefore, proposes to direct its studies with special reference to the Indian scene. As Mr. Wells suggests, we must approach the study of Man at the genesis of life and how by way of the remote past he has developed to the present day.

The world of ours that we see today around us has progressed by bits in a slow process of accumulation. Consider the case of iron. It brought with it all the possibilities of war and peace. It meant to its owners better weapon which they could either wield for peace or for war. The old mode of life with its introduction at once gave place to new. Social disintegration followed and a new order took the place of the old.

These epochal disturbances constitute the landmark of our history.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Problem of Great Cities in the Atomic Age

John Haynes Holmes observes in the Editorial Comments of *Unity*:

Oswald Spengler declared that the great city was the disease of civilization. When the great city, or metropolis, appeared, to feed its cancerous growth upon the helpless countryside, it was the sure sign that the end of civilization was approaching. To prevent the appearance of great cities, or to extirpate them when they appear, would seem to be the answer to our besetting question as to how to save society from decay and dissolution. It may be that this answer, never yet voluntarily accepted, will now be forced upon us by the atomic bomb. Already an engineer has risen up to tell us that there is no defense against the bomb except to go underground. If war is to continue, then our great cities must be abandoned and their populations scattered. Huge excavations must be made under our mountain ranges, and our industries there buried away. It would seem to be easier and less costly to do away with war! But man has never been willing to forego this ghastly luxury. Now he has in his hands the weapon of final and total destruction, and there remains nothing to do but disperse our vast concentrations of human beings and thus begin anew. But where are we going to find mountains high enough, or dig holes deep enough, to protect mankind from the atomic bomb? The present explosive is nothing—only one-tenth of one per cent of the energy hidden in uranium 235. A French physicist has declared that the ultimate bomb will disperse energy 200,000,000 times that of the highest explosive now known. This should be sufficient to split the planet. So that our mighty caves beneath the mountains might well become our graves. But, putting aside such cataclysmic speculation, it would seem to be at least elementary that our present cities and industrial centres must be abandoned. Look at what we were able to do to German cities and centers with ordinary bombs. A whole nation was turned into an ash-heap. Now add to that atomic bomb—and what will there be left. A new age has indeed begun. This atomic age seems now only to be a threat of such proportions as to be paralyzing. But perhaps—so strange are the ways of fortune!—it may bring healing and redemption. The elimination of our great cities, hitherto our curse, may be a symbol of change which will in the end deliver us. One thing is certain—we cannot continue to live as we have been living. We must begin all over again. A new system of thought and life must match the new and awful power now suddenly in our control. Time seems as though to pause these days, to see what man will do.

Who Shall Lead the World?

It would be interesting to read the following remarks in the Editorial Comments of *The Catholic World* under the above caption:

Well, then, if we are not fit to be moral leaders of the world, what other nation is? Woodrow Wilson in his "too proud to fight" days declared that the nations of Europe were "all tarred with the same stick." Some may have been tarred more deeply, and others not so deeply, but in no case was the tar thin enough to be concealed by a coat of whitewash. They all made use

of the lie, the smear and the secret treaty as instruments of diplomacy; they continued to use those methods as weapons of warfare. They did not desert during the interlude—the tragically brief interlude between the two world wars. They laughed at Woodrow Wilson's idealism, ran diplomatic rings around him, and at the sessions of the League in Geneva played politics with a view to promoting their own interests, regardless of the desperate need of world-rehabilitation.

The only country which would perhaps make some pretense to moral superiority over the others is Britain. But on the continent—say rather on three continents—Britain's reputation is that of the hypocrite, the nation whose high-hatted diplomats play low-browed politics—gracing their actions with an appearance of gentility and aristocratic distinction. Some snooty American Anglophiles pretend that the only people who look upon the English as hypocritical and perfidious are the Irish. Nonsense! All Europe, Asia and Africa have the same opinion. Ask the Arabs. For that matter ask the Jews. Ask the Iranians. Ask the Poles, for whose freedom Britain solemnly declared herself bound to fight. Ask the Indonesians in Java. Ask the French what they think of the English explanation of Dunkirk. Ask the Belgians their opinion of England's criticism of their King. But we need not call the roll of nations. Not one of them would receive with anything but scorn the suggestion that Britain be their moral leader.

For putting that paragraph on paper I shall as usual be smeared with the epithet, "Anti-English!" or with the viler epithet "Irish"! But I have only said what all the world knows. Right or wrong, correct or incorrect, the world opinion of Britain is unflattering. It would be more to the point if those who deny that statement were to prove that Europe, Asia and Africa do trust Britain and would welcome her as their moral leader. That will take some proving. It is quicker and easier to cry "Anglophobe!"

Where Stands the World?

The following is reproduced from the Foreign Periodicals section of *The Catholic World* wherein we find the fine thoughtful lines quoted from an article that appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* (London) August 18th, 1945:

The world has lived through nearly two weeks of mingled awe and relief as climax to six years of agony. An aggressive Empire has crumbled at a blow from a new force of destruction; and even as men draw back and murmur, "Peace, at last!" they gaze with strange surmise at the prospect opened, like Dr. Faustus standing on the brink of everlasting power or everlasting ruin.

Be thou on earth as Jove is in the sky,
Lord and commander of these elements.

A note of fear and wonder is woven with the well-earned rejoicing that the fighting has ceased, that men may return to the humane duties and graces of life, that the spirit of freedom has triumphed in its mightiest contest, that an order of tyranny running counter to man's nature has been destroyed in the conflict it invoked. There is thanksgiving for deliverance and the tribute of tears, reverence and gratitude for the brave who paid the sacrifice and for those who won through

and whom we long to welcome home. Yet apprehension merges with hope in our contemplation of the world ~~we~~ will have to refashion. The atom bomb has carried the problems of peace into strange zones of speculation. Has it opened before the nations a terrifying abyss, or does it hold the promise of salvation that will change the spirit of the world? In these early days of our astonishment, when the one certainty is that a fresh element has entered the ferment at work in social and international affairs, the answers that come from experts and laymen are diverse and as fanciful as they are confusing. One matter stands clear: if the human race is still in its infancy, the child now has in its hands either the most dangerous or the most promising of its endlessly novel playthings. The scientists' curiosity concerning the nature of things has outrun their expectations—and outrun the world. They themselves—some of whom, aware of the child's caprices, had hoped that their diligent search for the secret of the atom might prove a lost endeavour—seem now to be begging us to realize that the atom is the Lord's and fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. And in their turn they are challenged by the fearful, who ask how far these things are lawful and whether, with the tragical history of Dr. Faustus again in mind, they are too deep for "forward wits" to practise "more than heavenly power permits." The story of the steel tower that "vaporized" when the test bomb proved its appalling effectiveness in a Mexican desert, establishes itself most curiously as a Shakespearian annotation. Was it the forward conjecture of a great prophetic mind, or was it, as its vividness suggests, the transcript of a dream that had visited the poet when he wrote:

The cloud-capp'd tower, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve;
And like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind.

It is time to ask where the world stands. The discussion can be taken out of the region of scientific speculation—a somewhat uneasy region at present, for the claims and doubts at the moment maintain a balance—on to ground which affects our lives immediately. It is customary to talk of the neutrality of science; but there is, and can be, no neutrality when armaments of war are paramount and national claims are backed by pleas of necessity that rule out simplicity, truth and the standards of good and evil given to us by Christ. We have been horrified witnesses of the unneutrality of science. Willingly or not, it has been harnessed to the State and its purpose of serving human needs frustrated in nearly every field except the medical. The scientist protests in vain . . . Professor Soddy, who is one of the originators of the theory of atomic disintegration, warned us years ago of the frightful use that might be made of the secret power for which he and Lord Rutherford were seeking.

Bitter enlightenment may be the way to sanity. Peace lovers and aggressors alike have ample room and scope to-day to trace the character of ruin. Those who dismissed the ideal of the brotherhood of man as a sentimental dream are, momentarily at least, in agreement with the dreamers. Brotherhood is proving an inevitable condition of life's security. The choice is peace or the end of human organisation in any form we have known or have thought of hitherto. The atom bomb has given us a glimpse of the truth that if man is the pinnacle of the universe the position is becoming too dizzy for his comfort . . . To ensure the endurance of peace an alert conscience is demanded of the citizen, and of his statesmen a deep conviction that the pursuit of an irenic policy transcends the romanticism of national doctrines. Now the atom bomb has rendered obsolete the recognized paraphernalia of war we may find the wisdom and the beauty of the divine command "to be likeminded one toward another."

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BRANCHES ALL OVER INDIA

Iran

M. Sergeyev in his Travel Notes on Iran narrates in *New Times* :

It is 480 kilometres from Isfahan to Shiraz. The locality, especially at first, is reminiscent of what one meets with on the road from Teheran to Isfahan—the same bare, sunscorched mixture of prairie and desert, and the same barren and lifeless mountains. Then the scene grows somewhat more picturesque. The plateau rises still higher. The mountain ranges are more numerous and in the valleys between them one more frequently comes across cultivated fields, orchards and verdant trees.

By midday, after having driven about 300 kilometres, we reached the small village of Dehbid, lying at an elevation of nearly 2,500 metres. We decided to stop here to rest and refuel. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company has its filling stations all along the road, at intervals of 80-150 kilometres.

The small, dark clay-built teahouse where we stopped for refreshment soon began to fill with people. Besides the proprietor, there was the local manager of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the officer commanding the small military force stationed in Dehbid, several Arabs belonging to local tribes, clad in long upper garments which reached to the floor and wearing arms and bandoliers, and the local khan. Ragged peasants and children crowded around the entrance. The khan proved to be a distant relative of Naser Khan, leader of the Kashgai tribes. He told us that we were the first people from the Soviet Union he had ever met. He invited us to dine with him on his estate.

After a three hours' stay in Dehbid, we resumed our journey, following the left bank of the River Pulwar. In the valley of Marvdasht this river empties into the Kur (Bandamir), which in its turn flows into Lake Niz (Bakhtegan), which lies east of Shiraz.

This region is inhabited by Arabs of the Hamse tribes. Farther to the South live the Kashgai tribes. The Kashgais wear the same long-skirted garments as the Arabs, and a characteristic cap with upstanding side flaps, looking like exaggerated ears. We frequently met people, chiefly Arabs and Kashgais, armed with modern rifles. We were convinced by the evidence of our own eyes that the reports that the Southern tribes were arming, that the Kashgais, Bakhtiars, and the Arab and other tribes possess large numbers of rifles, machine pistols and other firearms, were true.

Replying to a question in the Mejlis on March 4, 1945, Bayat, the then Prime Minister, stated that the tribes secured their arms partly when the Iranian army disintegrated in August 1941, and partly by contraband. We were told by many that modern weapons of foreign make are delivered to the South-Iranian tribes through the Persian Gulf on sailing vessels from Koweit, the Bahrein Islands and Oman. In April 1945, General Arfa, Chief of the Iranian General Staff, stated at a meeting of officers of the Teheran garrison that at that time the Southern tribes had about 50,000 rifles. Remembering that the entire Iranian army consists of about 90,000 men, including noncombatants and raw recruits, and that, furthermore, the nomad tribesmen are trained to be proficient horsemen and marksmen from childhood one can readily see that the armed tribes represent a force little, if at all, inferior to the Iranian infantry and cavalry. The tribes, to be sure, are still without tanks and aircraft, yet, in the clashes between tribesmen and the Iranian troops in the summer of 1943, it was the troops that got the worst of it.

It goes without saying that, in a state of affairs like this, the authority of the national government in many of the Southern regions, especially in those inhabited by Kashgais, Bakhtiars and other nomad tribes, is little more than nominal. It is the feudal

khan and the tribal leaders who are the real rulers here.

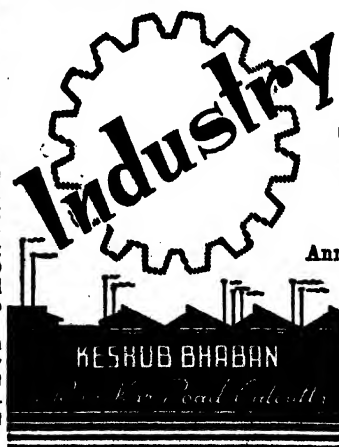
The evening was already well advanced when we drove into Shiraz, the chief town of the province of Fars. It lies in a narrow valley and is ringed in by mountains.

Of all the cities of Southern Iran we visited, Shiraz produces the most favourable impression. It is really very beautiful. The streets in the central part of the city are broad and lined with trees. Shiraz abounds in greenery generally. Especially lovely are the tall, slender cypresses. Shiraz is famed for its gardens; there is scarcely a house without one. Orange and lemon trees grow in the public streets. The slopes of the surrounding hills are covered with vineyards, from the grape of which is made the wine popular in Iran known as Khullar.

Shiraz is one of the old cities of Iran. It is believed to have been founded by the Arabs, and was originally a military camp. It has repeatedly served as the capital of Iran under Kerim Khan Zend (1760-79), who, while he did not assume the title of Shah, was ruler of practically the whole of Iran. Kerim Khan, who has the repute in Iran of not having been a bad monarch, devoted much attention to the improvement of Shiraz. Nearly all the old buildings still in more or less good condition were built in his reign.

During our brief stay in Shiraz we visited the tombs of the poets Hafiz and Saadi situated on the outskirts of the city. Both tombs are surrounded by trees and gardens. They are held in deep reverence and are carefully tended. A small museum is attached to each of them. We also visited the big roofed bazaar, the historical museum, whose exhibits chiefly date back to the reign of Kerim Khan, and several famous gardens, in particular the splendid Jhalili garden, which contains a most diversified collection of flowers not only of Iran, but also of India and other Oriental countries.

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In London, the city of tradition, every civic occasion is attended by ceremonial pageantry. The picture shows Yeomen of the Guard in gorgeous Tudor uniforms carrying the King's Maundy Money, distributed at a special service held in Westminster Abbey every Maundy Thursday—the Thursday before Easter



One of the Yeomen of the Guard is handing long canes to boys of the district for the traditional custom of the "beating of the bounds" of the City of London

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NOTES

Failure and Success

There is a controversy in progress now in which on one side is ranged all the weight of potent and considered opinion of the tried and trusty veterans of Congress, led by Mahatmaji himself and on the other we have the expostulations of the younger generation, impatient of delay and raging against frustration. We have no desire to join issues with either, but we must put on record our misgivings that this continual laying of stress on the heinousness of adopting wrong methods and the lack of success, added the damning with faint praise the spirit that lay behind these endeavours, may have an effect that would be reverse of desirable. It seems to us as if the leaders have not yet attained a full realization of the state of this country after the August 1942, uprisings were crushed by sheer weight of steel and fire. It seemed at that time to us and to all who were placed similarly, as if brute force had triumphed over the rights of a suffering people, whose spirit had been ground down under the heels of armed Imperialism. All the forces of Reaction had been let loose and the British Government, after placing its quislings at the points of vantage all over the Allied World, from Delhi to Washington, had started its propaganda machine going full blast. Truth was at a discount, the defenceless people being unable even to protest against outrages against humanity, through the action of the most rigid censorship, outside of totalitarian lands, that ever obtained a stranglehold on the rights of free speech of a people. The Indian, and in particular the Hindu, was pictured as a snake, reptilian in its grovelling and its venom, that had been foiled in its attempt at striking at the heels of the Galahads of Imperialism. The rest of the world was too busy fighting for existence, and the few who had any sympathy for the oppressed began to get confused and their sympathy started turning into pitiful contempt for the cowed-down underdog. The leaders were in prison and with them were their plans—if they had any. The British had all the arms, all the power—thanks to the Congress resigning at the crucial moment—and control of all the cash in the country. And what is more, they could concentrate against all freedom movements, the U.S.A. and China having taken over the task of fighting Japan for the time being. This in short was the hopeless and grim background against which the

happenings of those vital three years must be viewed.

The Torch of Freedom was flickering spasmodically in the tempest of ruthless repression let loose by those in power, and it seemed that all hope was gone. It was in this atmosphere that the "underground" movement was born inside India and Netaji Subhas Bose started his I.N.A. organisation across the frontiers. We have no desire to challenge Mahatmaji's judgment regarding the methods adopted in both movements, the more so because we know that the Revolutionary and the Terrorist movements bore no fruit because they struck no roots in the masses. But is it correct to say that both these movements were completely barren of results, and that they were unqualified failures? We ask this question because we know definitely that this continuous condemnation is causing confusion and even resentment in quarters that could provide the finest material for nation-building.

It is easy to condemn violence, but it is not so easy to control passions in the face of brutal outrages on humanity. We are obliged to give a rather gruesome picture in this column to illustrate the point of our statement.



The above photo of the dead boy was taken at the Sambhunath Pandit Hospital during the recent Calcutta

disturbances. The name of this child victim, 11 years of age, was Devabrata Das, a junior student of the Jagabandhu Institute. He was *bayoneted* by the Gurkhas of the Calcutta Police in broad daylight on the Chowringhee, the widest street in Calcutta. *This was no case of a stray bullet hitting an innocent victim.* Moreover, this happened before the disturbances rose to a peak and the military were ordered to take over. He was in procession with other school and college boys when they were charged by the Gurkhas with bayonets, and was *left dying on the road*. He died within an hour, after being brought to hospital, *by student volunteers*, still convulsively clutching his text-books. Now this being the cause what could be the effect? We can give illustrations now, but what about the unpublishized thousandfold greater slaughter and repression that prevailed in 1942 and out of which was born the underground resistance movement. What measures had the leaders provided to guide the masses in such eventualities?

The British Cabinet Delegation

Pandit Nehru's comment on the prospects of success of the British Cabinet delegation juxtaposed with the editorial in the "Irish Press" provides the best commentary on the matter. Pandit Nehru said:

We are apt to consider these questions too much in the personal context. I am so often asked what is so and so like and what is your reaction to such and such a person. As a matter of fact, while personal equation counts and does make a difference, in larger problems, one has to consider other impersonal questions. A Lenin probably made all the difference to the Russian Revolution. Nevertheless behind and round about Lenin were mighty factors working for the revolution. Now, therefore, in considering this question of India and England, we should consider it in the context of the world to-day.

We must realise that each country in the final analysis works for its own interests. In the international plane, it only works for what might be considered international interests when they are in harmony with its own interests. So you can take it that the British Delegation will work for the interests of Britain and the Indians who meet them will work for the interests of India. But that is only part of the question. Now what do British interests as they appear to them require to-day? And what do Indian interests from our point of view require?

In the final analysis Britain has to choose between two possible developments. It is inevitable that in the course of the next few years India will be independent, even if Britain opposes it. If India gains her independence in spite of Britain, India for a long time is like to be a country hostile to Britain ranged in a camp hostile to Britain in the world context. On the other hand, if India attains independence more or less immediately by co-operating with the British, it might be possible for Britain to salvage some goodwill as well as other things in India. Therefore, from the British point of view, it may well be to their interests, even in the near future and much more so in the distant future, to recognise Indian independence now than to be forced to recognise it some years later after having lost everything.

Similarly India naturally would prefer a peaceful solution to a solution which entails great deal

of loss and suffering and which might delay India's progress later on in the economic field. The costs of conflict are always great and the heaviest of these costs is the trail of hatred and bitterness that follows. We should like to avoid all this and therefore we should like to do our utmost to have a peaceful solution of India's problem but it is dead clear that that settlement can only be on the basis of Indian independence and on no other. There is a desire and strong urge on both sides to come to a peaceful settlement and it may well be that success comes to us.

On the other hand, there are powerful factors working in a contrary direction.

The most powerful factor working in a contrary direction is the *one hundred and fifty year old tradition in British minds which has putrefied British thinking in regard to India*. Britishers even to-day and even including the Cabinet Ministers of England cannot get rid of their tradition which has eaten into their minds and they still talk of India often enough in a language which smells of a generation or two ago. They forget that they are addressing a sensitive, proud and virile people who will not put up with any patronage or anything smacking of superiority.

It is obvious that India today is a volcano of four hundred million human beings. There are fair chances of some agreement based on independence emerging out of the talks that are to come and even if the chances were less it is the right policy for us to work for such an agreement to the utmost, 'provided always that we stick to our anchor. *It is neither good policy nor statesmanship to enter into any talks with a foreign power or authority after deciding or declaring that the talks are likely to be fruitless.*

The editorial in the "Irish Press" contains the following remarks:

Few will envy the task that has been entrusted to the members of the British Mission. They go to a country which is under the shadow of a famine, whose people have lost all faith in Britain, who no longer believe either in her capacity to govern and govern well or in her promises to quit the country and allow Indians to work out their own salvation.

For whatever may have been the immediate cause that has provoked such incidents as the naval mutiny and outbreaks of violence in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi, there can be little doubt that these things have their ultimate source in the exasperated feelings of the nation whose patience has been tried to the limit of its endurance.

To the world it must seem that Britain's rule in India is standing its last trial. Does Britain also realise this?

In his reply to the Congress resolution condemning the Government for their handling of the naval ratings Mr. Philip Mason said that the Government were aware of the 'electric atmosphere' in India and would take the greatest care to avoid any deterioration of the general situation. It was a conciliatory reply, although vague. Coupled with it, however, was another statement considerably less vague and not at all conciliatory: 'There would be no mass punishments.'

But Government reserved that right to act against those who "must have mislead" the men.

Apparently it required a mutiny before the Government could discover what the men's grievances were or who were their leaders. 'Govern or get out' was the demand of the Congress spokesmen and, indeed, it seems to have come to a state where Britain can no longer maintain the rule of the strong hand and yet is unwilling to go.

Complete anarchy could only result from persisting in that dog-and-manger attitude, and in the recognition of this danger by Britain lay one hope that the forthcoming negotiations will succeed. India will be sceptical and—justly so, since the sad experience of British Missions must cause her suspect that the present one is just another facesaving device. And unfortunately the British Press still behaves as if its intention was to foster such suspicions. It is still harping on the stale, old theme, still eager and willing to grant India independence, if only Indians could agree among themselves, and still reminding Moslems and the Princes that if they want partitioned India, then they must have it. But pending the agreement (of which the British Press is always in despair) Britain must stay in India and see fair-play in enlarging and transforming the Viceroy's Cabinet so that it will appear almost Indian while always reserving the Viceroy's powers. That can hardly be the policy of this, the latest British Mission to India. Else they are going on a fool's errand. Only one thing now can placate India and that is here for them to say that they have come to pack up and go.

We agree with Pandit Nehru that it would be bad policy to enter into negotiations with the delegation after closing all doors against possible solutions. But it must at the same time be impressed on the delegation that India is no longer in a mood to swallow any "tabloid" panaceas made in Britain, after the prescription of British Imperialism. Nostrums that pretend to cure but in reality aggravate the disease, as witness the Ramsay MacDonald Communal Award, should not be considered. Britain must drop the old pretences and try to accept a new orientation in the viewpoint regarding matters that concern India. Pandit Nehru has done well in warning us, but unless some British spokesman has the courage to tell the truth to the British people in the same fashion, no progress would be possible. The *Irish Press* is perfectly correct about the nefarious role of the British Press in general, as may be seen from the following extract from the *Worldover Press Bulletin* for January 2, 1946:

British silence in the press about the aims of the Indian National Congress is another cause of criticism in India. Spokesmen of the big Indian movement complain that British people can hardly be expected to understand, either for intelligent opposition or agreement, what the Congress wants if its program for a regenerated India is squelched so that no body can even read it. It is charged that not even a summary of the Congress's recent manifesto, adopted after careful study, and voicing the aspirations of millions, was published by the British press.

That the Congress is willing to come to the negotiations with an open mind has been clearly declared by its foremost spokesmen. It all depends now on what the Delegation has been empowered to offer and also

on how the British Press and Public view the proposals put forward by us. If all the cards are put on the table, and the negotiations carried on in a forthright fashion, in the true spirit of Post-War Democracy—and not of the Post-war diplomats—then Lord Pethick Lawrence's optimism might well be justified. We on our side must remember that there must be give and take; only that this giving and taking must not be unilateral. And further we must remember that there is one commodity that we are not empowered to offer for barter, and that is Freedom.

R. I. N. Ratings' Revolt

The revolt of Indian Naval ratings in Bombay and Karachi has caused everybody grave concern. While the leaders are trying to do their best, Pandit Nehru flying to the spot, Mahatmaji condemning mob excesses, President Azad seeing the C-in-C. and the matter being discussed in the Central Assembly, the events themselves must be analysed from a clear perspective. The peaceful strike for five days, opening of fire by the military, the inevitable retaliation by armed ratings, the tightening of the pressure of military and police repression, the threat of Vice-Admiral Godfrey, Prime Minister Attlee's declaration at the Commons and Mr. Mason's statement at the Central Assembly and the eventual surrender of the ratings—the whole story has much of dramatic suddenness.

The grievances of the ratings were enumerated in the statement issued by the Central Strike Committee. They have also been mentioned by the War Secretary, Mr. Mason in his statement at the Central Assembly. As the statement of the Strike Committee says, the Indian ratings had been "suffering untold hardships regarding pay and food and the most outrageous racial discrimination."

These seamen had for the last few years been serving in different parts of the world with strong determination and unflinching courage. Hardship and suffering were their lot. They risked their lives to maintain the crumbling props of a sagging imperialism based on exploiting their own land. Still they underwent all these hardships, and their devotion to duty and dauntless courage have been praised even by the British Government. But the benign Britishers did not think it worthwhile to redress the wrongs of the suffering seamen.

The wrongs are of long standing. Poor pay, miserable food and unhealthy lodging had been their reward during the war years. Now that the war has ended, it is only natural that they would ask for a change in their reward. Unfortunately the change comes in the shape of bullets. Prime Minister Attlee announced in the Commons that Royal Navy ships including a cruiser would arrive on the spot and help in suppressing the mutiny, Vice-Admiral Godfrey warned the ratings with typical British bravado: "To continue the struggle is the height of folly when you take into account the overwhelming forces at the disposal of the Government at this time and which will be used to their utmost even if it means the destruction of the navy of which we have been so proud."

Mr. Mason's statement at the Central Assembly throws a flood of light on the nature of British intentions. The Flag Officer Commanding met fourteen ratings who summed up the demands of the ratings. The demands included: no victimisation of the so-called

strikers, speedy demobilisation according to age and service groups with reasonable peacetime employment, immediate disciplinary action against Commander King for the insulting language he used against the personnel of H.M.I.S. "Talwar", best class Indian food, R.N. scales of pay, family allowances, travelling facilities and the use of N.A.A.F.I. stores.

Even from this statement of Mr. Mason we find that the demands were perfectly reasonable and logical. The War Secretary explained that it was impossible in the present state of India's finances to accept the proposal that the wages of Indian service men should be raised to the level of the British service. As a matter of fact, this seemingly plausible excuse cannot explain the matter. How can the authorities account for the sheer breach of their promises they made at the time of recruiting these men. How can they explain the racial discrimination in pay and food during the war? How can they justify the shabby treatment meted out to Indian seamen in regard to lodging and travelling facilities?

Racial discrimination is the one vital issue involved in the whole question. When the American Army and the R.A.F. men went on strike, the treatment meted was different. The questions were settled with eager assurances of redress. There was no Vice-Admiral Godfrey to threaten the strikers with violent measures. Nor did Prime Minister Attlee send a R.N. convoy to root out all trouble.

It is clear that the Government had sufficient time to consider the complaints of the ratings. When Indian ratings ask for the conditions of decent living, it is called 'mutiny.' The reasonable demands are branded as mob enthusiasm, their champions are called hooligans. It is inconceivable to the British official that any Indian native can claim a basis of equality with them in any sphere of life.

But the days of such feudal distinction are over. The ratings revolt points unmistakably to one significant development in world politics. It has shown that the Asiatic races cannot brook any longer this invidious distinction. The accumulation of two centuries of injustice must end in an explosion, and if that leads to excesses, one need not be surprised.

Mr. Mason has assured us that all the seamen would not be victimised, but this may not apply to individual ratings. This is ominous. If individual ratings are victimized for the offence of revolt, more severe punishment must be meted out to those callous, inefficient and unimaginative authorities who precipitated this revolt by their continuous intransigence. A thorough enquiry must be made, and the entire action of the Government must be explained and atoned for by redress of the grievances, punishment of the officers guilty of unnecessary violence, and a total abolition of the system of discrimination. Unless these are done, the event may be a prelude to more undesirable happenings.

The Coming Famine

Even before the shadow of the Bengal famine of 1943 has faded, the spectre of a much more menacing famine is haunting India, which, it is said, will make the former look like a picnic in comparison. Mr. B. R. Sen declared at the Central Assembly at the beginning of the year that India is faced with a terrible food crisis, that there will be a cut in the ration in the provinces, that they could not procure any reserve of food-stuff.

And, he has added, the total import of wheat in 1945 has been only 8,40,000 tons. Since Mr. B. R. Sen's statement there have been quite a number of reports, statements and forecasts, official and non-official, all unmistakably pointing to the inevitability and intensity of the impending famine.

Why this famine, could well be asked. There are, it is said, lessons to be learnt and consolations to be derived from every disaster. From the last disaster the authorities have learnt nothing, but derived one consolation, viz., that it is not necessary in this country to take any steps to avert a catastrophe. After the last famine valuable suggestions were made. But without paying any heed either to Gregory Committee's recommendations or Woodhead Commission's report, the Government found itself more comfortable in the groove of corruption and incompetence. Perhaps Mr. B. R. Sen would like to have us believe that by laying the whole weight of responsibility on Washington and the Monsoons the Government can side-track the issue of inefficiency and criminal neglect of the suggestions and recommendations of even official experts. But the nation must know for what specific reasons the suggestions of the Gregory Committee and the Woodhead Commission were allowed to rot in the pigeonholes of officialdom.

The Gregory Committee said that the question of 'growing more food' apart, it is imperative for the India Government to have an import of 1,000,000 tons of food-stuff every year. A permanent reserve of five lakh tons is the minimum indispensable quantity which can make for successful rationing and procurement. The Committee found no reasons which can account for the Government's inability to maintain this reserve.

'Grow more food' campaign was the Committee's next recommendation. The campaign was started with a lot of paraphernalia in the shape of costly and silly publications and posters, appointment of high-salaried officers called food experts, and starting of Information Bureaus and Publicity Departments. The campaign ended with producing half a dozen sample carrots to be shown about as exhibits when people would be starving. But the main recommendation of the Committee, viz., that fertility of land is to be increased by the use of manure, was relegated to the background. The Committee urged for the manufacture of ammonium sulphate in this country but the Government could not sacrifice the interests of the Imperial Chemical Industries by producing ammonium sulphate in India.

Improvement of the irrigation system was emphasised by all sensible experts on our agricultural problem. Sir William Stamp suggested the simple system of tube-well irrigation in consideration of the fatal delay likely to be made in carrying out large-scale plans. But neither Mr. Sen nor Sir J. P. Srivastava ever felt enthusiastic about the irrigation business.

The other suggestions of the Committee, e.g., prevention of the slaughter of cows, regular supply of cultivators' implements, diminishing the extent of cotton and jute cultivation in order to facilitate the 'grow more food' efforts, met with similar neglect at the hands of the short-sighted and perverse officers who happen to be the arbiters of our fate to-day.

The suggestions of the Gregory Committee were made in July, 1943. In August, 1945, the Woodhead Commission gave its verdict on the happenings in 1943, and in their elaborate report they have pointed out that the Government made no efforts to make any use

of the Gregory Committee's recommendations which, they thought, were most judicious and significant.

The last famine was precipitated by Government bungling, and made worse by the congenital inefficiency and unscrupulous corruptibility of the higher officers and their trader henchmen. When the situation was already serious, the profiteers got a whip-hand, and the days of our misery dragged on with these festering sores. But while the whole Government rank and file from the Governor himself to the local circle officers were too mediocre to cope with the enormity of the situation, or to carry out any successful rehabilitation measure, there was no effort to dislodge the criminals from their pedestals of security. The league of corrupt Government officials and unscrupulous profiteers is a formidable institution. In any free country these people would have been severely punished for their major responsibility in the death of fifty lakhs of helpless men, women and children. Why is not the full story of the rice purchase scandals by Government agents brought to light? The Famine Enquiry Commission wanted the India Government to make a thorough investigation into the serious allegations made against the Government agents for rice purchase. The Central Government did not think it advisable to enter into such an uncomfortable business. Neither did the persons accused of profiteering have the courage to face the allegations made by Dr. S. P. Mookherji and Mr. Fazlul Huq. And to-day we find Sir Nazimuddin, the central figure in the tragedy of 1943, going abroad as an ornamental member of the Food Delegation.

Hunger and death would be stalking abroad in India within a few months. But when we should be preparing to face the crisis, we must also know the precise and undistorted figures relating to the food situation, and the specific reasons for the total neglect of expert recommendations. We must also know what the Government are going to do to mend their ways and why the corrupt officials and profiteers are not brought to book and ruthlessly punished for the inhuman neglect of human lives.

Food and Politics

The coming food crisis has elicited comments from the greatest leaders of the land. Lord Wavell and other government spokesmen have pleaded for not making food a subject for politics. Mr. Jinnah says he does not want to make food a political foot-ball. Gandhiji wants to keep food above politics but at the same time he has asked the Governor-General to bring a National Government into being which alone is capable of solving the food problem. Gandhiji is opposed to making food an object of party politics but he has provided a political solution of a far-reaching nature for averting the impending famine.

We want to put a straight question to Lord Wavell. Is food above politics or has it ever been so during these war years? To us it seems that politics of a very foul nature had been mixed with India's food. The Government knew that India was never fully self-sufficient in respect of food. When they brought armies of British and American soldiers into India, they did not arrange for the import of all the necessary amounts of food. It has now been revealed that the daily ration of British troops in India was nearly five times

that of the civilian ration. In addition, most of the protective food like milk, egg, fish, meat and green vegetables were drained away for the benefit of the military personnel, thus depriving the people of these essentials. The impact of the military need on the population was thus much more than five times their actual number. It was Britain's politics which brought them here and the Government machinery in India was utilised to serve her purpose in the deal.

The politics of the year 1942 paved the way for the series of famines that threaten India. During that year huge stocks of rice had been spoiled as a result of Sir John Herbert's denial policy. Large quantities of rice had been exported in 1942 and 1943 at the instance of the Food Ministry of Britain and in flagrant disregard of the needs of this country. It is well known that in spite of the opposition of the Bengal Ministers, and mostly without their knowledge, food was exported from Bengal at the direction of the British Government.

After the fall of Malaya, many of the rice fields in Ceylon have been converted into rubber plantations in the political and strategic interest of Great Britain. The burden of supplying rice to Ceylon to make up for this deficit was thrown upon India. Food exports to Ceylon have continued since 1942. Exports from Bengal have been made on a replacement basis and the Government claim that they have made up the stock taken away from Bengal, but from the standpoint of the Indian needs this is a dead loss. The replacement of Bengal stock, if made, has been made out of some other provinces' surplus and not from abroad.

It is also common knowledge now that large quantities of foodstuff were exported to Russia and Persia at the time of the battle of Stalingrad in order to meet Great Britain's political commitments and her own needs in Persia. This export was done through the U.K.C.C. behind the backs of the people of the land. Thus, knowing fully well that India was hardly self-sufficient in respect of food, the Governments of Great Britain and India never hesitated to fritter away the slender surplus that was in hand in 1942. The quinquennial agricultural cycle in India is a fact well-known even to the Government experts. They had ample reason to believe in 1942, when they had taken up the load of military consumption and started exporting foodstuffs on political grounds, that of the next five years two or three are bound to be bad. The result of thus dispersing the whole surplus, if no replacements were made in time, would inevitably mean famine and death for millions. This is exactly what has happened. It was Britain's politics, worked through the Government of India, that has deprived India of her surplus stock and it is Britain's politics which still needs export of food to Ceylon, Arab countries, Bahrain Islands, etc. Government of India wants, therefore, to have food out of control of the people's representatives.

Mr. Jinnah's anxiety to keep food "out of politics" is understandable. It was his party that has been the biggest gainer through blackmarketing and profiteering in Bengal, most of which was concerned with the people's food. During the famine, the Muslim League served the purpose of the British Government and made money. Food committees were set up in the districts and village unions which were mostly predominated by the League. Enormous political power was thus handed over to the League which made the people helplessly dependent on them for their food. Several appointments

in the B.C.S. cadre were made on political grounds by the League Ministry acting in the closest collaboration with the representatives of British Imperialism in India. These officials, mostly Circle officers, Sub-divisional officers and Additional Magistrates, were quick to exploit the situation and strengthen the League organisation at the countryside. Money flowed in a stream. The demand for an all-party Government in Bengal during the famine was resisted by the League and the British officials. The Famine Commission Report says, "An all-party Government might have created public confidence and led to more effective action, but no such Government came into being . . . After considering all the circumstances, we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay within the power of the Government of Bengal, by hold, resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took place." Political power in the hands of the people's representatives, acting through an all-party Government, could have prevented much of the rigours of the famine, but Imperialist politics acting in collaboration with League politics prevented it.

We consider Gandhiji's suggestion the best solution for the food problem. Let a National Government responsible to the people be formed at the Centre. Let food be their concern. Famines will stop then and only then. With the apparently innocent cry of keeping food out of politics, the most sinister politics may be played with India's food.

The Problem of Indian India

Indian States are today faced with the exceedingly knotty problem of a vital decision regarding the role they would like to play in the struggle for national emancipation. The decision would be momentous and significant, for it would determine their future role in a free India. The recent address by the Nawab of Bhopal on the occasion of the celebrations of his fifty-second birthday will be welcomed by all progressive elements in the country as a mark of his realisation of the signs of the times.

The Nawab, speaking in his individual capacity as the ruler of Bhopal and not in his capacity as the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, boldly expressed his sense of responsibility at the present juncture. He felt humiliated to think of the present degeneration of our land which had made so great a contribution to human thought and progress. And he had the courage to admit that our misery consequent upon foreign domination was due to a large extent to our weakness. "Does anyone sincerely believe," he asked, "that 400,000,000 people could be denied the right to think and act for themselves, to live their own life, to shape their own national policy and develop according to their own genius and capacity, if they made up their minds seriously and with determination to assume that right?"

The Nawab maintained that he has always been against the idea that we are to accept a settlement of our domestic problems imposed by a foreign government. We must carve out our own freedom by our own efforts. When the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes has the wisdom, courage and foresight to declare, even if in his personal capacity, "If we want protection and

strength let us seek them in the affection and loyalty of our own people," we have every reason to hope that every Indian ruler will give up the ostrich-like policy of blinding oneself to a patent fact. The fact is the sure and obvious liquidation of feudalist power. Addressing a huge gathering at Colonelganj, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared a few days ago, "Feudalist structure in the country is bound to crumble with the rising tide of democracy and political consciousness among the people." And the Chancellor himself is wise enough to point out, "The future would, indeed, be dark if the States were to rely upon foreign support for their preservation through generations to come."

When the Nawab of Bhopal declares unequivocally, "I stand for a free and independent India," we feel that one of the main props of British rule in India is crumbling down. As a matter of fact, it has been the consistent policy of the British throughout its reign in India, to rely on two principles of safety. One is to maintain a solid bloc of reactionary communalists by following the method of divide and rule. The other is to perpetuate a feudal system of autocratic rulers who are the strongest bulwark against any popular rising. The strange combination of the mock parade of provincial autonomy in British India and the continuance of an autocratic tradition in Indian India has been one of the most glaring anomalies of our constitution. The Government was fully complacent that the nominated representatives of the Princes to the upper chamber of the Central Legislature would not sacrifice British interests for any patriotic consideration. But has the time come when the Government should doubt the efficacy of its instrument?

The fact that some Indian Princes are displaying a sense of reality is not surprising. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in addressing the States People's Conference, significantly remarked: "The real balance of power is shifting to the people because the dominant power, the British Government, could not function for long here." If the British Government ceases to function here, the entire fabric of the remnants of mediaeval royalty will be shattered. So, the problem that faces the Princes to-day is to decide and define their function during and after the change. It is no use avoiding the real issue. They must finally make up their mind about this change. How would they react to the transfer of paramountcy from the British Crown to an Indian Executive? How would they react to the devolution of all power on the masses? How would they adjust themselves to a free and democratic India? These questions must be decided immediately and finally. We do not know what transpired in the secret conference held between Mahatma Gandhi, the Aga Khan and the Nawab of Bhopal. The Congress with its stand for *Krishak Majdur Praja Raj* have launched a ceaseless campaign among the States people. The Nawab of Bhopal is wise enough to understand that it is high time that they clearly explained to the Congress their attitude and policy towards the attainment of freedom. His meeting with Gandhiji is rather significant. Let us await the results.

Railway Budget

The Railway Budget for 1946-47 has been presented to the Central Assembly. The budget reveals a net actual surplus of Rs. 49.89 crores for 1944-45, a revised

estimated surplus of Rs. 32.07 crores, after providing for the reserve, for the current year and an estimated surplus of Rs. 12.22 crores for the year 1946-47. The Budget does not hold out any prospect of a relief in rates and fares. On the contrary, it warns the public of the danger of "the wartime legacy of a high level of operating costs and of the commitments of post-war amenities in the face of a level of rates and fares out of tune with the general level of prices."

The Budget provides for (a) the introduction of new designs for lower class passenger coaches which will include sleeping accommodation; no time-table is however set for this programme; (b) the inauguration of a Betterment Fund for financing unremunerative improvements and amenities, both for the public and the staff; (c) the provision of a lump sum of Rs. 2 crores to enable a start to be made with the construction of new lines and re-laying lines dismantled during the war, and (d) a heavy programme of open line rehabilitation work involving an expenditure of Rs. 20 crores.

The Budget, to say the least, is extremely disappointing. The special representative of the *Hindustan Times* reports that there was no cheering even from the official side when the War Transport Member claimed that "generally speaking the railways have delivered the goods." Sir Edward himself felt so infected by the dullness around him that he dropped his voice. The general opinion after his speech was that there was nothing outstanding in the budget and that the creation of a Betterment Fund was only a bit of jugglery.

A study of the Railway Budgets during the war years will convince anybody that in these few years the travelling public have been fleeced to the extent of Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 crores and that profits to this extent have very largely been dissipated.

Sir Edward has stated that orders for 934 broad-gauge engines had been placed abroad of which 733 have been received and put into service. This gives an idea of how Indian money had needlessly been frittered away in making these purchases abroad. The Humphreys-Srinivasan Committee, appointed by the Railway Board, had stated categorically that broad-gauge and metre-gauge engines could be manufactured in India during the war, that the cost would be much cheaper than the imported engines and the production would be economic when the number of engines needed in India every year was considered. Orders for 8,000 wagons have been placed in Canada and 10,000 in U.K. All these wagons also could have been manufactured in India, had timely action been taken.

The whole question of Railway administration in India needs a thorough discussion. The War Transport Member has accepted in principle Mr. K. C. Neogy's suggestion on a cut motion to set up a Committee to examine questions connected with railway management, control, finance, relations between railways and their customers, railway policy regarding development of the country including rates policy and development of railway industries. He has suggested that a Committee should examine how railways have fared under Government management and under the present administration. In replying to Mr. Neogy's cut motion, Sir Edward tried his best to evade the real issue. He said that he had accepted the idea of a Committee but he desired not to be called upon to define its scope in advance. Mr. Neogy's cut motion was passed without division. The railways, during these years, have behaved

very badly with Indian passengers, Indian industrialists and Indian traders. The conditions of travel, rates and fares have all been burdensome and oppressive. It is high time that a thorough enquiry is made.

Sales Tax Agitation in Bengal

For two weeks past, the traders of Bengal have been observing hartal as a protest against the enhancement of the Sales Tax to one anna in the rupee. This tax was first imposed in 1941 and the amount was one pice in the rupee. While imposing the tax, the Bengal Government had explained that it was a temporary measure and as money was needed for nation-building, the proceeds of the Sales Tax would be earmarked for that purpose. In spite of public demand, they did not say what nation-building projects they would like to finance with the proceeds of this tax. The tax was next raised to two pice and the proceeds continued to be arrogated to the general revenues. During the last few months, with the Ministry out of office, there have been two more rises in the tax, first to three pice, then to one anna. It has now become a permanent item in the provincial tax list and all talks of utilising the proceeds for nation-building have ceased. The Government of Bengal now say that there is no question of abolition of the Sales Tax.

The economic bad effects of a high sales tax in one portion of a vast country are well-known. It will divert trade and industry to contiguous provinces where there is no Sales Tax, just as high taxation tends to drive industry out of British India into Native States. But as a burden, it has become terribly oppressive. It brings poorer classes within its ambit and the lower middle class with low fixed incomes are the hardest hit. Only cereals, meat, fish, vegetables, sugar, salt, mustard oil, milk, agricultural implements, fertilisers, yarn, kerosene oil, tobacco, matches, coal and water are the necessities that have been exempted from this tax. Almost every other item of consumption and production are taxed. Articles of daily consumption like dal, spices, clothings, toilet goods, shoe, umbrella, books, exercise books, paper, pencil, nib, ink, etc., are taxed. Raw materials of even handicrafts are taxed. The tax being a fixed imposition, its incidence is lightest for the rich and hardest for the poor. The Bengal Sales Tax is virtually a subterfuge for the Income tax.

The Government of Bengal have earned a notoriety for bribery, corruption and wastage in public expenditure. Even the Auditor-General of India and the Public Accounts Committee of the Central Legislature have repeatedly censured them but the officials here are incorrigible. Crores of rupees of public money have been wasted by the Bengal officials due to mal-administration, bribery and above all, negligence which can certainly be termed criminal. About seven crores of rupees have been frittered away by the Bengal Government in their fantastic boat-building project. About twenty-five crores of rupees are going to be their loss on rice purchase account. In spite of these terrible losses, they have never made any attempt worth the name to recover or retrench. The people of Bengal have every right to demand a total repeal of this iniquitous imposition on the poor, the proceeds of which have been utilised to make up for the deficits incurred through mal-administration.

Unconstitutional Ministry for Sind

The formation of a new Ministry in Sind under the Premiership of Sir Ghulam Hosain Hidayetullah has been condemned all over the country as an unconstitutional act and a gross breach of parliamentary etiquette. Giving reasons for this action, a Government *communiqué* was issued the contents of which boil down to this: (1) that the Governor has discussed the political situation with the leaders of the League and the Coalition Parties as also "with other political leaders," the implication being that all avenues of forming a correct idea as to the true position as it existed, had been exploited prior to the final step being taken, (2) that the elections had led to a tie between the strength of the two parties, namely, the League Party and the Coalition Party and that four members had not attached themselves to either, (3) that the Governor had invited Sir Ghulam to form the Ministry on the ground that he was the leader of the largest party which had contested the elections, as distinct from the party which commanded the largest voting strength in the Legislature, and (4) that two portfolios remain still to be filled and that every effort was now being made to fill them by members of minority community. All attempts to induce the Congress Party to fill these two portfolios have failed.

Mr. G. M. Syed, Leader of the Coalition Party, has given a fitting reply to Sir Francis Mudie, demolishing one by one, the pleas of official *communiqué*. The final position of the parties after the elections was as follows:

Coalition Party	..	..	23
Muslim League	..	..	23
Europeans	..	..	9
Labour Member	..	..	1
			<hr/>
			60

The Governor had carefully avoided contacting the Labour Member who had declared that he would vote with the Congress. In order to maintain the appearance of a tie between the two major parties, this avoidance was inevitable.

As regards the other plea, Mr. Syed says:

There existed no tie between the strength of the two parties. My party commanded a voting strength of 29, including the Labour Member's vote which had been definitely pledged to me in writing and which fact had been duly brought to the Governor's notice by me. As against that, the voting strength of the Muslim League Party was only 23, and one of these 23 members had to lose his right of vote on his elevation to Speakership, which normally must precede all other business. In other words, not only no tie existed between the strength of the two Parties, but it was a case of a majority party of 29 against a minority party with 27 votes to rely upon. Yet, although the Governor had reasons to know that the League Party had not a majority, he had deemed it proper to install in office, the leader of the minority party. Incidentally, this also disposes of the third contention that the Governor had invited Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayetullah to form a Ministry by virtue of his being the leader of the largest party.

The fourth and the last point alluded to in the *communiqué* also does not take us very far. I do not know who is making every effort to fill the vacant

portfolios by members of the minorities. In fact, it envisages a hope which, it should be obvious to the Governor, was not likely at all to materialise. The most important Hindu minority, the minority which had throughout enjoyed one-third representation in the Cabinet had *en bloc* joined the Coalition Party and there no longer existed even the smallest ray of hope of its members breaking that alliance and joining hands with the Muslim League Party for the purpose of "filling the two vacant portfolios."

The Governor's decision is very unfortunate from more standpoints than one. Elevation to office of a minority party over the head of the majority party creates a very dangerous precedent which in the interest of the healthy working of a democratic constitution, must be opposed. This action is far more condemnable in view of the fact that power has been handed over to a single communal party to the exclusion of a party composed of Hindus and Muslims including the support of commercial interests and labour. In doing so, the Governor seems to have violated both the spirit and the letter of the Instrument of Instructions which his King had issued to him.

Multi-National State

We reproduce below the comment of the *Indian Social Reformer* on Generalissimo Stalin's speech delivered on February 10, on the eve of the Russian elections. The note is self-explanatory and we do not think any further comment is called for. Stalin's speech published in Calcutta newspapers was supplied by *Reuter*.

On Sunday evening, the All-India Radio broadcast Generalissimo Stalin's address on the eve of the Russian elections. The Generalissimo in the address showed how the Soviet State had emerged stronger out of the War belying the fears of friends and frustrating the hopes of enemies. He took item by item the army, industry, and national solidarity in order to prove his thesis. Among other things, he stressed the *stability of the multi-national State* as established by the experience of the War. This statement had an urgent and intimate interest to us in India where it is maintained by the Muslim League that two nations cannot form one State and by the Congress by way of rebutting that the Hindus and Muslims are not two nations but one. In other words the Congress concedes that two nations cannot form a single State. The *Reformer* throughout has not contested the Muslim League's claim that Muslims are a nation by themselves but maintained that the fact or fiction is no argument for partitioning India. Nation is a word which has been used at different times in different senses. Even at the same time and by the same authority it has not been used consistently in one sense. Therefore, if a group chooses to claim to be a nation, it is useless to question its propriety. But the point is that being a nation does not entitle any group to disrupt a long-standing geographically cultural unity. The experience of Soviet Russia as a multi-national State is, therefore, of great significance in meeting the argument for Pakistan. *The Radio report of Stalin's speech contained it. But the report in the newspapers next morning omitted it. Why? News agencies in this country and, perhaps elsewhere, also conceive*

their functions as being much beyond what they legitimately are. They are accorded recognition as journalists which certainly they are not. Their business is to purvey news without adulteration and not mould or interpret public opinion which is the responsible function of the true journalist. A journalist is personally accountable for the equity of his judgment. The news agency has no responsibility beyond the accuracy of its facts.

Deposition of the Maharaja of Rewa

Maharaja Sir Ghulab Singh of Rewa has been deposed by the Crown Representative. This decision has not come as a surprise to the Maharaja or to those who knew that the gulf between him and the Political Department was steadily widening. Tracing the causes which made him unpopular in the eyes of the Political Department, the Maharaja told the representative of the *Bombay Chronicle* that, as he had been holding progressive views and ideas and was anxious to introduce reforms in his State and improve the social economic and educational status of his subjects, he incurred the displeasure of the Political Department and was branded "a rebel among the Princely Order of India."

The refusal of the Maharaja to tolerate the undue interference from the Political Department in the administration of his State and his defiance of their whimsical and arbitrary ukases brought him into clash with the Political Department early in 1912 and he was deprived of his administrative powers. He was asked to leave the State and not to enter Rewa until further orders. He challenged the Government to prove the charges against him. He was tried by a special tribunal and was ultimately found "not guilty." In spite of this acquittal he was not allowed to enter Rewa unless he accepted certain conditions imposed upon him by the Political Department. In the interest of his people, he agreed to swallow them and returned to his State in August 1944.

After his return, he found that the interests of his subjects were being mercilessly ignored by the State-officials—the majority of whom were the nominees of the Political Department. He noticed that *the State was being burdened with heavy expenditure, that corruption and bribery were rampant among the officials, that the State subjects had been receiving a 'step-motherly' treatment at the hands of the 'non-Rewa officials' and that chaos and confusion, disorder and autocracy were the order of the day.*

He could not tolerate this state of affairs and insisted upon an immediate termination of the existing conditions. But his protest was suppressed and went like a cry in the wilderness. His good intentions were misconstrued by the Political Department, and he was "advised" not to interfere in the administrative affairs of the State and in the activities of his Cabinet of Ministers.

The Political Department wanted to keep him as a 'dummy' to affix his signature as a 'dhobi-mark' on every paper submitted to him for his 'approval' by the Cabinet. But, on the other hand, his wishes were never respected by the Cabinet and his proposals were frequently turned down unceremoniously.

The Chief Minister, Major Smith, a nominee of the Political Department gave the contract for the construction of two bridges costing about Rs. 4,00,000 to a

British firm without even calling for tenders and de-pite his protest.

Similarly, his proposal to establish a network of free primary education in the State was compulsory and by the Cabinet.

The theory of misgovernment propounded by the Government of India is different from that of the provinces. With the plea of stopping misgovernment, the Indian Rulers are unceremoniously deposed, the British Governors under whom bribery, corruption, misgovernment bring endless misery to the people, the provinces are permitted to carry on without the least intervention from the Centre. Charges of mal-administration in Bengal have been made by the people and have been proved by the Auditor-General of India's reports but to no effect.

The Attachment Scheme

According to the Memoranda on Indian States, 1940, issued by the Government of India, there are 631 states, jagirs and estates in India. They cover an area of 712,508 sq. miles while British India has an area of 1,006,171 sq. miles. Approximately two-fifths of the population of India live in these States. There is a very wide variance in their size and wealth. Hyderabad has a population of fourteen millions with an annual revenue of eight and a half crores. Bilani's population is 27 with an annual revenue of Rs. 80.

The largest number of States is in the Kathiawar. Of the total of 283 Kathiawar States, only nine are rich and big, viz., Bhavnagar, Cutch, Dhrangdhara, Gondal, Idar, Junagadh, Morvi, Nawanagar and Porbandar. The total area of these 283 States is about 32,000 sq. miles with a total population of about four millions.

It is, therefore, natural that the first application of the Attachment Scheme will be made in this area. By an executive order of the Crown Representative, acting with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, some of the smaller States comprised in the Western India Agency were, during 1943, attached to larger States with headquarters both inside and outside their agency. It was argued before the Judicial Commissioner's Court (Western India Agency) that the executive order of the attachment issued by the Crown Representative was illegal and *ultra vires* of the powers of that high officer under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935. It was held by the Court that the Crown Representative's order attaching Bhalura Taluka to Gondal State was illegal. The Crown never absorbs a State and much less merges it into another State.

The matter was set at rest by the Attachment of India States Act. Under Section 1 any State not mentioned in Division I to XVI (Table of Seats), Part II, Schedule I of the Government of India Act, 1935, of Western India States Agency or Gujarat States Agency may be attached to any other Indian State notwithstanding the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890.

Section 2 of this Act authorizes the

- transfer to courts and officers of any powers or jurisdiction on behalf of the Crown;
- relinquishment of any such power; and
- transfer of cases pending at courts or officers of the Crown.

The Attachment Act is restricted in scope and has in view purely judicial work in the petty states of Western India and Gujarat States Agency.

The *Communique* of April 18, 1943, laid down a weighty principle that autocratic powers shall not be abused and that *nothing*, which is not inherently conducive to survival should be artificially perpetuated.

The real meaning behind this Attachment Scheme may be traced back to a resolution of the All-India State Peoples' Conference held at Ludhiana in February, 1939. It recommended that all States with a population of below 20 lakhs or an annual revenue of less than 60 lakhs of rupees should amalgamate with the neighbouring provinces. If effect were given to this resolution, only 21 States will remain as separate units and the remaining 580 will be absorbed in the provinces.

The native States have completely lost their independence through gradual changes in the policy pursued towards them by the British Government and the systematic encroachments made on their rights. They have been cordoned off into a far more helpless condition than the Indian Provinces. It is, therefore, but natural that the British Government will try to forestall the States Peoples' Resolution of 1939 by attaching smaller States to bigger States instead of giving them any opportunity to amalgamate with the Provinces. It is still easier to deal with a big native State than to handle matters in a small province with its politically conscious population.

The Warning of the Economists

Leading economists of the country have issued a note of warning in a manifesto in which they have shown how the Government of India is driving Indian economy to the brink of disaster. They have condemned the uninterrupted expansion of currency against the ever-increasing sterling securities even after the cessation of hostilities. By continuing to finance the purchases of the British Government in this country by the same inflationary procedure as during the war, the Government of India is driving Indian economy to the brink of disaster. The substance of their statement is given below :

We had stressed the necessity, even during the war, of limiting the total liabilities undertaken by the Government of India on all accounts, to the resources that they were able to raise by taxation and borrowing. Whatever justification there might have been for ignoring this warning during the war period, and lending far beyond India's capacity at the cost of unprecedented hardships to the people of India, this has disappeared with the end of hostilities. Financial help, now being extended by India, is no longer required for winning the war ; it only helps in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the borrowing country, namely, Britain. The justification of a loan is to be found in the relative resources, current and capital of the lender and borrower and the issue needs to be raised whether India is in a position to lend at all. Considering her immediate consumption needs it is clear beyond doubt that India has no lending capacity.

The most remarkable thing about this lending is that it is being achieved by a method which runs directly counter to this country's interest, namely, currency inflation. The purpose of this inflation, to say the least, is sordid. Indian currency has been inflated on such a dangerous scale to finance the deficit of Great Britain and not those of the Government of

India. According to the economists, this has happened due to glaring mismanagement. We are, however, of a different opinion. We believe it to have been pre-meditated, well-calculated and deliberate action undertaken for saving Britain from an utter financial collapse by exploiting the resources of the Empire. Canada, Australia and South Africa had to be wooed for money, but India's case was different. With the entire government of this country under the thumb of Whitehall, India was bled white for financing Britain's war. The sterling balances built up to India's credit represent real resources that she had to sacrifice at the cost of suffering, starvation and death.

Price Control and Indian Industries

With the cessation of hostilities and the continuously increasing inflow of foreign consumer goods, the inner meaning of price control and its effect on Indian industries are steadily becoming clear. The price control policy of the Government of India has been definitely injurious to the industrial development of the country during the war years. Our industries have been starved of machinery and essential raw materials. Nor were steps taken to import capital goods to set up new industries which would have prospered under the natural protection provided by the war. The control orders completed the burden.

In an article contributed to the *Commerce*, Prof. R. N. Bhargava of the Allahabad University, gives a good analysis of the price control system and its pernicious effects. He shows how the Government has used its price control measures in a manner that has done great harm to our industries, on the one hand, and encouraged the growth of the black-marketeer and the profiteer on the other. The prices of most articles of everyday use have been controlled under the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance. Where the retail prices have not been controlled, the ordinance lays down the rule that retail prices should not exceed an addition of 20 per cent or the addition allowed by normal trade practice whichever is less to the landed cost of an imported article or to the cost of production of a commodity manufactured in the country.

The retail prices are to be arrived at in this way by the addition of the same percentage to landed costs and to cost of production. It follows that in all those cases where the landed cost of an article is lower than the cost of production of indigenous manufacturers, such a policy would, even if nothing else was done, deal a death blow to our industries. The fixation of control prices at a high figure in respect of many raw materials needed for our industries, and especially of coal, unduly raised the cost of production from the very first stage of the process.

It has been seen that costs of production in India are higher than landed costs of imported articles. During the war years, there has been a greater proportionate rise of prices in India than in most other countries. As such, when retail prices are determined by an addition of the same percentage to cost of production and landed cost, the retail prices of Indian manufactures would be higher than their foreign rivals. Our pre-war costs of production in the case of a large number of commodities were not lower than costs of foreign manufactures, and in some cases they were actually higher. A glance at some of the controlled

prices would make the position clear. Prof. Bhargava has provided the following :

Name of article	Controlled retail price	
	Indian make	Imported
	Rs. as. p.	Rs. as. p.
1. Cycle pedals (per pair)	6 1 0	4 4 0
2. Bulb, 25 watt	1 10 0	1 5 0
3. Jam, 24 oz. tin	2 0 0	1 4 0
4. Tooth brush	1 4 0	1 1 0
5. Cup and saucer, large, china	1 4 0	0 15 6

In all these cases, the controlled prices of foreign goods are cheaper than the Indian products. But what is the result? Prof. Bhargava says, when the prices of foreign goods are cheaper there is a rush for foreign goods. The honest dealer may sell their quota of foreign goods at controlled prices, but the dishonest one will certainly pass their stocks underground. When a consumer wants foreign article, say a pair of cycle pedals, the dishonest dealer usually says that the foreign-make is not available but the price of a pair of Indian pedals is Rs. 6-1. He also points out the absurdity of expecting to get foreign pedals at a price of Rs. 4-4 per pair as they are superior in quality and more durable. The consumer catches the hint and agrees to pay black market price for the foreign product. With the increase in the supply of foreign products, this feature will stop but the real problem will become more acute. Judging from the manner in which inflation is still continuing unabated, there is little hope that prices will go down in the near future. In the meantime, with the cost of production of Indian products still ruling high, British products at cheaper prices will flood the market. Most of the Indian industries, which are now tottering will go to the wall.

Indian Famine a Blessing to White Men?

Mr. D. T. Deshpande, in an article to the *Independent* strikes a completely new note with regard to the impending famine. We consider his conclusions worth quoting. First of all he points out that one cannot ignore the facts that (a) during the years of the war, when imports of foodgrains to this country were not appreciable, India not only fed her own population but also fed the armies installed in this country and (b) after meeting these needs she had enough surplus left for the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation to send large consignments to the Middle East. Another factor which may also be taken into consideration is that large dumps of foodgrains are believed to have been built for the use of the forces during the past few years. What has happened to these dumps?

Mr. Deshpande apprehends that Indian famines are results of well-prepared plans which would prove a blessing to the white men. Here are his conclusions :

One who cannot lay his hands on the relevant facts and figures in regard to a certain situation has to rely solely on conclusions that can be drawn from the known facts. And one might be led to conclude that the responsibility for the impending famine will lie mainly at the doors of those who could have averted the Bengal Famine.

All the talk about the impending famine and the perpetual famine strikes one as a part of a well-prepared plan. It might be a well-calculated design to bamboozle India into Agricultural Economy in-

stead of Industrial Economy. It would suit Britain admirably if Indian public attention were focussed mainly on the production of agricultural commodities. In times of famine people would naturally look more towards production of food than towards the production of manufactured goods.

One might keep in mind the fact that during the years of famine cheap labour becomes available for the construction of roads and other engineering works. A famine in India would provide a good excuse for a big road-making programme, creating an immediate and a large demand for building and engineering materials from Britain. The famine will oblige British at the cost of India's millions.

Is it not strange that even famines should aid the White Man's post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction plans?

Indians in South Africa

The position of Indians in South Africa still continues to be menacing. Not satisfied with the Pegging Act and a crop of subsequent Ordinances, General Smuts is contemplating new anti-Indian legislation. A conference of South African Indian Congress met at Cape Town to consider General Smuts's proposals. They urged the holding of a Round Table Conference between India and South Africa to settle matters by mutual discussion. Smuts has refused it saying that his unilateral ukase was the best solution and could not be retracted. Smuts has indicated that his new legislation would include communal franchise on a separate role Indians voting for European representatives on the lines of the representation of natives who have three representatives in a house of 150.

A short review of earlier events in South Africa which led, one after another, to the curtailing of the rights of Indian settlers there may prove useful here. The summary has been prepared from Mr. C. Kondapi's article on South Africa in the *India Quarterly* for January, 1945.

South African Legislature enacted the Pegging Act on April 27, 1943, pegging, for the fourth time, the position of Asiatic occupation. The Government of India demanded that the Durban area to which the Act applied be deproclaimed and the Act itself be repealed. On April 18, 1944, Premier Smuts entered into the Pretoria Agreement with the Natal Indian Congress as an alternative to the Pegging Act. The Agreement purported to establish the inherent right of the Indian community to the acquisition and occupation of property anywhere in Natal of which the Pegging Act had deprived them, save and except in the case of occupation of dwellings for residential purposes in urban areas which was likely to engender racial friction due to juxtapositional living. To meet the situation, a Board was to be set up to control and regulate juxtapositional occupation of dwellings between the Whites and Indians. The Board was to have powers of licensing and exempting dwellings singly or collectively, thus by its positive action facilitating the reversion of such dwellings to a position which prevailed before the passing of the Pegging Act. The Natal Provincial Council was empowered to pass an ordinance implementing the Agreement.

The spirit behind the Agreement was that Indians would agree to voluntary segregation in Durban but only in case they were afforded the civic amenities on

a case provided in European courts and without any prejudice to their inherent rights in ownership and occupation of property throughout the rest of Natal. The Natal Provincial Administration drafted the Occupation Control Ordinance. It was accepted by both the parties as embodying the Agreement and the Natal Administrator advised its acceptance. But the Europeans opposed it, and the Administrator of Natal was forced to send it to a Select Committee which committee reported on October 17, 1944, and recommended the new Residential Property Regulation Ordinance. This ordinance was fundamentally different from the Occupational Control Ordinance; it restricted the Indian right to acquire property by methods designed to control the acquisition of residential dwellings and land, whereas the original ordinance sought to limit only the occupational right; while the old ordinance applied only to Durban and to other boroughs and townships in case the necessity for its application was proved, this one extended its blanketing restrictions on occupation and acquisition over the whole of Natal; it provided for the constitution of boards which would determine policy, whereas the older one limited the functions of the licensing board to the control of individual dwellings; and, above all, it precluded consideration of the vital requirements of contiguity and natural expansion in occupation which constituted an essential part of the Pretoria Agreement and the Draft Occupation Control Ordinance and even introduced proposals incompatible with such consideration.

The Natal Indian Congress raised its voice of protest and urged the Premier to veto the new ordinance on the ground that its provisions did not conform to the Pretoria Agreement. The Ordinance was rushed through the Council. Besides, two other ordinances—the Housing Board Ordinance and the Provincial Council and Local Authority Expropriation Ordinance—were also passed. The Government of India reacted by imposing reciprocal restrictions on South African nationals in India in terms of Sec. 2 of the Reciprocity Act, 1913.

On 28th November, 1944, the representatives of the Congress interviewed the Premier and conveyed to him its views that the new ordinances, as passed by the Provincial Council, were beyond the scope of the Agreement, and therefore, not within the competence of the Provincial Council, i.e., if the Agreement was to be implemented. The Premier in his reply of December 5, 1944, while agreeing with the Congress that the new ordinance did not conform to the Pretoria Agreement, confirmed that the Pegging Act remained un-repealed and in force. He advised that the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance would be reserved for His Majesty's assent, and that the Housing and Expropriation Ordinance would become law. The Agreement was considered to be of no further effect.

The only concessions made in favour of Indian standpoint were: (i) the expropriation of land both for housing and alum clearance had to receive the consent of the Union Government; (ii) Indians were vouchsafed the privilege of sending another memorandum on the matter; (iii) they were allowed to appoint a small standing committee to keep in contact with the Administrator and the Minister of the Interior, and where necessary, the Premier; and (iv) the Natal Indian Judicial Commission whose work had been suspended for some time would be revived. Other ways of settlement, it was also said, were being explored.

The only solution, as the Natal Administrator has stated, is to admit Indians as a permanent part of the population. As a preliminary to such solution, the Pegging Act should be just repealed and the Natal Indian Judicial Commission should be required to inquire into the question of municipal, provincial and parliamentary franchise to Indians. The Union Government should undertake not to consider any question affecting Indians before franchise is restored to them in Natal and extended to them in Transvaal. For, once they are enfranchised as Union citizens, the Union Government too can legitimately require of them not to look up to India for help. All friction arising from the imposition of economic sanctions and other retaliatory measures could only then be avoided.

Food Situation in Malaya

Writing in the *Observer*, London, Mr. O. M. Green, a Far Eastern expert, has given a good account of how the people of Malaya now fare after they have gone back under the administration of their old "Trustees." The following short description of the food situation will be revealing and will show how valuable time has been wasted with grave consequences:

The one and a half million tons of rice expected from Siam have proved a delusion. Time was wasted in the peace negotiations on whether the rice was to be paid for or handed over free as reparations. Then America intervened against the alleged harshness of our terms (merely, it is believed in Singapore, with an eye on trade facilities) and more time was lost. When it was ultimately decided that the rice was to be given free most of it had vanished.

Malaya has never been self-supporting in food and no other rice supplies are visible. Attempts are made to induce Malaysians to grow vegetables, but with poor success.

Meanwhile, living costs are anything from five to twenty times pre-war level. In Penang coolies are so weak from want of food they cannot handle cargo . . . Under these conditions, lawlessness, looting and dacoity in the peninsula are widespread and no effective check has yet been imposed.

Plight of Indians in Malaya

The conditions of Indians in Malaya, to say the least, is pitiable. Pandit H. N. Kunzru and Mr. P. Kodanda Rao who were deputed by the Government of India to visit Malaya and Burma to make a first-hand study of the conditions of Indians there, are reported to have completed their talks with the officials of the Commonwealth Relations Department. Pandit Kunzru said that there was not only an acute scarcity of food but all consumer goods were equally scarce. He saw families of Indian labourers and even those of the middle class wearing tattered saris. In spite of the cloth shortage in India something must be done to help Indians in Malaya. The export of cloth to the Middle East can be stopped and diverted to Malaya. Likewise medical relief was an urgent necessity. Serious attempts are being made to send a Medical Mission which is eagerly awaited there.

Pandit Kunzru urged that the necessary shipping should be secured for the repatriation of a large number of Indians who wanted to come back to their mother

country. Some 15,000 Indians had already registered their names with the authorities but the figure would go up to 25,000. Besides there were another 25,000 who wanted to come home for at least for a temporary period. The Government of India and the Malayan Administration should make representations to the Allied Shipping Board to secure necessary shipping. Concession fares, consistent with the paying capacity of the poor people, should also be arranged.

With regard to the activities of the Indian Independence League, Pandit Kunzru says :

I met no one who did not complain of the severity of the Japanese regime and how they treated the Indian workers whom they sent to Siam. Wherever we went, we were told that but for the Indian Independence League Indians would have been subject to considerable ill treatment. The League, it seems, was able to give protection to Indians both in Malaya and Burma.

Impossibility of Two Constituent Assemblies

Presiding over a conference of Kerala Muslims at Ookapalam, Malabar, Dr. Syed Abdul Latif declared that the two constituent assembly demand of Mr. Jinnah was impossible. Dr. Latif said that the League leaders had not realised that even if they boycotted the idea of a single constituent assembly, the Hindus and Sikhs of the north-west and north-east might boycott the idea of a separate constituent assembly for Pakistan, in which case, a Pakistan assembly could never come into existence. The only result would be a further stalemate.

Dr. Latif reviewed the political situation in India and dwelt at length on the situation which had arisen in consequence of the rejection of the Viceroy's proposals to implement the British Government's determined purpose to establish a new Executive Council at the Centre, and to set up a constitution-making body. He said that it was not wise on the part of the League President to boycott the very idea of a constituent assembly for the whole of India and thus invite a super-imposed constitution, which might neither give a free Pakistan to the Muslim League nor complete independence to India as a whole.

The speaker took the occasion to dispel the notion which prevailed among the educated classes of Muslims in the presidency, that a Pakistan constituent assembly, which the League's President had asked for, would be representative of all the Muslims of India, and would be drawn not merely from the Pakistan provinces but also from all other provinces and Indian States as well. A constituent assembly, he pointed out, could only be formed for the particular territory which desired to have a separate constitution of its own, and could not function for any people living outside that territory.

Dr. Latif condemned as unwise the decision of the League President not to accept the Viceroy's offer to join the Executive Council. He asked :

Did the President fear that as the result of the provincial elections, the ratio between the League Muslims and the non-League Muslims would be less favourable this time than what was proposed by the Viceroy in Simla last September, or did he really believe, now that the war had ended, that there was no need for any interim Government at the Centre ?

It had to be realised that a constituent assembly for a vast country like India which had to take into consideration a multitude of very complex issues would not be settled overnight. This would necessarily take considerable time. Till then, were the various pressing problems of India's post-war development in which the rest of the world was interested to be held in abeyance ?

Dr. Latif, at the conclusion of his address, expressed the hope that better counsels would ultimately prevail enabling the League to reconsider its position and act like a body endowed with foresight and practical sense. Judging from the recent utterances of Mr. Jinnah and other League leaders, we feel unable to share Dr. Latif's optimism.

Indians in Burma Stranded

In a statement to the Press, Mr. Mahammad Husain Hasham Premji, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, says that about 400,000 Indians have virtually been stranded in Burma. Mr. Premji, who visited Burma together with Mr. M. A. Master and other persons having interest in Burma rice, deplores the attitude of the Government of India in the matter of repatriation and says that the Central Government have given the right of veto to the Government of Burma on the free movement of Indians between the two countries.

As regards the official explanation given in the Central Assembly on the lack of housing accommodation in Burma, Mr. Premji says that housing accommodation really speaking is not the bottleneck. The actual conditions have been described by Mr. Premji in the following words :

The real bottle-neck is the disowning of their obligations and responsibilities towards Indians by the Government of India. Over four lakhs of Indians, who have been there since the occupation of Burma by the enemy, are anxious to return to this country. They cannot do so, unless they fill in a form and answer a number of humiliating questions. It is a heart-rending scene to see thousands of Indians standing in a queue in the streets of Rangoon from morning till evening for obtaining these forms.

Many of them do not obtain them even after paying a sum of Rs. 100. These forms go to the police. Indians are divided into various categories. Political considerations decide their fate. The return of Indians from Burma to India cannot raise the question of housing accommodation in that country.

Mr. H. R. Belai, Director of the Azad Hind Bank in Rangoon and Lt. P. S. Bhaskaran of the I. N. A. have also described the pitiable conditions of Indians in Burma. They said :

Indians in Burma had mostly lost their business or other professions in the course of the war and had hardly any means of earning their livelihood there. A large number had already become destitutes, living on open charity. Police arrangements were insignificant, and broad daylight robberies were of frequent occurrence in which Indians were very often the victims. The import and export trade of the country were at a standstill. If steps were not immediately taken to remedy the situation, Burma would be a hell for Indians. The attitude of Indian officers of the Burma Government recruited in India had

helped to estrange the relations between Burmans and Indians.

There were at present about 4,000 applications for repatriation pending before the Burmese Government Relief and Rehabilitation Committee most of these having been made as far back as June or July last year. Corruption and dishonesty were rampant in the department concerned with repatriation. Last week a lathi charge was also made on a large body of Indians who had gathered in front of the office of the Relief and Rehabilitation Committee to get their repatriation permits in accordance with an authoritative notification. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was present there at the moment. Later, it was announced that an alteration would be made in the procedure of issuing permits for repatriation. Some had received their permits at their residences. But what the new procedure would be had not been announced. If repatriation continued at the present rate, it would take years to get willing Indians repatriated.

It is, therefore, not very difficult to understand why officialdom do not cherish the idea of permitting leaders of eminence to go to Burma or Malaya. During the last few years one thing has been made quite clear. Indian *emigres* to Burma and Malaya enjoyed adequate protection, during the Jap occupation of those countries, when a Free Indian Government functioned there. A Free Indian Government succeeded in giving them great relief at the worst moment of their life and by virtue of its actions earned their admiration and allegiance. With the meagre information that has so far trickled in, we understand why Indian *emigres* in those countries gave their everything for making the Azad Hind Government a success. That short-lived Government may well be contrasted with the present head at New Delhi in so far as active interest in the welfare of Indians is concerned.

Indian Agricultural Economy

Sir S. V. Rammurthi, Advisor to the Governor of Madras, in his speech declaring open the Andhra Polytechnic at Coconada, has discussed how the lack of scientific policy in the past has affected the Indian economic structure. He said :

In the last fifty years, our agricultural economy has been looked at from the wrong side. Food crops have on a very large scale given place to non-food crops, mainly for export. Groundnuts have been exported to Europe, and short staple cotton to Japan. No doubt such production gives profit to the farmer, but the time has come to recognise that the provision of food and clothing must be the first charge on the land and water of this province. The transition from food to non-food crops has reduced the food supply of Madras and generally all India from about 2,400 to 1,600 calories a day from the main foodgrains. The nation cannot live on such inadequate intake of food energy without serious effects on its vitality.

Summing up, he said that "the priorities of charge of agricultural production should be first food and clothing ; second, provision of work, whether in farms or in processing the products of farms ; and third, provision for trade." This may certainly be the ideal condition, but in actual fact the reverse is the case. The whole Indian economic structure has been mani-

pulated so as to begin from the third end in which alone our rulers are most interested. Trade, commerce, industry, transport, even the railway rates have been carefully adjusted to suit the exploitation of the third factor, leaving agricultural and rural economy to its dark fate. Not only cotton and groundnut, but Bengal's jute has been played up quite consistently with the general plan of economic exploitation.

The fixation of price of food crops during recent years has also been made with a sharp eye to the Imperialists' need. In his opening speech at the Conference of Mirasdars of Tanjore, Dewan Bahadur N. Swaminatha Aiyar said that the cost of agricultural operations in Madras was mounting up. It was only the District Collector of Tanjore, who denied this increase in the cost of production of paddy. Referring to the price of paddy, Mr. Aiyar said :

The control exercised by Government in fixing the price of paddy was more in the interests of the consumer than of the producer. Their complaint was why the price of paddy alone should be controlled while the prices of all other articles were left uncontrolled. If control was required in the interests of the consumers, the proper thing would be to give grants to consumers and allow the price of paddy to find its level.

The consumer has never meant the general people during these war years. It has inevitably meant only those who have helped in the Government's war effort. Government and the mill-owners were the principal buyers of foodstuffs during the past few years and most of these foodstuffs have been acquired for supply to soldiers and war workers as cheap rations. A few control shops had been opened here and there which closed down as soon as there was shortage, while the ration shops for war workers remained functioning. Rationing has been introduced in some towns, but the sale price of foodstuffs there has not been commensurate with the purchase price of paddy at the village. The sale price has rather been adjusted so as to make up for some loss incurred in the supply of cheap rations to war workers and wastages.

There is only one way out to get rid of this intolerable position and all conclusions must logically lead to that end. It was so in that conference as well. Mr. C. Marudavanam Pillai, President of the Tanjore Conference, summed up the whole position with the demand for a National Government.

Flagrant Misuse of Public Money

The Public Accounts Committee of the Government of India, in their report presented to the Central Assembly, have made stiff observations with regard to Bengal Government's expenditures. The observations themselves are revealing, a summary of which is given below :

We cannot conceive of any set of conditions in which there could possibly be any justification for the disregard of such elementary commonsense precautions as taking of receipts for money paid or of maintaining records of payment. We can, therefore, come to no conclusion but that the discretion vested in district authorities under Bengal Government's order was in many cases most gravely and even flagrantly abused and we have no doubt whatever that much of the money alleged to have been spent on

payment of compensation for construction of works and to evacuees and refugees never reached those for whom it was meant.

Referring to the defence expenditure, the report says: "We have, since war started, been accustomed to audit reports bringing to light a large number of irregularities, some of a serious nature. The present report is no exception to the rule and contains the usual tale of losses in Government stores on account of storage and store accounting arrangements being defective or non-existent, of works carried without proper authority or without execution of contracts and as regards works and the acquisition of stores cases in which financial interests of Government were disregarded."

"We recognise, as we recognised before, that the very unsatisfactory state of affairs which has been revealed is largely the result of war conditions.

"We are convinced that the rules of procedure already in existence are sufficient, if observed, to prevent losses from being incurred but confess that we are far from satisfied that such observance of rules is adequately enforced. We feel that there might have been greater improvement than has actually been disclosed if the authorities had taken a stronger line with respect to cases in which it had been proved that officers had disobeyed orders either deliberately or through neglect.

"Reading through the audit report we gained the impression that breaches of procedure have been dealt with far too leniently and the impression has been strengthened by examination of witnesses. There seems to have grown a tendency to regard breach of rules of procedure as of little consequence and against this tendency we wish to sound a note of warning.

"Departures from prescribed procedure may occasionally be innocuous, even perhaps necessary, but they invariably give rise to a possibility of loss to the State through fraud, embezzlement, theft, bribery, corruption and a host of other ways. Rules of procedure are designed to act as a safeguard against losses to the State and though every breach of rules does not involve a loss, instances investigated are sufficient to convince us that the two go together.

"Now that the war has ended, we should like to impress upon the War Department that there is no longer any justification for officers to disregard clearly express orders and we should like them to insist very much more firmly on strict compliance with instructions than seems to have been their custom in the past—breach of orders in such prosaic matters as stores and works not being regarded less serious than indiscipline in the field. It will be remembered that with the cessation of hostilities, the financial interest of the State, which faded into the background, has once again resumed the importance which it necessarily has in times of peace."

This is not the first instance. The Public Accounts Committee and the Auditor-General of India had uttered similar strong warnings after the audit report dealing with the Bengal Government's denial policy expenditure was published. It was then admitted that public money in crores had virtually been looted. The League Ministry in Bengal and the Governor Sir John Herbert had relaxed treasury rules in such a manner that the Treasury officers had to pay money to anybody and everybody who demanded it. No heed whatsoever

seems to have been paid to that timely warning. The same fraud, embezzlement, theft, bribery, corruption and waste have continued unchecked under Mr. Casey's Administration. Not only the Public Accounts Committee but the people of Bengal cried aloud to put a stop to this colossal theft and wastage of public money which ultimately have to be made up by the innocent public through increased taxation. The Bengal Administration run by the Civil Service permitted this corruption to run rampant. The strong remarks of the Committee about the negligence of the high officials in handling public money will naturally lead the public to think that it paid them to neglect. A few months ago, searches in the houses of some high officials in Calcutta were made in connection with bribery and corruption, but nobody has yet been hauled up and prosecuted. The names of these officials have been kept carefully concealed by the police, not to speak of prosecuting them. The results of police enquiry have also not been made public. This action of the Government, read with the Public Accounts Committee's reports, leaves an impression that patrons of these corrupt officials exist very high up in the official ladder, and even the Governor-General of India finds himself helpless to name them or to proceed against them.

The Government of Bengal, which has continued unabated in its flagrant breach of all decent codes of administration resulting in a colossal waste of taxpayer's money, has forfeited its right to govern. It has no right to impose taxes or to increase them in order to cover up the theft and loot which they permitted to continue rampant under their very eyes. They are social criminals of the worst type. They must be turned out if this province is ever to get back to normalcy.

Intolerance of Criticism Thin End of Dictatorship

In an article published in the *Tribune*, Louis Fischer says that in the modern age governments make so many mistakes and are responsible for so many human woes that to consider one government as sacrosanct is nonsense. The idea that any statesman or a State can be perfect or infallible flies in the face of history. There has never been a perfect government. The fallibility of a government increases as it begins to grow intolerant of criticism. Criticism is the pillar of humanity and intolerance of criticism is the thin edge of dictatorship. Fischer truly reflects universal sober opinion when he says that political thinking to-day is at a very low ebb because men and women are ruled by religious, nationalistic, racial and party prejudices, instead of being ruled by a desire for a clear picture of the situation.

Fischer says, "Atrocities to Germans are as bad as German atrocities. If you reject one evil and accept an equal or opposite evil, you surrender a principle and abandon the fight for what is good. A lesser evil may be a very great evil. It is better to accept neither evil and instead champion the third alternative which improves mankind. The doctrine of the lesser evil threatens our whole culture and influences practical politics.

"Decent people in the world must stand together against all threats to decency and freedom. They should not divide and prefer one decency to another. Our civilisation is menaced by cynicism and an abandon-

ment of principle. When you stand against the shortcomings of a country you must praise the same shortcomings in a country which you favour; you are simply acting as a bigot and a bigot.

Fischer's Doctrine of Double Rejection

Enunciating his doctrine of double rejection, Fischer says:

I have the same abhorrence of sin committed by my country as I have of that sin when it is committed by another country. This doctrine of double rejection requires one to think and judge objectively.

Some people have religious feelings regarding their native country. Some persons have religious feelings regarding a foreign country. When they allow those feelings to affect their estimate of world events, they sacrifice truth. They mislead themselves. Political thinking to-day is at a very low ebb, because men and women are ruled by religious, nationalistic, racial and party prejudices, instead of being ruled by a desire for a clear picture of the situation. Having seen how mistaken I can be on occasions and especially when passion obstructs vision, I have decided to be completely ruthless and merciless with myself. An analyst and observer must have no moods. He does himself a disservice if he has.

This attitude does not destroy the will to act. On the contrary, an awareness of the pervading evil stimulates a burning desire in me to fight it. The double rejection releases energy for action, because it shows how desperately necessary it is to do something which will lift humanity from the present crisis. Pessimism based on an honest appraisal of events is creative. It should stir one to challenge and act. Optimism regarding international events in the thirties was one of the causes of the Second World War.

Need for a New World

There is need for a new world. There is no two opinion about it. But where is that new world? Where is that better future? Neither is easily discernible. Fischer says that it would not come from conformers but from reformers—from protesters with programmes, from iconoclasts with ideas, from brave men who walk straight along a narrow path and risk inviting shots from both sides. Here is his illuminating conclusion:

The public lulled itself into an illusion that conditions were not as bad as they were painted to be, that things would work themselves out and that Hitler would settle down and behave. Pessimism—even panic—then might have prevented the war. Now, too, a sober view—the double rejection view—would focus our attention on the dangers that surround us. I think that most persons are probably, without being conscious of it, afraid to

engage themselves in double rejection. That might take the floor from under their feet and leave them only the principle to stand on. And how many people feel themselves comfortable, standing on the principle? Because they must have a heaven, they reject the American system on account of its transgressions. They, accordingly, grasp the alternative—Russia. If they were told that Russia too is a transgressor, they would be unhappy. They would lose the moral crutch.

The acceptance of a far-off heaven which you don't know, or the acceptance of a situation near at hand because you know no other, reveals weakness. I reject the evil in capitalism and I reject the evil in Bolshevism. I seek something better than either. It makes me a searcher and a fighter. Double rejection, therefore, is obviously not negative. It is an affirmative philosophy which exalts the 'change away' from the past and the present and the progress towards a brighter future. Those who launch out into uncharted areas may discover a new continent or open up a new world. There is need for a new world. Where is that new world? Where is that better future? Neither is easily discernible. It won't come from conformers but from reformers—from protesters with programmes, from iconoclasts with ideas from brave men who walk straight along a narrow path and risk inviting shots from both sides—because they have rejected both.

Jahangir Bomanji Petit

Jahangir Bomanji Petit has passed away at the age of 67. In the history of Bombay during the last four decades, the name of Jahangir Petit occupies an abiding place. He was born to wealth and made large additions to his ancestral patrimony. At the end of the last war, he was one of those who found themselves in possession of large bank balances. But he did not make money for money's sake. As he acquired money, he largely gave of it mostly on institutions meant for the benefit of the public. He worked assiduously for many institutions like Blind Relief, Parsi Hospital, Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Animals. Education of women was another object for which he worked hard. The cause of Indians overseas was a cause close to his heart and the Imperial Citizenship Association occupied a large part of his time and care. He heavily financed a musical institution known as the Chamber Orchestra.

In announcing his death, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes that he knew the working of wealth-making machines from inside. He had himself been a cog-wheel in it. He was thoroughly disgusted with the whole process involving much that was repugnant to his essentially truthful instinct. He came to despise it. "I would have been a Bolshevik, were I not the son of a wealthy mill-owner," he once remarked. That was the conflict in the soul that made his life a tragedy.



THE SAPRU COMMITTEE AND LEADING PRINCIPLES OF A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA*

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

In Part III of its *Recommendations*¹ the Conciliation Committee of which the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was the Chairman, and which will, therefore, be referred to hereinafter as the Sapru Committee, has enunciated a number of "leading principles" according to which the New Constitution of India should be framed. The object of this paper is to consider some of these principles.

The Sapru Committee consisted of a number of really eminent and thoughtful men. It is, therefore, very gratifying to find that, when there is so much of loose thinking and irresponsible talk in quarters apparently responsible, about the question of the division of India and the so-called right of self-determination on communal or territorial lines, the Sapru Committee has emphatically declared its view against any kind of division of India into two or more sovereign, independent States. It has stated that, "having considered carefully the resolution of the Muslim League passed at Lahore in 1940, the various other resolutions of the League and the published version of the talks between Mr. Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi and having also considered the C. R. and Gandhi proposals", it "is emphatically of opinion that any division of India into two or more separate independent sovereign States is unjustified and will endanger the peace and orderly progress of the whole country without any compensating advantage to any community, and that the political unity of India should, therefore, be maintained."

It is equally gratifying to see that, in regard to the question of non-accession to, or secession from, any future Indian Union (or Federation), the Committee has expressed the view that

"No province of British India may elect not to accede to the (Indian) Union nor may any unit, whether a province or a state which has acceded, be entitled to secede therefrom."

* A paper read on 30th December, 1945, at the 8th Session of the Indian Political Science Conference, held at Annamalai University, South India. One or two foot-notes have been added here.

1 The Conciliation Committee: Information Series 10, Recommendations, The Hindustan Times Press, New Delhi.

2 And in its Report the Committee has stated:—

"We are convinced that the partition of India would be an outrage justified neither by history nor by political expediency. It is incompatible with the greatness, safety and economic development of the country and will lead either to constant internecine war or perpetual foreign domination. It multiplies and complicates the problem of minorities without solving it and threatens to plunge India back into the dark and dismal days of the 18th century."

3 "Secession," says the Committee in its Report, "is a revolt from and a repudiation of the Constitution. It is, in essence, an extra-constitutional act and commensurate is against the Constitution recognising it as a legal right to be unilaterally exercised at the option of the Unit. The Cripps proposals describe the option to Provinces as one of non-accession and not as secession, but this is only a verbal camouflage."

This recommendation is particularly welcome in view of the "non-accession" or "non-adherence" provisions in the Draft Declaration of 1942, popularly known as the Cripps offer. As I have shown in detail elsewhere,² these "non-accession" provisions in the Draft Declaration have really provided for the partition of India into two or more sovereign, independent States in certain circumstances. And I consider it a thousand pities that some of our foremost leaders claiming to be nationalists, concentrated their opposition in 1942 more to the not-very-important, interim constitutional provisions in the Draft Declaration than to the fundamental change insidiously proposed to be introduced by it into the body politic of India by its non-accession provisions—a change fraught with incalculable danger not only to the unity and integrity of our country, but also to its future peace, prosperity and security. Mr. Louis Fischer was perfectly right when he said in a recent article³:

"The weakest and most dangerous provision in the Cripps plan is the right accorded to any province or State not to adhere to the new constitution."

We also fully agree with the Committee when it says⁴ that

"While it is not desirable that the new Constitution should be delayed by the realignment of provincial boundaries on linguistic or cultural considerations, the Constitution Act shall indicate the machinery and prescribe the procedure for such realignment of old provinces and for the creation of new provinces after it has come into force", and that "on such realignment or creation of provinces, all consequential amendments may be made in the Constitution."

In regard to the question of the inclusion of Indian States in the proposed Indian Union, the Committee has recommended⁵ that

"Provision should be made in the Constitution for the accession from time to time of Indian States as units of the Union on such terms as may be agreed upon;" that "the establishment of the Union should not, however, be made contingent on the accession of any Indian State or of any minimum number of Indian States;" and that "the Union should be brought into being and should commence to function at the earliest possible date, even if no Indian State has acceded to it as a unit by then."

This recommendation is very sound, reasonable, and, at the same time, practicable, particularly in view of

4 In my *Partition or Federation? A Study in the Indian Constitutional Problem*, pp. 93-96.

5 Published in *The Sunday Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 7th October, 1945 (Dak Edition).

6 Recommendation 7.

7 Recommendation 5.

the provisions of Section 5 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and the consequence thereof.

We fully concur with the Committee in its view⁸ that "a comprehensive declaration of fundamental rights should be incorporated in the future Constitution of India assuring (a) the liberties of the individual; (b) the freedom of the Press and association; (c) equality of rights of citizenship of all nationals irrespective of birth, religion, colour, caste or creed; (d) full religious toleration, including non-interference in religious beliefs, practices and institutions; and (e) protection to language and culture of all communities." We also welcome in this connexion the specific recommendation of the Committee "for the complete abolition of all disabilities imposed by tradition and custom on the Scheduled Castes" and for "the safeguarding of special religious customs like (the) wearing of *Kirpans* by the Sikhs." The "precise formulation of these rights" should, of course, "be undertaken by a special committee of experts" at the time of the framing of the New Indian Constitution.

The institution of an Independent Minority Commission both at the Centre and in each of the Provinces of India, together with the functions to be entrusted to it, as recommended⁹ by the Committee, will, if agreed to by all interested parties, certainly be a most novel feature of the New Indian Constitution. It should go a long way towards winning the confidence of minorities in the efficacy of constitutional provisions for the safeguarding of their rights and privileges.

We shall now consider the recommendations of the Committee in regard to the constitution of the "Union Legislature," the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units of the proposed Indian Union, and the composition of the "Union Executive."

With regard to the constitution of the Union Legislature, the Committee has recommended¹⁰ (a) that the Union Legislature should consist of the Head of the State (i.e., the Union) and two Chambers—the Union Assembly and the Council of State; (b) that the strength of the Union Assembly should be so fixed that there would be "on the average one member for every million of the population;" (c) that "ten per cent of the total strength" should be "reserved for the representation of the following special interests: landholders, commerce and industry, labour, and women;" and (d) that the remaining ninety per cent of seats should be "distributed among the following communities: (i) Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes, (ii) Muslims, (iii) Scheduled Castes, (iv) Sikhs, (v) Indian Christians, (vi) Anglo-Indians, and (vii) other communities." The Committee has also recommended in this connexion that

"In case the Muslim community on their part agree to the *substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates and in that case only*," it "would recommend that, in the interests of promoting national unity, the Hindu community should agree that in the strength of the Central Assembly excluding the seats allotted to special interests, such as commerce and industry, landholders, labour, etc., Muslim representation from British India shall be on

a par with the representation given to the Hindus (other than Scheduled Castes) in spite of the great disparity in their respective population strengths."¹¹

The Committee has added, however, that it desires to emphasise that

"If this recommendation is not to be implemented in its entirety the Hindu community should be at liberty not merely not to agree to the claim for parity of representation but to ask for a revision of the Communal Award."¹²

The acceptance by the Sapru Committee of the principle of parity of representation as between the "Caste Hindus"¹³ and the Muslim community of British India, has provoked a storm of opposition in many responsible quarters. This is only natural, as this principle is a fundamental departure from the principle so far followed in the composition of the Central Legislature of India. Let us analyse the principle in terms of figures. According to the census of 1941, the total population of British India is about 296 millions. Out of this total population, the numbers of the Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Muslims, Christians, and the Sikhs are, roughly speaking, 151 millions, 40 millions, 79·4 millions, 3·5 millions, and 4·2 millions respectively. According to the recommendation of the Sapru Committee, therefore, 151 millions of the Caste Hindus should be made politically equivalent to 79·4 millions of Muslims. Such weightage in favour of one community and against another is undoubtedly a concession, out of all proportion, to communal unreason and intransigence. And it will certainly put a premium upon such unreason and intransigence in future, as it has invariably been the case ever since 1906.¹⁴ Besides, in the event of the acceptance of this recommendation, the Caste Hindus who constitute today the majority of the total population of British India may be reduced, speaking politically, to a hopeless and helpless minority in the Central Legislature, and, ultimately, to utter impotence and nullity. This is a danger inherent in the principle of parity, introduced on communal grounds, so far as the Caste Hindus are concerned. It may, however, be argued against this point of view that, for the principle of parity of representation, the Committee has insisted on the indispensable condition of "the substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates." We certainly agree that the evil of the principle of parity of representation, so far as the Caste Hindus are concerned, may to some extent be neutralised by the proposed "substitution." But only to some extent, and not wholly. We are also prepared to concede that, for the sake of political expediency, the majority community should be prepared to pay some price for national harmony and unity. Even if we make a due allowance for all these considerations, we feel constrained to say that if the majority com-

* Italics are mine.

11 For the sake of brevity, I am using the term "Caste Hindus" in place of "Hindus other than scheduled castes."

12 The Committee, it may be admitted, has recognised the strength of the Hindu objection to the principle of parity of representation. But in justification of its recommendation it has stated: "It is because the Committee attaches great importance to the abolition of separate electorates that it considers parity of representation in the Central Legislative Assembly between Muslims and Hindus other than Scheduled Castes not too great a price to pay." There is room for as honest difference of opinion here, as shown in the text above.

8 Recommendation 17.

9 Recommendation 18.

10 Recommendation 9.

munity, being 151 millions in number, is made politically equivalent to a minor community which is only 79.4 millions in number, the former will have a very legitimate cause of grievance, and cherish a rankling sense of injustice. This may, at times, make the smooth and successful working of the New Constitution of India very difficult.

There is another danger inherent in the principle of parity introduced on communal grounds. It is this: Once this principle of parity as between the Caste Hindus and the Muslims of British India is accepted in connexion with the constitution of the Central Legislature, the demand will inevitably be made for its introduction into the central executive,¹³ into the central services, both civil and military, and even into the central judiciary, irrespective of the questions of numbers of population and the qualifications of candidates. That would be a very serious matter.¹⁴ We may state here, however, that we have no objection to the principle of parity or, for the matter of that, to even a greater representation of the Muslims than of the Caste Hindus in any service, if appointments are made purely on grounds of merits and fitness.

There is one other matter to which we should like to refer in connexion with the question of the composition of the proposed Union Legislature. While the Sapru Committee has accepted, as a permanent basis, the division of the Hindu community into two sections, namely, "Hindus other than Scheduled Castes", and "Scheduled Castes", it has treated the Muslim community of India as one entire, undivided whole, although it is very well-known that the Muslims like the Hindus are a very composite community. This seems, to say the least, to be very strange in view of the division of the Muslim community into Sunnis, Shias, Momins, etc.—and, particularly, into Sunnis and Shias. Certainly, we do not witness in the Hindu community such disgraceful scenes as are enacted almost every year in the City of Lucknow. Perhaps the Committee will hold the Government policy as revealed in the Census figures, responsible for its decision. But that does not justify its own recommendation.

In view of what we have shown above, we feel constrained to observe that, on the whole, the recommendation of the Sapru Committee in regard to the constitution of the proposed Union Legislature does not appear to have been very well-considered, and that it has, to some extent at least, sacrificed logic, reason, and principle to political expediency. At the same time, we must say that its insistence on "the substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates" is a bold and commendable action.

In regard to the question of the distribution of powers and functions between the Centre and the Units

of the proposed Indian Union (or Federation), the Committee has recommended¹⁵ certain principles which are, with only one exception, very sound and statesman-like. For instance, the Committee has recommended that (a) "the powers and functions assigned to the Centre should be as small in number as possible, provided that they shall in any case include—

"(i) matters of common interest to India as a whole, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence, Relations with Indian States, Inter-unit communications, Commerce, Customs, Currency, Posts and Telegraphs ;

(ii) settlement of inter-unit disputes ;

(iii) co-ordination, where necessary, of the legislation and administration of different Units ; and

(iv) such other matters or action as may be required for ensuring the safety and tranquillity of India or any part thereof, or for the maintenance of the political integrity and economic unity of India, or for dealing with any emergencies."

No Indian who has not altogether taken leave of his senses or reason, can take the slightest exception to any of these principles. The Committee has only indicated broad principles, and left the details to be worked out by the Constitution-making Body which may have to be set up later on.

In regard to the question of residuary powers, however, the Committee has recommended :

"While all matters not assigned to the Centre exclusively or concurrently, must be declared to fall within the sphere of the Units, a list of these should, for greater certainty, be given in the Constitution Act with the rider that all residuary powers—those not included in either of the two lists—shall vest in the Units."

It is evident from this that, according to the Committee, the residuary powers in the proposed Indian Union should be vested in the Units. Here there is room for an honest difference of opinion. The Committee has obviously made this recommendation in view of the Muslim sentiment on the question,¹⁶ and also in view of the Congress attitude towards it. We feel, however, that the vesting of the residuary powers in the Units would tend to make the Centre in India somewhat weak. Regard being had to the history of India in the past and the lessons to be derived from it, to the frequent operation in that past of disruptive and centrifugal forces on the politics of this country, to the complexity of its problems arising from the heterogeneity of its races, creeds, languages, etc., to the attitude of some sections of its people towards our constitutional and communal problem, and to our frontier questions, nothing should be done to weaken the position of its Central Government further than what is absolutely necessary for the purposes of Federation, which is, however, the only system of Government suited to India's peculiar circumstances. In our view, a strong Central Government is indispensable to the success of any scheme of Federation in this

¹³ Unfortunately, the Sapru Committee has, as shown later on, itself recommended the introduction of this principle of parity into the constitution of the proposed Central (or Union) Executive.

¹⁴ It is true that the Committee has stated in its Report that "it will be unjust and improper to extend the concession of parity to the services, civil or military;" that "Government services like any other service, must be based upon individual merit and fitness;" and that "it will be dangerous to extend the principle of parity to the defence services." Our apprehension, however, is that it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to prevent this extension of the principle of parity to other directions once it is introduced into the constitution of the Lower House of the Union (i.e., Central) Legislature and of the Union (Central) Executive.

¹⁵ Recommendation 10.

¹⁶ And we find in the Report of the Committee :—"Though the case for a strong Centre is strong, the Committee as a matter of compromise and for the sake of peace and amity, recommend the vesting of the residuary powers in the provinces, in accordance with the Muslim view. Mr. P. R. Das and some other members disagree with this recommendation."

country. It is also the lesson of the constitutional history of the United States of America and of Canada. In view of all these, we think it highly desirable that the Central Government of India should have jurisdiction over all matters not exclusively assigned by the Constitution Act to the Governments of its Constituent Units, and that the latter should have jurisdiction only over certain matters specifically assigned to them by the Constitution Act. If necessary, the scope of the jurisdiction of the Constituent Units may be made much wider than what has been provided for in the Provincial Legislative List in the Seventh Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, provided that the irreducible minimum of subjects proposed by the Sapru Committee to be included in the list of powers of the Centre and which we have shown before, is not interfered with in any way.

These are our views on the question of the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units in the proposed Union (or Federation) of India. (It would have been well if the Committee had used the term "Federation" rather than "Union"). If, however, in view of the commitment¹⁷ of the All-India Congress Committee on 8th August, 1942, and also in view of the attitude of some sections of the population of this country and the attitude of some of its Princes, it is ultimately proposed, as a matter of compromise not to vest the residuary powers in the Central Government, then we should like to suggest that the question of residuary powers should be included in the list of concurrent subjects, with the usual implication that in the event of a conflict between a central law and the law of a Constituent Unit affecting a residuary matter, the former would prevail over the latter. This would also be quite in consonance with the spirit of the other principles which have been suggested by the Committee for the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units, and which we have quoted before. At any rate, the question of residuary powers should not be allowed to be made an insuperable obstacle to the establishment of an Indian Union (or Federation). The really vital problem today is the question of the partition of India, as proposed by a section of the people of this country. And on this question there *cannot*, and *must not*, be any compromise. India must be politically *one* as she is one geographically and in many other respects. And in this matter the Committee has taken, it must be said to its credit, an admirable stand.

In regard to the question of Union Executive, the Committee has, broadly speaking, suggested two alternatives. The first alternative provides for a satisfactory coalition (or composite) executive, representative of all important elements in the Central Legislature, together with ministerial responsibility on the British lines. The second alternative practically provides for the introduction of the Swiss system of Executive government into our Centre. We should like, subject

to what we have stated below, to give an honest trial to the first alternative, say, for a period of ten years. We make this suggestion, especially in view of the fact that we have become, to some extent at least, familiar with the working of the parliamentary system of government in this country ever since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. If, however, the first alternative does not work satisfactorily, particularly from the point of view of minorities, we may later on go in entirely for the second alternative, both for the Centre and the Provinces of India. We should honestly and seriously give a trial to the first alternative. In regard to one point we are entirely at one with the Committee. Government by a single party, however good it might be in theory, is not suited to the present circumstances of India, or even to the immediate future as far as we can foresee it. It will in practice mean the virtual dictatorship of communal cabinets with all its concomitant evils. Joint electorates may mitigate these evils to some extent, but not wholly. Coalitionism, on the other hand, will mean government by "reasonable compromises and adjustments of view," and this is exactly what we need today in India.

There is, however, one difficulty even in connexion with the first alternative. The Committee has recommended that

"The executive of the Union shall be a composite cabinet in the sense that the following communities shall be represented on it, *viz.*, (i) Hindus other than Scheduled Castes, (ii) Muslims, (iii) Scheduled Castes, (iv) Sikhs, (v) Indian Christians, and (vi) Anglo-Indians;" and that the "representation of these communities in the executive shall be, as far as possible, a reflection of their strength in the legislature."

Regard being had to the composition of the Union Legislature as recommended by the Committee, this recommendation regarding the constitution of the Union Executive virtually means the introduction into it of the principle of party of representation as between the Caste Hindus and the Muslims, and is, therefore, liable, more or less, to the same kind of criticism as we have seen in the case of the recommendation of the Committee in regard to the constitution of the Union Legislature. Since we have dealt with this matter before we do not like to say anything further here.

In conclusion, we should like to state that we have practically dealt with every important recommendation of the Sapru Committee in regard to the future Constitution of India. There is nothing particular to be said about its recommendation regarding the future judiciary of this country. We have criticized some of the recommendations of the Committee. It is only natural that in the present circumstances of India there will be a controversy over some of these recommendations, specially when the Committee has attempted to steer a middle course. At the same time, we cannot help feeling that the recommendations of the Committee have not so far received from our leaders the consideration which they deserve.

¹⁷ In the course of a resolution, adopted on 8th August, 1942, in its Bombay Session, the All-India Congress Committee declared itself in favour of a Federal Constitution for India, "with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units."



THE FALL OF HITLER AND CHURCHILL

By Prof. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (Oxford)

THESE two events are the symbols of the two historical processes which are visible in the world politics of today. They are the two aspects of the world revolution of our time. The overthrow of Hitler only would have meant half the battle of freedom fought, that is, merely the defeat of Nazi imperialism. The fall of Churchill from power indicates the new tendency of winding up of the old and more deep-rooted and dangerous imperialism. These two historical events also symbolise the progress of an external revolution between the relation of nations, namely, that of creating closer and greater international bonds of world security and co-operation and that of an internal revolution within nations and empires, namely, that of the emancipation of lower classes and conquered colonies. But this new two-fold revolution will be defeated if Hitlerism and Churchillism are pursued by their successors who control world politics. There seems a developing danger of that kind to-day.

In order to value properly the achievements of great men it is necessary to estimate the character of our men in relation to that of our age. Today our ideas are great, our environment is full of great possibilities, but our leading men do not rise to the height necessary to usher in a new era of security and welfare. Five men have brought our political world to the state in which it is placed today; Stalin, Roosevelt, Hitler, Churchill and Hirohito. Stalin, the imperial Communist, who was never elected to the headship of the state, has manipulated successfully the machinery of the party and dominated the life and politics of the Soviet State after Lenin (1924). His war policy, defensive and offensive, has been very successful. Today he holds the reins of world's future peace and war. Roosevelt, the active liberal democrat, was the elected President of the American people from 1932 to 1944. He played a great part in the present war and contributed effectively to the Allies' success as by his democratic utterances and plans, and war organisation. Churchill, the imperialist conservative, was the Prime Minister of England during 1939-1945. He proved a successful leader in war, but was adamant in not giving up his deep-rooted imperialism. As against these came Hitler, the radical totalitarian, who was elected by the German people and parliament to unite and restore Germany to her former greatness and to wipe out the Versailles dictated settlement. We do not know much about Hirohito, the heaven-born and heaven-missioned ruler of Japan from 1927.

Our present knowledge and notions of events do not permit us as yet to estimate correctly the achievements of Hitler and Churchill. We can only set up some comparisons between them to find out their resemblances and differences. They worked in various capacities in the home and foreign politics of their country. We can study Hitler's work as a soldier, as a party leader and organiser, as a national leader, as the head of the Third Reich, and as a war leader. His apparent achievements are the destruction of Versailles settlement, the liberation, unification and reformation of Germany, and his brilliant successes in the early phases of the World War II. We can study Churchill's work as a soldier, as a party politician, as a minister in various capacities and as a prime minister of England. Churchill's great achievements seem to be largely negative or protective. He contributed to the safety of England

in the first world war and saved it in the second world war. They may also be studied as orators, writers, organisers and reformers. If there were a modern Plutarch he would give us comparative studies in the biographies of great men of England and Germany and would thus enrich our biographical literature.

In interpreting the fall of Hitler and that of Churchill we must first answer the question: Is the age of imperial wars or world wars or even people's wars over? Can the United Nations' Charter prevent them? Can the discovery of atomic bomb and a world security Council do that? If the morals and ambitions of great powers have not changed and the fears and frustrations of great peoples have not disappeared, if a new irresistible power which can transcend old morality and ambition has not arisen to dominate the world for world welfare, then we may not expect the end of wars.

Both Hitler and Churchill represented not the new world view and ideal of equality and brotherhood, but the old one of dominance and subjection. They have been men of war and hate against weaker peoples from their early careers. Both were soldiers first. Both believed in tanks, bombers, guns and bombs as weapons of war and supremacy. At home they aimed at security and welfare of their own people. Abroad they aimed at racial dominance, and overbalance and weightage of power in their own country's favour. At home they believed in aristocratic and conservative dictatorial rule. Abroad they were racialists and imperialists—politically and economically. They adopted tactics of total warfare and subjection. They believed in the theory of chosen races, superior families, and white men's missions and burdens in the world of coloured and lower races. They worshipped their ancestors and glorified their imperial adventures and aggressions. They possessed faith in themselves, in their holy missions of racial nationalism and white imperialism. They showed faith in an overruling Providence believing that they themselves were in its special care. They desired for themselves European hegemony and world supremacy. They were feudalists, emphasizing the rights and privileges of the conquerors. They wanted to live on the labour and lebensraum of others economically and politically. They wanted colonies in their neighbourhood, and abroad in the distant world. They sought and fought for strategic frontiers, ports, lines and places in others' territories and in the islands and coasts of great oceans. They were anti-communists at home, and anti-nationalists abroad. They believed in themselves as men of destiny and agents of god's mission. They harboured two moralities—one of security and welfare for themselves and their people, and the other of warfare and subjection for the conquered and the coloured.

But their political limitations and objectives were different. Therefore, their ways differed. Churchill's problem was one of the preservation of the British Empire, that of Hitler was one of liberation and unification of the Germans. Both recognised force as a necessity in political life. Both partly succeeded and partly failed. Churchill's philosophy was one of white imperialism. Hitler's was that of a new racial nationalism.

Hitler preached a *vendetta* (vengeance) against Jews and a *vedette* (watch) against other backward races. He wanted all Germans to be united into one Reich under one control. He wanted all German color-

nies to be restored and a living space for Germans in Eastern Europe. He wanted to unite Europe under German direction and control. To Hitler, Germany had become like a colony of the outside world. Under the Versailles treaty it had lost sovereignty over its own territory. It had lost her colonies and resources, prestige and honour, security and freedom. It was dismembered, disarmed and despoiled. It was surrounded by a ring of powerful foes. Therefore, his aim was to destroy the Versailles settlement, to unite all Germans and Germany, to abolish the conflict of all classes, parties, states and churches *within the Reich*, to expel its foreign and undesirable elements, to become autonomous in food and material resources, to secure sufficient living space, to promote and plan economic, social and intellectual life of the people. To make all this possible and achievable he wished to strengthen the army as the guarantee of the security and freedom of the country. This was to him his model revolution. Today no objective historian holds the thesis that Germany prepared for and instigated a world-wide war in 1914 for world domination. Therefore, Hitler's standpoint and object seem to be justified to the extent that the Versailles treaty was unjust to Germany.

Churchill has, however, always felt and stressed the paramount necessity of keeping the balance of power in Europe, and over-balance in Anglo-French favour, of keeping Germany weak and divided, partitioned and encircled. He was largely for an Europe as it was made by and after the Versailles settlement, advocating only a few readjustments to redress Germany's grievances. He was for the preservation of the British Empire as it was and not for any change. Like a modern Duryodhan he was not favourable to restoring German colonies. His philosophy of empire economy and empire strategy made him an enemy of Russia, Germany and Turkey, and later on of Japan also. He was against Indian and Colonial self-government. The colonial and coloured people were considered low and backward and were to be under England's eternal tutelage and control. Only during this war he showed a spirit of temporary flexibility in his advocacy of Anglo-French Union, Atlantic Charter, and Continental Councils. But after the war the old spirit of dominance, balance of power, partition, etc., revived in the proposals of the Potsdam peace. In them all his ideas of balance of power and disunity in Europe, colonial imperialism and partition, are fully present. If Hitler hated Jews, Churchill hated coloured peoples.

Anglo-French policy after the first world war added more fuel to the burning desire of Germany for revenge and liberation. Anglo-French imperialism engendered German imperialism. The trouble was that while British imperialism was replete, German imperialism was hungry. The German empire was cramped for space. The British empire was forty times more roomy. No one looked to the unity of Europe. Churchill had no constructive plan for Europe. His leadership was of the old type. He was fond of old diplomacy of alliances, secret understandings and divide and rule. He bent his energies and used national and imperial resources for the cause of armies fighting in Europe and Asia along the old lines of imperialism. He sacrificed his own people and others from the colonies and dominions for his narrow imperial interests and advances. Without a united Europe and a liberated Asia world wars will not end.

Since his first entry into politics Churchill has made a full circle of his changing political loyalties. From being a conservative (Tory Democrat) at first, and then becoming a Unionist Free Trader, a Liberal, a Coalition Liberal, a Liberal Free-trader, an anti-Socialist, a Constitutionalist in turn, he finally became a Conservative again.

Hitler, however, created a new national socialist party, and when he came to power, liquidated all other parties. But the root ideas of Churchillian Tory democracy based on his father Randolph's Fourth Party were similar to those of Hitler's Nazi-Socialism. One of his biographers says, "Here (in the Fourth Party) were seeds that might in the fullness of time and on a more favourable soil than that of England have borne deadly fruit in the category that we now designate *national socialist*. For it was Randolph's intuition, as it has been that of Hitler and Mussolini, that the way to defeat the politics and ideologies of the left, from Liberal to Communist, is by combining the forces of reaction with those of the mob in a sort of passionate team drive, using for that purpose every sort of emotional stimulus, patriotic or otherwise, and carefully declining any decision on a rational plane. Churchill's tactics in the political contest were those of total warfare. They stuck at nothing and spared nobody," as those of his father.

Hitler's fall was however due to foreign opposition and external defeat not to any internal revolution or disintegration. In his fall the plan of European unity fell, its centralised control and planned economy were defeated. Europe again became a congeries of nations with narrow ambitions and separate ideals. It again became a geographical expression like the old Greece or the modern Balkan states. But along with Hitler's fall the concept of racial domination of master and slave society in other parts of the world has also happily disappeared.

Churchill's fall is due to an internal electoral revolution. Externally he succeeded in diplomacy and the conduct of the war. But he was defeated by the Labour Party at home. His work as a war leader was over after the defeat of Germany. He is a man of war not of peace. He has no social reforms to his credit in his long career as a minister and politician. His main interest and work lay in the preservation of the British empire and the organisation of her fighting services and equipment.

The difference between Hitler and Churchill, or Germany and Britain, is this, that in Germany the idea of chosen race and imperial rule was explicitly discussed, and reasoned, proclaimed and preached, and finally put to the test of war. In England, however, it was assumed in silence as truth so self-evident historically as to call for no discussion among people. Germany wanted to prove it by new wars. England had already proved it by old wars and conquests, colonies and possessions.

In this connection let us read the speech of Lloyd George at the time of the Agadir crisis of 1911. He warned Germany in these words :

"If a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace can only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, but allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected as if she were of no account in

the Cabinet of nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."

Now compare this speech on Agadir crisis and Hitler's speeches on Versailles peace. Churchill was a member of the Liberal Cabinet along with Lloyd George. You cannot conceive that Agadir crisis affected even remotely the life of England as the Versailles peace affected the life and death question of Germany and also the question of its security and honour. Agadir was not a part even of the British empire, while parts of Germany were handed over or separated from Germany just to weaken and humiliate her, and she was deprived of all her colonies by England.

But leaving this comparison aside, the fall of Hitler was necessary from the point of view of European humanity, if not of European unity. Hitler's methods were very violent and tyrannical. His crimes against Jews, non-Nazis, Communists and others were crimes against European humanity and human morality. The fall of Churchill has a similar significance from the point of view of coloured and conquered humanity within the British empire. The atrocities attributed to British officials during and after 1942 or earlier in India during his Prime Ministership are not more justified than those of Hitler's agents or officials in conquered countries. The history of those atrocities is not unwritten. The record does not show any liberal pattern, though Churchill had not to wage any internal war within the empire.

The rise and regime of Hitler has changed the course of world history, the political, economic and moral map of the world. It will be a significant and continuing event in history. It cannot at present be fully or correctly elucidated and estimated. No doubt due to the Allies' successes Germany is now completely in ruins. But Churchill's rise and regime has not left any tradition or measure of social welfare or reform at home. His only contribution is the active part he played in winning this war. Hitler, however, has left a tradition of German unity, economic reconstruction, educational reform, and military invention and organisation which will require a close study for understanding it. His work in German rehabilitation was great. He removed the feeling of fear and frustration from the German mind. But his foreign enemies proved too great for his adventure. He, therefore, fell because the world went against him.

Was Hitler then an adventurer and a tyrant cast up by the merest chance or was he a truly German phenomenon, taking the needs, the environment and aims of Germany at that time? If we accept the thesis that the Versailles peace and the Russian Revolution and politics created a problem for Germany of "unite or perish," then Hitler's rise and regime was a logical sequence of tremendous weight for Germany. His achievements in German unification, regeneration, education, army, industry and science are worth considering. His was not purely a war-mind but also a welfare-mind, though it was also a racial mind. Therefore, Hitler's German revolution was a great political and social phenomenon in her national history. It transformed German spirit and values of life. It was a new way. If he had succeeded, he would have given unity but not humanity to Europe, both political and economic, and made it a coherent whole. It would have been possible for the succeeding generations to create

on that basis a new spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity in Europe but under a new leadership and ideology. George Bernard Shaw says :

"If the allies had not abused their victory over Germany after 1918 instead of restoring her to health and sanity as carefully as they restored German prisoners of war, Adolf Hitler's rise to power would have been impossible. We and our allies were stupid and cowardly enough to reduce Germany to that condition (of ruin) and give Adolf Hitler his opportunity. For seizing that opportunity he deserved from his country all the gratitude he got."

To raise them from that ruin Hitler gave the message :

"You are Germans—the world's supermen. Unite and follow me. A mighty destiny awaits you."

His Potsdam utterance was :

"We wish to restore the unity, spirit and will of the German nation. We wish to preserve the eternal foundation of our life, namely, our race, and the forces and values given to it."

No such problem of ruin or survival, fear or frustration ever awaited Churchill's England during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet study Churchill's life carefully from 1895 to 1945. It is that of a soldier indulging in Colonial warfare and of a soldier engaged in politics. Here is what A. G. Gardiner says about him (1914) :

"The whole spirit of his politics is military. It is impossible to think of him except in the terms of actual warfare. The smell of powder is about his path, and wherever he appears one seems to hear the crack of musketry and he feels the hot breath of battle. To his impetuous swiftness he joins the gift of calculating strategy. If we could conceive him in a great upheaval he would be seen emerging in the role of what Bagehot calls 'Benthamite despot,' dismissing all feudal ideas and legitimist pretensions, sweeping aside all aristocracies, proclaiming the democratic doctrine of the greatest happiness of the great number (of Englishmen) and seating himself astride the storm as the people's Caesar at once dictator and democrat."

Thus his real political philosophy is the philosophy of Caesarism. But as the British governmental foundations are solid and its Parliamentary steel-frame is fixed Churchill's genius and force have to find their scope within its existing limits. Therefore, he could shine only as a war, navy or munitions minister. He is a man of action, a soldier of politics, who lives for adventure, and loves his fight more than the cause, more even than his ambition or his life. He has one purpose—to be in the firing line either of war or peace. He loathes the canker of long peace and a calm world. He sees life in terms of war. To him politics and war are one.

His speeches against the Labour Party during the recent election showed how he scorned Labour. He would have out-Hitlered Hitler if he had been born in Germany. His only field of activity and devotion is the British Empire. His only object of hatred is Communism and colonial nationalism. Englishmen could not afford to give up India, Mr. Churchill once explained to

Americans, because 'two out of every ten Englishmen depend on India.' He says like Duryodhan, 'I shall not give one inch of British empire or liquidate the British empire.'

The destruction of Germany would be a world tragedy. Nothing can alter the inevitable fact that Germany is a nation of eight crores with its gigantic resources of industry and science, intellect and patriotic spirit and unity. Can the big four establish democracy, security, peace and welfare in Europe with these eight crores permanently excluded or enslaved? The problems of Europe, political, economic and cultural, have to be regarded and solved from the point of view of Europe as a whole. Germany has suffered in the past from a number of causes. Her geographical position being central in Europe, and having no natural boundaries has brought in foreign invaders like France, England and Russia who have always interfered in her internal political structure and civil warfare. Her lack of internal unity, being split up into a large number of feudal states and into religious divisions, made her weak against foreign aggression. Her interest and leadership in the Holy Roman Empire kept her entangled in non-German areas and politics for a long time and made her weak at home, giving rise to two new schools of German unity and empire, besides the old feudalist and sectarian schools. She, however, lacked a central idea or force which would unite her.

Political unity and economic security are an absolute necessity in an age of democracy and nationalism. It is to the credit of Prussia that these were given to her in the nineteenth century with the help of her strong administration and army, her advanced science and industry. She possessed great intelligence, ability and adventure. Her great men of science and technology lifted her to the top of the world of nations. Her strength was envied and feared by France and England. They were responsible for her break-up and ruin in 1919. The peace which was imposed on her involved annexations, dismemberment, humiliation, disarmament, reparations, and also spoliations of her colonies. France and England took a leading part in it, having created a bogey of German danger to world peace. The result of this Carthaginian peace was that there was a breakdown in international morality. It ushered in an era of fear, suspicion and frustration, and economic separation all over Europe. The power politics of the allies in the shape of division of spoils, reparations, partitions, indemnities remained, though a new organisation for international co-operation and peace was created. It was merely used as a cloak or camouflage to protect the national and imperial interests of big powers and to promote their ambitions. It therefore failed. Its sanctions failed. Its methods of collective security could not work because the members themselves betrayed its ideals and principles. Their methods, interests and spirit did not change. The Treaty settlements and the League of Nations aims could not be squared. The international League surrendered to national rivalries. It did not create any fundamental change in the nature and scope of old power politics. The principles of balance of power, partition, national rivalry and autarchy all remained. There was a scramble for territories and national boundaries in Europe and Asia, as Britain and France had grabbed almost all available colonies.

The nature of old politics was boundary-making in the interest of national sovereignty and security. It

embodied the idea of imperial dominance in old conquests and colonies and their economic exploitation and partition. Internally it meant conflict of four parties—Conservatives, Liberals, Religionists and Socialists and their sects. The methods of old politics consisted of the process of stabbing, stealing and strangling. For example, externally France and England stabbed Germany, Germany stabbed Czechoslovakia and Poland, Poland stabbed Lithuania and Russia, Russia stabbed Finland, Poland and Baltic states, Persia and Japan, Japan stabbed China and America. They all wanted to steal from and to strangle one another. Internally, for example, the communists and communalists stabbed the nationalists. Every one betrayed the other. This was the actual nature of current political practice. It is an usurping, encroaching and boring process. Russia wants ascendancy and dominance in the Eastern Europe and all Asia in the name of strategic security only. Britain wants ascendancy in Western Europe, the Mediterranean, Africa, Middle Asia and South East Asia, also in the name of security. France, Holland and Belgium want their empires for the same purpose. America wants to control the Pacific for the same purpose. Thus the actual treaties are creating new spheres and zones of influence and new regional interests which do not envisage a common organisation for world security.

The Potsdam settlement of 1945 is a Carthaginian peace. It is not a process of peace but of death to Germany. Her territory is partitioned and annexed. Her self-government and central government are destroyed. Her economic life and resources are ruined. Her scientific equipment, laboratories and machinery are taken away. Her scientists are kidnapped. She is militarily disarmed and occupied. Thus her territory is dismembered and her wealth and resources spoliated and she is now to be reduced primarily to an agricultural country. Thus the whole European economy is to be destroyed for the sake of revenge.

Will this military peace lead to civil peace? Will international warfare end? Will Germany survive? Will this new strategic and economic imperialism create any world security? Vienna settlement of 1815, Berlin settlement of 1878, and Versailles settlement of 1919 have not led to any durable peace but only created a new world disorder. The Holy Alliances, Grand Alliances, Continental Concerts, Communist Internationals and Leagues of Nations have all failed in this object. Now this new victory settlement and new Freedom Charter of 1945 do not seem likely to usher in a new world of peace and prosperity. The life of any peace settlement and its accompanying ideology is not more than roughly 20 years. As long as there is not one unitary dominant power and one determining ideology wars will come. There is always a time-lag and a value-lag between actual peace settlement and ideal peace settlement. Merely temporary balances and equilibriums will not cover the distance between its theory and practice. Under such a system and process of politics old Germany cannot be reformed. She may lie low. But she possesses enormous internal strength—physical, mental and spiritual. Her economic subordination cannot kill her spirit. Love of Germany and for Germans is held together there by something invisible as it were. Hers is not a merely clinging to the soil and race idea. It stands for a unique spirit, sentiment and weltanschauung. Germans are still young and inventive, adventurous and scientific. This valuable possession of theirs

cannot be easily destroyed. Unless there is established a new way of world organisation and world life, where freedom and equality, security and fraternity are properly balanced and assured to all, it is futile to expect a new Germany of liberal outlook to arise.

No doubt at present the most important political fact is that the global war has ended, and that the big four are dominant. There is primarily a shift in the balance of power from the Axis to the Allies. Only Germany, Japan and Italy are eliminated as great powers. France has become a second rate power and China appears to pose as a first rate power. Russia dominates Asia and Europe, America dominates the Pacific and the Atlantic, and Britain the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Thus there is a fundamental change in the strategic position and diplomatic relations of big powers. But the legacy of war as such is disastrous. The moral life and cultural unity of Europe is broken. There is a collapse of international law and a casualty of human morality. Small and weak states are either absorbed or terrified. There is mutual suspicion and distrust everywhere. There is greed and grab all round. Russia, Britain and America are taking a leading part in this process. In this way one cannot build a new world order. Conflict between old parties continues in all countries. There is racialism, religionism and nationalism rampant everywhere. There is no change in the mentality of Russia, Britain or even America. The principles of their new peace are more exacting than before. There is the principle of unconditional surrender and atomic bombing, of zonal occupations and military dictatorships, of permanent disruption and subjugation of Germany, of the old type of alliances for strategic security and economic exploitation. In this connection the terms dictated to Germany and Japan are to be studied. What will happen to their future economic life and social welfare? Today the problem of world peace, security and welfare is integral. It is indivisible. By disarming and dismembering merely the Axis powers it cannot be solved. All others are armed and arming and encroaching. Weak countries like Poland and France who were defeated easily are allowed to play their own political game against Germany as if they are great powers. The United Nations Charter is purely a sop to the national and regional sentiments of small powers at others' cost. So long as the three big powers retain for themselves irresistible military and economic power, the institutions and settlements they create for the government of mankind will be a disguise for their own dictatorships. If the old diplomacy remains and separate alliances and enmities are nurtured, then there is a great danger to the life of peaceful peoples and small nations of the world. The era of atomic power will promote human destruction and not construction, if the world does not co-operate and unite for its own peace and welfare. We want really a world state and a common world citizenship. Without it peace-planning and welfare-planning are impossible.

There are four ways of life contending for their acceptance in every country in the modern world: (1) old religionism, (2) old conservatism, (3) new liberalism and (4) new socialism. Christianity and Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism still think that they can solve all modern problems with their moral values and old apparatus. Similarly the conservatives, liberals and socialists are keen on their own ways of life and solutions they offer. Our problem is, will the pre-war system and morality which are tribal or national serve the

purposes of a world state and a united humanity? The fall of Hitler and Churchill shows that they cannot. Let us see who gives us the new lead and system. The world has become too small to be split up and soned into small groups. Our scientific development, economic needs and social contacts cannot depend on this process. The present world politics seems to split the world into more or less two main groups on a neighbourly basis, Russia and China on one side and England and America on the other. The Communist Russia seems to join the nationalist China. The socialist Britain will keep on the side of the nationalist America. Free India is likely to join the Asian group, so also other eastern countries. Africa being controlled and colonised by European nations will join the American group. Europe is already divided into zones of Russian influence in the East, and American influence in the west. Thus we shall now have two real world camps or regional associations on vast continental scales and one world security Council completely under the control of these two camps and four big powers. Whether they will co-operate or quarrel with one another is not easy or possible to forecast now. But the future is not likely to be all rosy in view of internal ideological and economic conflicts amongst associating nations, though the fall of Hitler and Churchill has strengthened the socialist influence and trend all over Europe. But this trend is that of a socialised nation. It is the era of national socialism in a new totalitarian sense. The nation covers and controls all the political, economic and cultural activities of the people. It is socialism in one land, with its strategic and economic conceptions of security and alliance. The Laissez-faire state is gone. The Social service state is supposed to be coming. But this state means the socialisation of the nation where socialism becomes nationalised. Here the spirit of liberalism disappears from all states in their mutual dealings. It has both a nationalist and socialist face. Its planned economy is meant to achieve social purpose for and within the nation. Its conception of self-determination and secession is its national aspect. Its economic and social planning is its social aspect. Its monopoly and protection of foreign trade and internal commercial and industrial policy and subsidy, its control of immigration and emigration are all national aims. Its control of scientists, and of science and its application, of literature, art and culture under the name of Soviet science and culture or Anglo-Saxon science and culture are of the same pattern.

National Socialism does not make any difference between the soldier and the civilian. All are soldiers and civilians and workers. It considers individual merely as unit or functionary in the organised forces of the socialised nation and for its organised purposes. There is no question of any recognition of international law between nations. At present there is a catastrophic deterioration in its rule and observance. There is a great change in international spirit of the old liberal period. It has extended from the methods of its present inhuman warfare to its purposes also. It has become clear that the terms of peace, whichever side emerges victorious, would constitute an attack on the standard of living of the defeated nation. The kind of policy reserved for colonial wars against backward peoples is for the first time being turned by European powers against one another. War among socialised nations has inevitably become an instrument for securing economic advantage for the victor and inflicting enormous dis-

abilities on the defeated. Modern wars are being fought to a point and the defeated have no rights.

Modern national governments cannot and will not observe international treaties or rule of international law when they become burdensome to the security or welfare of their own nation. Study, for example, German and Russian policy, before, during and after the war. The expulsion of population from their homelands, the

destruction of their economic resources and industries, despoiling them of scientific inventions and equipments, interference in their educational and cultural life are all characteristics of the new era of national socialism which is being born in the world among great socialised nations who have succeeded in this war. The great sage Vyasa observes about the results of the great war, अस्तमात्पराजयः — Success involves therefore defeat.

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THE PRE-HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF KERALA

By L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M.A.

ARCHAEOLOGY in Kerala remained till recently a virgin field for research. The paucity of research in Kerala was due to the absence of trained workers with a diversity of knowledge. According to one scholar, it is the science of antiquities previous to the earliest human documents.¹ This view is not generally accepted, as it takes stock of only countries which possessed documentary evidence for centuries and leaves out of account those primitive peoples, who up to our own times, have lived outside history. It should, therefore, include all peoples and all those questions of man's existence of which written documents by the peoples concerned are wanting. In the words of J. de Morgan, it applies to the most remote as to contemporary times, for it is impossible to dissociate ethnography, that is, the study of modern homogeneous groups from that of peoples of whom classical writers speak or from the study of men known to us by the traces they have left, men whose name is lost to posterity. In short, it will be more precise to state that the study of archaeological pre-history deals with peoples who have not bequeathed their annals. Here ethnography merges with pre-historic archaeology since it begins with history. Sir Leonard Woolly, the distinguished archaeologist, stressed on the want of sufficient contact between archaeologists and anthropologists, and suggested an interesting possibility of unravelling the problem of the past by significant survivals among existing peoples. He thinks that more light may be thrown on the problem of ancient burial customs in South India by the survivals among backward tribes than by direct archaeological evidence.

It may not be out of place to point out that the pre-historic branch of ethnographic studies began as a French science. The archaeology of the pre-historic remained a mere sub-division of ethnography until it was perceived with the aid of geology that traces of man in the alluvium, in caverns and in soils contribute materials of great importance to the study of origins. Thanks to the researches of M. Boule, Tournal, and Abbe Breuil, evidences multiplied, though the thinking world was at first incredulous. It shall be my endeavour to sift from the scrap-heap of information about the pre-historic antiquities of Kerala, and arrange them in their proper perspective with the aid of ethnology on the basis of European methods. My endeavour shall be to retell the history of human progress of the earliest man in Kerala in the light of developments in Europe. Ferguson treated a part of the subject in his *Rude Monuments of all Countries*, while Logan made a survey

of the *Old Chipped Stones of India*. As head of the Geological Survey of India, Bruce Foote was the first to make a notable contribution by the publication of his *Pre-Historic Antiquities*. Thus the science that was born in France has spread in every continent.

The pre-historic archaeology of Kerala is in the making. The traditional ancient history of Kerala is enshrined in the *Kerala Mahatmyam* and the *Keralolpathi*. They recount that the axe-bearing incarnation of Vishnu (Parasurama) was obliged by the Rishis to expiate the sin of having slain his mother by extirpating the Kshatriyas, the enemies of the Brahmans. This he accomplished in twenty-one expeditions. At Viswamitra's suggestion he then made over all the land within the four seas to the Rishis with all the blood-guiltiness attached to it, by making them drink of the water of possession. The Brahmans turned him out of the land he thus gave away, but with Subramania's assistance, he obtained by penance from the God of the seas, Varuna, the grant of some land, to dwell on. The throw of his axe was to determine the extent. He threw it from *Kunya Kumari* (Cape Comorin) to *Gokarnam*. The gods came to visit the land thus miraculously won and called it Parasurama's land, and Siva condescended to be worshipped at *Gokarnam*, the metropolis of the Province thus reclaimed from the sea. To people the land, Parasurama is said to have brought first of all a poor Brahman from the banks of the Krishna river. This man had eight sons, and the eldest was made the head of all the Brahmans of Kerala and located, some say, at a place near *Gokarnam* and others say at *Trivaperur* (Trichur) in the Cochin State. Other Brahmans were next brought and located in sixty-four *gramams* or villages. Ships with seeds and animals next came, also eighteen *Samantas* (sons of Brahmans and Kshatriya women) also *Vaishyas* (Chettis) and *Sudras* and the low castes.²

The extermination of the Kshatriyas referred to in the above legend may be considered as pointing to the struggle between the Brahmans and Kshatriyas in which the mythical hero is supposed to have played a part. He is supposed to have been the leader of a band of Brahman colonists, who pressed from behind, had to seek for fresh lands and pastures new. This is said to have taken place between 1400 and 1000 B.C. There can be scarcely any doubt that Kerala was known to the Aryans at a very early period at least in the first half of the fourth century B.C.³ In the absence of direct

¹ Logan, *Manual of Malabar*, p. 221.

² L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, *Lectures on Ethnography*, p. 46.

³ Jacques De Morgan, *Pre-historic Man*, p. 22.

evidence bearing on the question of the first settlers of Kerala, we have to rely on evidence derived from materials scattered all over Kerala in the forests in the shape of dolmens, cairns, and stone cellars.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRE-HISTORIC MONUMENTS

The distribution of pre-historic monuments follows the zones of the primitive tribes in India. They are found in Assam, Chota Nagpur, South India, and the North-West Frontier regions. They exist over the whole country drained by the Godavari, more commonly in the valleys of the Krishna, and on both sides of the ghats through Coimbatore as far as Cape Comorin. "Pre-historic dolmens" or burial cairns, in which are found bones, stones and other implements, pottery and beads, are to be met with here and there, especially in the upland tracts of the country, and the people who found their sepulchre in these cairns must have been among the first settlers of Kerala. Subjugated and harassed by the succeeding waves of immigrants or invaders, the race seems to have become extinct many centuries ago, and left no trace behind them except their own sepulchres.⁴ The men of the Bronze Age used to bury their dead either in an unburnt condition or after cremation, and raised burial mounds over them. The ashes of the cremated bodies, together with tools, weapons and utensils were often placed in or beneath urns. In Travancore they are found in the Anjanad valley and the Cardamom Hills. The dolmens are found on both banks of the Pambanar in the Anjanad valley and command a wide view of the surrounding country so as to be eminently suitable for defence. On the highlands they are larger in size than in the lowlands, where they exhibit a progressive deterioration in size. The great concentration of dolmens is in Bellary where there are as many as 2127 dolmens. Such concentration of dolmens is found in the Anjanad valley in Travancore. The custom of burying the ashes and bones in pots prevails among some castes, and Logan thinks it to be the latest development of the art which dictated the construction of the megalithic monuments.

PURPOSE OF THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS

Respect for the dead seems to have been a prominent characteristic of man in the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods. It implied a belief in after life. The most interesting aspect of Neolithic life lay in the rituals of the dead which consisted in the raising of works of rough stone over the dead who were buried in urns. The idea was that the spirit of the dead should be given a location as in life and that the chamber of the dead should be the proto-type of the home. They apprehended that "unless the departed spirit had a home and other things as in life, it would hover restless and troublesome around its old abode doing thereby harm to the living."⁵ To accommodate the spirit they constructed various megalithic monuments which were rude structures built of large pieces of stone. We get an imperfect glimpse of the remote past from Ward and Conner who stated "that there is no monument deserving particular notice."⁶ "The *pandukushies* or barrows, those remains of primeval customs so common throughout the Peninsula, are also found here though

they are not numerous. In one opened by me at Chokkanad there was found a large earthen jar containing a few rice husks." Menhirs have been observed in parts of North Travancore and Cochin. When the Varkala tunnel was bored, old pots, human skeletons were found. These remains indicate that the tracts were inhabited by the same race of men that constructed the *pandukushies* of the adjoining British tracts. The absence of any implements associated with such burial places probably indicate their antiquity.⁷ Coming to modern times, the late Dewan Bahadur Dr. L. K. Anantkrishna Iyer made a notable contribution on the subject to the *South Indian Encyclopaedia* and Mr. K. K. Sen Gupta, a distinguished Geologist in Cochin (1910-1913) published the results of his valuable research on the megalithic monuments of the State in the *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Institute*. The



A view of two typical dolmens

present writer published the results of his researches in Travancore in the State Census Report for 1931 and in the third volume of *The Travancore Tribes and Castes*, while Mr. Vasudeva Poduval made a notable contribution by his excavations in the High Ranges. Dr. Ayyappan published an interesting account of his excavations in North Malabar in *The Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.

The study of primitive people living in our own day and thus coming within the range of modern pre-history is extremely useful in helping us to an understanding of the customs of the earliest inhabitants of our land. Like the Veddas of Ceylon, the Hill-Pandarams of Travancore afford us a ready example. Their customs bespeak a people devoting little thought in their subsistence, which nature provided in abundance. Their dwellings are of the simplest character, being rock-shelters or break-winds resting on a junglewood post or small huts made of junglewood posts and wild plaintain leaves. Weapons they have none but the digging spud. They live by hunting or on tubers which they find in the jungle. The dead are buried where they die. They illustrate the gradual disappearance of a people without leaving any archaeological trace.

PALAEOLITHIC MAN

The occurrence of rock played an important part in the selection of sites for habitation by palaeolithic man. We find thicker settlements in South India than in North India. It is in the river districts of South India that palaeolithic man is traced most often

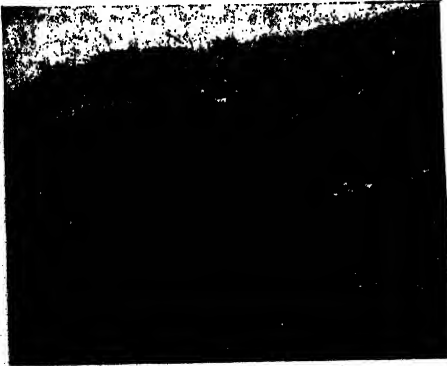
4 C. Aabutha Menon, *State Manual* (Cochin), p. 30.

5 V. Ramachari, *The Prehistoric India*, p. 111.

6 Ward & Conner, *Memoirs of Tr. Survey*, p. 19.

7 V. Nagamiah, *State Manual* (Travancore).

exhibiting various stages of culture. The Billa Sargam caves of Karnul offer up a sure proof of very early palaeolithic cave-dwellers in South India. It appears to have been resorted to from very early times to neolithic times by a race who were mighty hunters like the Hill Pandarams of Travancore. We have so far no evidence of palaeolithic man or his industry in Kerala, as quartzite is not to be found in abundance. Further palaeolithic man appears to have scrupulously avoided forest regions to clear and explore which was difficult with his crude primitive weapons. Thus while in the Deccan plateau and the East coast, Palaeolithic man lived, Kerala was without any human life.*



A view of a dolmen with rubble stone packing on the cover slab

The palaeolithic passed into the neolithic in South India, which became the emanating centre of the later neolithic culture over other parts of India. Throughout the world we see a number of innovations emanating with neolithic industry. This phase of development of human intelligence opened up the real high road to progress. Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar teem with monuments to illustrate this phase of culture.

II

NEOLITHIC MONUMENTS IN TRAVANCORE

The New Stone Age is marked by the steady development of social and religious ideas, the steady improvement of tools, weapons, and utensils, the extended conquest of material, and the laying down of all the essential bases on which the society of the present would be resting. Men were bent on improving their hammers and axes, on raising the standard of comfort, and on evolving an impressive and worthy form of burial for their leaders. They became very practical and very religious.

The dolmens are rude structures consisting of large unhewn stone resting on two or more others placed erect. They are found scattered on the long chain of wooded hills in Travancore. They are generally considered to be "stones of the monkeys of India," but most of the primitive people of Travancore have no knowledge of them, nor do they evince any interest in them. The people of Anjanad call them *Valividus* or abodes of monkeys. Of their antiquity, Professors Macdonell

and Keith point out references in the Rig-Veda, while the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao refers to passages in *Tolkapiyam* and *Purananuru*. The Uralis call them *Pandukushies*, pits made by the Pandus or Pandavas, to whom ancient mysterious monuments all over India are generally ascribed. They are looked upon by the credulous as sacred and dangerous. It is said that peasants in France will not take shelter under them or go near them at night, but the Vellalas and Malapulayas of Anjanad have no such fear. They sit under them when they graze their cattle. Drs. Borlase and Stukeley in England think that dolmens were connected with the activities of a shady priesthood. It is averred by Walhouse that the people who built them were a race of dwarfs about a span or cubit high, but the results of excavation unfold a different tale. The bones found are neither of dwarfs nor of giants, but men of ordinary stature and the stone-slabs used for monuments indicate that they were cut from solid rock and carried some distance, and the people were physically equal to the present race of men.

The Uralis of Travancore believe that dolmens are places where treasure is hidden. But no such treasure has been found in any of them. Dolmens are burial chambers in which people of late Neolithic times buried their people of importance. In Travancore they are invariably found on the crests of hills in the Rani reserve, and they are built of unhewn blocks of stone. In the erection of dolmens, certain architectural methods and principles are observed. By the use of the orthostatic rock, the maximum of wall area was provided with the minimum of thickness. With the upright wall technique went hand in hand the roofing of narrow spaces by means of horizontal slabs laid across on the top of the uprights. The second feature of megalithic monuments was the use of more or less coursed masonry set without mortar, each block lying on its side, and not its edge. A series of uprights is first put in position, and over these are laid several courses of rather smaller stones.* A variant of the latter is found in the Anjanad valley.

TYPES OF DOLMENS

According to Colonel Meadows Taylor, the dolmens are of two kinds, those consisting of four stones, three supporting stones and one capstone, leaving one side open, and those in which the chamber is closed by a fourth stone; in the latter case, the fourth stone has a circular opening in it. Both these types of dolmens are found in Travancore. The dolmen at Kadukuthi in the Rani Reserve is rectangular and the position above ground is 8 feet by 2½ feet in dimensions. It has only one gallery. Lengthwise, it has one single upright on one side and two others on the opposite side. Sideways there is one on each side. The floor is paved with a single stone slab. The capstone is 7 feet × 7½ feet and is rudely triangular. The dolmen is situated on the crest of a hill. It appears to have been a dolmen of the earliest times as it is built of unhewn blocks of stone. The presence of stones lying scattered around the dolmen shows that it might have been covered with them. Excavation yielded no results.

Rev. Mater found another group of dolmens on the hills inhabited by the Malayaraysans. They stand north to south with a circular opening facing the south. A rude stone is fitted to this aperture with another

* A Guide to the Study of the Antiquities of the Stone Age, pp. 113-114.

† Fergusson, Rough Stone Monuments, p. 465.

acting as a lever to prevent its falling out. The stones like stones at the top and bottom are single slab.¹⁰ To this day, the Arayans make similar little cells of stone, the whole forming a box, a few inches square.

Dolmens are also found at Perunthalpara on both sides of the Thalayar or Pambanar river, a small tributary of the Amaravati which flows into the Cauvery. Here on a flat level rocky tableland are seen a large number of dolmens in groups of three, four, or five. Around each group is a circular packing of roughly hewn stones or boulders. These groups of dolmens are found distributed in a circle. The disposition of the majority of the dolmens is east to west. A few are also in the north to south direction. The upright stones are rectangular in shape and are about 10 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 7 feet high. The cover slab is 17 ft. × 7 ft. 8 inches. The floor is paved with a flatstone slab 9 ft. × 4 ft. 6 inches. The inner chamber is 9 ft. × 4 ft. Over some of the cover slabs are found remnants of rubble stone packing. There is a semi-circular entrance to the dolmen on one side. Most of these dolmens have four uprights, but one dolmen in some group has only three uprights and one capstone, thus leaving one side open. At Vadattupara in the Malayattur Reserve there is a dolmen consisting of four uprights, but it is smaller and cruder in shape than those found in the Anjanad valley.

The State Archaeologist Mr. Vasudeva Poduval has conducted extensive excavations at Tengakkal near Vandiperiyar on the High Ranges. In cist 1, the measurements of the capstone were on an average 9 ft. 6 inches length, 6 ft. 10 inches breadth, 1 foot thickness, and the area excavated was 10 ft. × 8 ft. to a depth of 4½ ft. Two burial urns were unearthed one of which was 5 ft. 3 inches in circumference at the mouth, 7 ft. 1 inch in the middle and 2 ft. 10 inches in height. The smaller urn had a circumference of 3 ft. 8 inches at the mouth, 5 ft. 6 inches at the middle and 2 ft. 6 inches in height. They were found side by side with an intervening space of 1 foot 4 inches. The thickness of the bigger urn is eleven-sixteenth inch, while that of the small one ¼ inch. The bigger urn has all round it a ring chain with parallel symmetrical ends. There were two more cists in a stone circle whose circumference was 85 feet. Trial diggings were also made at Velimalai in South Travancore, where they brought to light twenty sepulchral urns. Two of them were unearthed from one of which two iron axes were discovered. The pottery of the burial urns at Vandiperiyar and Velimalai is not painted and has very little decoration. The larger urns have a chain pattern or bead pattern drawing on the exterior close to the mouth. The smaller pots found inside are of the thin slip variety. Two of the smaller pots inside were wide mouthed with deep narrow bodies and round bases. The relics unearthed at Velimalai may be ascribed to the early Iron Age, and those exhumed at Vandiperiyar to the Neolithic period. Being half-baked earthenware, they had become very fragile on account of being buried in damp earth and had all got so broken or cracked that they could not be removed.¹¹

Further excavations and observations were made by Mr. Poduval in the Bison valley. He discovered a group of four dolmens situated within two furlongs of

the zig at the ninth mile mark. A long stone of the main Devikulom-Periakanal road. These dolmens are parallel to each other and face southwards the Muttukad valley. Only the third from the west is in a state of good preservation. A cist is also found adjoining these dolmens and has been considerably damaged. The measurements of the dolmen in good condition are as follows :

	Length ft.	Breadth ft.	Height ft.	Thickness ft.
Capstone	10	6½		½
Side stonelight	7 1/3		5 1/12	½
Backstone	5½		5	½
Inside width	4½			

The discovery of more dolmens was made on the Venad side of the Bison valley on the Muttukad ridge. Of these, the first is a group of four dolmens, three in front facing south, and the fourth in the back facing east. The measurements of one of them are given below:

	Length ft.	Breadth ft.	Height ft.	Thickness ft.
Capstone	8 5/12	5		2/3
Side stones	7 5/12	3½		5/12
Back stone	3 7/12	4½		½
Inside width	2½			



A dolmen of small size in the low country in Malayattur Reserve

The other dolmens are more or less of the same dimensions. The front of this dolmen is covered by a standing stone 4 ft. × 3 ft. × 4 inches thick. A dismantled rubble masonry surrounds this group and the inside is paved with stone slabs.¹²

At Thondimalai, Mr. Saunders excavated six of the graves found on hill-tops. They were situated in a straight row, the graves being placed close to one another. After removing the broken stones that marked the spot was found a flat circular stone that gave a hollow sound to a light tapping with a crow bar. Underneath it was found a large urn, the mouth of which was 15 inches in diameter and the vertical height about 3½ ft. placed in a vertical position in the ground firmly embedded in clay and gravel. Inside each of the large urns were found six or seven small urns, eating and drinking vessels, vases, chattis of various sizes and

10 S. Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*.

11 *Travancore Archaeological Administration Report* (1112), pp. 8-10.

12 *Ibid* (1115 M.E.), pp. 8-10.

shapes, some of red clay, others black, polished both inside and outside, of very thin material and very brittle to handle. They were firmly embedded in the red clay that seemed to have sifted in and partly filled up the large urn, and the small vessels were filled with the same clay very tightly packed, and were wedged in upon one another in such positions as to make it very difficult to remove them unbroken. Bones were found embedded in the vessels in one urn, and bones crumbled and mixed with clay in others. The Doctor was able to identify one of the bones as the hip bone of a man. On the top of one urn was found the blade of a sword, almost completely rusted through, about 2½ ft. long with no sign of a handle. Inside the urn were found two iron spearheads and what appears to be an iron chisel. The urn itself and the vessels found inside conform to the various types of what is called "Iron Age Pottery" in the *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities*, in the Government Museum, Madras; some of which were taken from Tandigudi in the Palni Hills and other parts of the Madura district, but most of which are from the Nilgiris, the Coimbatore, Malabar and Tinnevely districts.¹⁴



A view of Pambar on both banks of which the dolmens are found

The dolmens are still erected by certain tribes of India and Burma, the Khasi, the Munda, the Gonds, the Oraon, the Bhil of Central India, the Kurumba of the Nilgiris, and the Malayarayan of Travancore. In no case are the dolmens of the size characteristic of the prehistoric phase of civilization. The earliest known examples are the largest. The dolmens in the Anjanad valley and the Cardamom Hills bear out this point. Those found on lower elevations in the Rani and Malayatur Reserves are smaller in size. The loss of culture in the case of the tribes who built megaliths is observed from the fact that the present-day tribes do not usually display any tendency to construct dolmens in Travancore.

Dr. Rivers has brought out this feature very prominently among the Todas of the Nilgiris, where dolmens are largely found. They furnish us with an example of a tribe at a low level of material culture living in a district filled with remains of a fairly high civilization. Sarat Chandra Roy has observed the same fact in Chota Nagpur and Cooper in Assam. In Tra-

vancore, the Muthuvans and the Vellales who live in the dolmen area in Anjanad, evince no interest in them. In the case of the Malayarayan who erect miniature dolmens, a loss of culture can be detected in that they do not manipulate large stones as their predecessors did. Travancore furnishes an example of the Anjanad valley to illustrate the loss of the material side of culture and shows that regions now inhabited by them were once the scenes of a thriving civilization.¹⁵

MENHIRS

Menhirs are found in parts of North Travancore on the Cardamom Hills. They were very few in number. Bruce Foote found some menhirs of moderate size in the Madura district, though without any markings. There is a miniature menhir, 3 ft. high at Marayur, called Vathamkolli.

The State Archaeologist Mr. Poduval found four menhirs and a group of dolmens in the grassland by the side of the zig on the 9th mile 6th furlong stone of the main Devikulom-Periakanal road in a damaged condition. Trial diggings were made at two different spots on this site. The first was beneath a menhir 2 ft. 7 inches in height from the surface, 3 ft. 5 inches in width and 3 inches in thickness. The area dug was 10 ft. × 8 ft. or eighty square feet. After digging 4½ ft. below the surface, a burial urn was found. It was covered by a stone slab 1 ft. 11 inches square and 4 inches thickness which served as its lid. The measurements of the urn were:

Height : 3 feet.

Diameter of rim : 1 foot 4½ inches.

Thickness : 5 inches.

Inner diameter : 2 feet 4 inches.

Inside it was found one chatty, three broken pots and one iron axe 5½ inches long 3½ inches wide at the sharper end, 1½ inches at the other end and ½ inch in thickness. The objects measured were:

i) One chatty, rid with round bottom and in good condition with height 4½ inches, thickness 5/15 inches, and diameter 10½ inches.

ii) One small pot (broken) blade, glazed, and with pointed bottom with height 3 inches, thickness ½ inches and diameter 4½ inches.

iii) One large pot (broken) with pointed bottom, glazed and black with height 5½ inches, thickness ½ inch, diameter 5 1/6 inches.

iv) One small glazed (broken) pot, top black, and bottom red, with height 5 inches, thickness ½ inch and diameter 4½ inches.

Excavations at other menhirs revealed more or less the same result.

The urns are found on examination to be coarse earthenware imperfectly baked and ornamented by a circular chain pattern or leaf pattern drawing on the rim. Their contents mostly consist of earthenware domestic vessels, such as pots, pitchers, pot-stands, bowls, and flat bottomed chattis with red and black surface. The discovery of iron axe on the site of one menhir indicates that the monuments belong to the Iron Age.¹⁶ No modern cenotaph has the simple grandeur of a menhir. They are probably memorial stones.

14 A. J. Saunders, *Dolmens in the Palni Hills* (Madras Mail Annual 1900).

14 Travancore Census Report (1931) and *The Travancore Tribes and Castes*.

15 Tr. Archeol. Report, pp. 14-17.

III

PRE-HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF COCHIN STATE

Archaeologists owe a deep debt of gratitude to the late Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer and the State Geologist Mr. Sen Gupta for their contributions in the field of pre-historic archaeology of the Cochin State.

One class of sepulchral monuments found in the Cochin State is Kodakallus or umbrella stones,* which are really dolmens. In Eyyall, a village 17 miles from Trichur about thirty-five dolmens were found. Only three of them were found intact, while the capstones of the rest have been pulled down. Two of the former are very similar in size, while the third is a little smaller than the other two. The capstones rest on four slightly inclined strong laterite supports measuring four feet in height above the ground and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in diameter at the base and have a circumference of 36 ft. The verticals are rudely triangular laterite stones with the base underground. They are 9 ft. in height from the apex to the middle of the base which is 5 ft. long, while the other measures 7 ft. and 4 ft. 6 inches above ground respectively. Excavations unfolded vessels of the most fragile state and a few bits of bones not easily distinguishable were obtained. "Numerous Kutakallus and Topi-kallus are found in a village adjoining the Vellarakel busti, half a mile north-east to the ninth-mile stone on the road from Wadakkancheri to Kunnamkulam, some of them being in a very good state of preservation. The place is a regular Stone-henge, but on a miniature scale consisting of hat-stones and umbrella-stones in place of dolmens, menhirs, and cromlechs... Flat stones with both plano-convex and flat circular cap-stones are found near Puthia Angadi and Manjeri (Ernad Taluq, Malabar District respectively)."¹²⁸

Numerous are the dolmens found on the Cochin hills. They are generally of a rectangular pattern formed of single slabs of granite, verticals on the sides and flagged at the bottom by similar slabs with a large superincumbent block which is rough and unhewn. The one opened by Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer had two cells partitioned by a single slab of granite 6 inches thick with a circular ring about 12 inches in diameter. The two slabs extending east to west were 7 feet long and 4 feet broad and were very thick and massive. The interior dimensions were 6 ft. 3 ins. \times 3 ft. 7 ins. Excavation of one of the cells showed two big burial urns filled with earth. They could not be removed unbroken. The other cell yielded two jars filled with earth and other chattis in a broken condition. They are said to be wheel-made and free from decoration except a few lines of simple mouldings around the rim of the lid and the neck and base of the urn. No lid covering the mouth of any of them was found, but they were packed to the brim with fine red earth which is originally said to have been poured into them in the form of liquid mud which must have later become transferred into a small mass similar in shape to the urn. It is in this mass of earth that bone bits, vessels, and beads are found embedded. The smaller vessels may have contained offerings for the spirit of the dead and the circular hole in the middle slab must have been the

passage through which the spirit was allowed to take the offerings. The iron implements placed in the grave represented the tools used by the men during their lifetime.

Mr. Sen Gupta found dolmens round about Mukkathode and on both sides of the railway to Parambikulam. They are small bellars built up of three upright slabs of stones with a capstone measuring $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ cubic yards, where it is said some *Munis* (sages) passed their days in prayer and meditation. Trial excavations resulted in disappointment as no human bones were found. In general, the dolmen stones are observed with their plain faces downward or inward. The entrance to the dolmens is invariably directed to the west, there being no doors either with a circular, oval, or rectangular aperture as are observed in France or in other parts of the world. Most of them are simple and no evidence is observed as to their being covered with a cairn or tumulus.¹²⁹



A view of dolmens in Anjanad

Mr. Gupta also found a dolmen $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. \times 8 ft. \times 4 ft. on the ridge of Munniara Thandu, north of Anapathan. The capstone is irregular and fractured at the north-east corner. The slabs consisted of banded gneiss. No stone floor is observed and in this characteristic it resembles most of the dolmens of the State. The dolmen at Koothandan Thande is the only one in the State that has all its sides enclosed by slabs but the western one has a parabolic opening very neatly chiselled measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide at the lowest part and this is closed by a slab $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. placed against it from outside. The inner apartments are 6 ft. long $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high. The capstone, on the other hand, is 9 ft. long and 6 ft. broad. The stone floor is covered by 9 inches of soil which when removed increases the height of the parabolic opening to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

MENHIR

Although the dolmens are a characteristic feature of the hills and jungles, the menhirs are conspicuous by their rarity. The only instance is the solitary row of menhirs at Komolapara Thala. The largest menhir consists of an irregular and flat upright monolith 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high and $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide at the foot, tilted towards the west, the width at the top being much less at the foot. Three other small monoliths form a straight row with the principal menhir in its north tilted to the west and the

* The reader's attention is invited to the *South Indian Oriental Encyclopaedia* where Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer had dealt with Cochin Pre-historic Archaeology (L. A. K.).

¹²⁸ K. K. Sen Gupta, *Megalithic Monuments of Cochin State* (J. L. A.), p. 106.

south. In India the form of the menhirs varies greatly in widely separated localities." Two menhirs were observed by Dr. Anantakrishna Iyer in the Trichur taluq.

Burial urns are big earthenware pots filled with earth and found buried at a depth of a few feet from the surface. They are found in the forests of the plains, villages and in the neighbourhood of towns. On excavation fourteen of them were found in an area of twenty square feet in one locality. They were brittle and fell to pieces by their own weight as soon as the surrounding earth was removed. One of them measured 2½ ft. in height, 7 ft. in circumference at the broadest point and 16 inches in diameter at the mouth. Examination shows iron implements, knives, and small swords in a crumbling state and fragments of bones. Beads and bracelets which must have been worn by women were also found in some of the urns. Pottery of various forms, vases, basins, cups, small vessels of antique and graceful forms all filled with earth were seen in them. Some of the vessels were neither glazed nor ornamented. It must therefore be inferred that they belonged to a comparatively early date. The smaller ones have a kind of glossy appearance. This seems to have been caused by rubbing the surface with a mucilaginous gum of *Abutilum indicum*.¹⁹

The suggestion that the construction of the dolmens may be attributed to Jaina ascetics should be taken for what it is worth. Dr. N. Subramania Iyer of Travancore cites the case of a dolmen at Santhanpara believed to have been the abode of a hermit Santhan by name. Mr. Gupta says that the hermit must have used the pre-existing dolmen and turned it to his own use just as hermit crabs take shelter in shells of gastropods. Anantakrishna Iyer also speaks of a reported discovery of a trident, a lamp and hooks in a dolmen, and if the report is true, the reason for their occurrence could be found in the explanation suggested above. Jaques Boyer thinks that the numerous polished stone-hatches, pieces of crude pottery, granite millstones, and primitive tools found in the vicinity indicate that the cromlechs served some other purpose than mere encirclement of funeral mounds. They invariably have openings facing west, a fact of much significance and importance bearing on the mode of disposal of the dead. "The thick-lipped, small-bodied Kadars, Lords of the Hills," are considered by Sir W. W. Hunter as "the remnant of a higher race than the Pulayas and the Munduvaras of the Annamalais. These hills, now very thinly peopled, abound in the great stone monuments which the primitive tribes used for the dead."²⁰

IV

PRE-HISTORIC MONUMENTS IN MALABAR

Rock-cut cave tombs* are found at Chemmapara and Parambantal hills. Babington was the first to discover such tombs in 1819 and Rea in 1910, but their descriptions lacked details. Prof. Jouvehu-Dubreuil was the first to draw attention to the very great interest attached to these rock-cut tombs by assigning to them

a Vedic origin. The surface indication for the underground tomb is a circular or square slab of stone covering the top opening. The tombs explored by Babington had symmetrically arranged stone-circles as in typical cairns, and urn burials i.e., those at Adittanallur. At Feroke and Parambantal hills there have been too much interference for the stone-circles to stand. The capstone stands out prominently and is quite unmistakable.

Popularly these rock-cut tombs and similar funerary monuments are considered to be places of *samadhi* of sages or sanyasis. A Malayali poet ascribed them to Buddhists. The places where Buddha sages attained *Nirvana* are still to be seen everywhere—the *Kuttakalku*. They are rendered unmistakable by the rosary of beads, the lamps, arrows and earthenware that are found in them. The large pyriform urns are supposed to have been for in-urning aged people alive when they were reduced by sheer senility to a frog-like shape and hopped about. It is said that the eldest son would put the frog-like father in an urn with sufficient food to last him for a pretty long time and bury the urn with proper rituals. *Nannannadi* is the name for such a burial urn. In the opinion of Dr. Ayyappan, the Buddhist tradition is more reasonable.

Popular traditions are not at all helpful to us in getting an idea of the significance of the rock-cut tombs. So far as numbers go, they run to thousands in each taluq of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. Dolmens and other purely megalithic structures are few and far between. Rock-cut tombs are more numerous than dolmens and were considered to be a variant of the megalith. Architecturally, Malabar is even to-day a backward area in South India; in funerary architecture too the forbears of the modern Malayalee may have been easy-going and heterodox.

The simplest excavations in laterite for burial purposes in Malabar are square or circular pits to receive large pyriform urns. Then we have the slightly more complex Kutakkallu, a hollow large enough for an urn with a ledge cut over the hollow for placing minor funerary articles and a flight of two or three steps leading from the surface level to the urn. A seat for the dead is a feature of many of the dolmens in common with the Feroke tombs and similar stupa caves. Cremated remains have been found in many unmistakable dolmens, so that, in fact, there is little evidence to dissociate the rock-cut tombs of Feroke from the general South Indian megalithic culture complex. The presence of a tripod found in Feroke is not said to imply fire-worship. Prof. Dubreuil is of the opinion that the rock-cut tombs are Vedic remains surviving in the seclusion of Malabar, but Dr. Ayyappan differs from it. Taking the crudeness of the pottery and the absence of bronze into consideration, the Feroke tombs are considered to be slightly earlier in age than the Sultur graves which have been fixed at about 200 B.C.

The human remains found in megalithic monuments in India have been sometimes buried, but perhaps more frequently cremated. Occasionally a single sepulchre contains traces of burial as well as cremation. Instances of urn burial of the whole body are met with in Sind and Tinnevely. Large jars narrow at the neck and pointed at the bottom were used and the body must have been reduced in bulk by dissection or pounding before it could be passed through the narrow neck. Similar jars are found in Babylonia where they are coated with bitumen, a black smear or false glass pre-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, *Cochin Archaeology* (S. I. Ency.)

²⁰ K. K. Sen Gupta, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 110-111.

* The author is indebted to Dr. A. Ayyappan's paper on *Rock-Cut Cave-Tombs at Feroke, S. Malabar* read before the Indian Science Congress in 1935 for information relating to Malabar.

pared from the juice of *Abutilon indicum*. Burial is also supplemented by other precautions against the return of the ghost. According to Sir James Fraser, the practice of placing stones over the corpse may have a similar origin; graves are provided with mounds, tombstones or enclosures in order to keep the dead from walking or to prevent the ghosts from returning to their old haunts.²¹

The mode of disposal of the dead by burial is one of considerable antiquity. Professors Macdonell and Keith hold that the epithet "agnidagdhah" applies to the dead who were burnt in a funeral pyre; the other custom being burial "anagnidagdhah" not burnt with fire. They also refer to "paroptah", "casting out" and "uddhita", exposure of the dead. They add that burial was not rare in the Rig-Vedic period.²² In the Vedic period, both customs appear in a modified form. A stone is set up between the dead and the living to separate them.²³ *Manimekhala*, *Tolkappiyam*, and *Poruladigaram* afford a valuable mine of information regarding the methods of disposal of the dead in pre-Brahmanic days. They are very old Tamil works said to have come into being about the 8th century A.D. Some scholars give them an earlier antiquity. The practice of erecting monuments in honour of the dead must have belonged to the non-Aryan tribes known as Mlechhas, Rukshasas, Dayus and Nishadas who were the Pre-Dravidians. There are references to this custom in *Tolkappiyam* and *Purananuru*. "Oh potter, who makes earthenware, do please prepare the urn meant for the finding out of a fit stone to be set up in memory of the deceased hero." It is possible that the cremating people were the Aryans who are said to have entered India about 2000 B.C.

V

AGE OF THE MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS

Antiquarians after careful researches have been able to divide megalithic monuments into three classes according to their contents:

i) The Tumuli of the Stone Age are considered to be the most ancient. They are often of great size and are distinguished by circles of stones and stone-chambers in which are found the remains of unburnt bodies with objects of stone and amber. The dolmen opened by Ward and Conner at Chokkanad contained no implements, and probably belonged to the Stone Age. This represents the lowest state of civilization before the introduction of metals.

ii) The Tumuli of the Bronze Age contains relics of burnt bodies, vessels, and implements, and ornaments of advanced civilization. Tumuli of this period are rare in Kerala, but it appears that Mr. Burdillon once picked up a bronze lamp which probably belonged to one such tumulus.

iii) Tumuli of the Iron Age are the most recent and represent a comparatively advanced state of civilization. Iron implements, swords, spearheads, and highly polished vessels are found in them. Excavations made in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore go to show that all the tumuli are of the Iron Age.

The crucial point for consideration is the probable time of the Iron Age. This is a knotty problem, and it

is only possible to fix the time approximately. It is known to the Hindus from very early times. In the Rig-Veda, there are references to weapons of iron. The opinion of A. C. Gupta, the age of the Rig-Veda has been set down to the Miocene or at any rate the Pliocene or Pleistocene.²⁴ Though his estimate is based on internal evidence, which remote antiquity has not attained the rank of scientific certainty, Prof. Macdonell's estimate may be taken as correct. The Iron Age in India may be approximately fixed as being prior to 2000 B.C.

SIGNIFICANCE OF DOLMENS

Major Munn claims that the dolmen-builders of the Deccan were mining for gold, copper, iron, and diamonds. He points out that the two districts where the dolmens are thickest are Bellary and Dharwar, which are riddled with old workings of gold, copper, and iron. The Anjanad valley is the home of a large concentration of dolmens. The spade of the geologist can alone determine what the mineral contents of the soil are in Anjanad. The late Mr. Vincent Ball says that gold-washing, as practised in India is an example of human degradation. The Gonds of Central India are assiduous gold workers. They still erect miniature dolmens and thus show strong signs of continuity with people of the archaic civilization. The Kurumbas of the Nilgiris are the chief gold-washers of the Madras Presidency dating from 500 B.C. The Malayararyans of Travancore, according to Walhouse, make imitation kistavan of small slabs of stone in the Rani reserved forests, but gold washing is not in evidence. It may have become a forgotten art.

Megalithic monuments in different parts of the world present such a uniformity of structure that it is hardly compatible with the theory of their independent origin. Montelius focusses attention on the continuous influence of the east on the west from remote times. Fergusson thinks that the dolmen-builders were Dravidian in origin. Ruggeri strikes a different note and opines that they are Veddaic or Australoid in origin, and between the Mundas of the north and the Veddas of the South there intervene the Kurumbas, Irulas, the Muthuvans, and the Uralis, representing the Pre-Dravidians who once over the whole of India and later came under the influence of the Dravidians and the Aryans. According to Flinders Petrie, the date of the Pre-Dravidian culture is about 2500 B.C. This view is confirmed by Mr. Perry who holds that "all the world over, the dolmens present such similarities of structure that they must have been the work of a people, showing a common culture."²⁵ Beyond Indonesia which includes among other areas, Assam and Burma, megalithic monuments are in evidence in the region of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, the Todas of Nilgiris, and the hill-tribes of Travancore.

CONCLUSION

Palaeontological evidence also supports the theory of the common origin of megalithic monuments. No skeletal remains have been so far unearthed to bear any direct evidence of the Negrito race in Travancore. "Judged by the nature and contents of objects found, the megalithic remains of the Deccan and Southern India are post-Vedic and later than any similar remains

21 Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, p. 514.

22 J. A. Carpenter, *Comparative Religions*, p. 90.

23 D. A. Mackenzie, *Indian Myths and Legends* (Introduction).

pp. xxiii-xxvii.

24 A. C. Gupta, *The Rig-Vedic India*, Vol. I.

25 G. T. Perry, *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*.

of the Central Indian Plateau, from where the culture would seem to have spread southwards.²⁶ Two fossil remains have been found in India, the Bayana cranium, and the Sailhet cranium. Dr. Keith is of opinion that they are of a Veddaic type which represents the Pre-Dravidian (Proto-Australoid) people. The excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa reveal that one of the skulls is Proto-Australoid. A correspondence in type is revealed by one of the South Indian skulls at Adichanallur which is called Proto-Australoid by Elliot Smith.²⁷ The physical characteristics observed in the skulls are found among the existing South Indian tribes

and among the Veddass of Ceylon. "There is a remarkable similarity between these and the skeletons found in the tumuli of Great Britain, France, and Germany, which exhibit features of a dolichocephalic people. Thus the uniformity in the structure of the monuments is marked by a uniformity in the structure of the contained skeletons which belong to a dolichocephalic people."²⁸

While pre-Dravidian is their time-honoured appellation, Dr. Eickstedt would call them Veddids and Dr. Guha, Nishadic. Dr. Hutton has labelled them Proto-Australoid after Sewell. Though the pre-Dravidian has for long stood the test of time, it is but fitting that the term Proto-Australoid should continue.

(All rights reserved)

26 J. H. Hutton, *Census Report* (India) 1931, Vol. I, Part III, pp. lxx-lxxvii.

27 J. H. Hutton, *Op. Cit.*, p. lxxix.

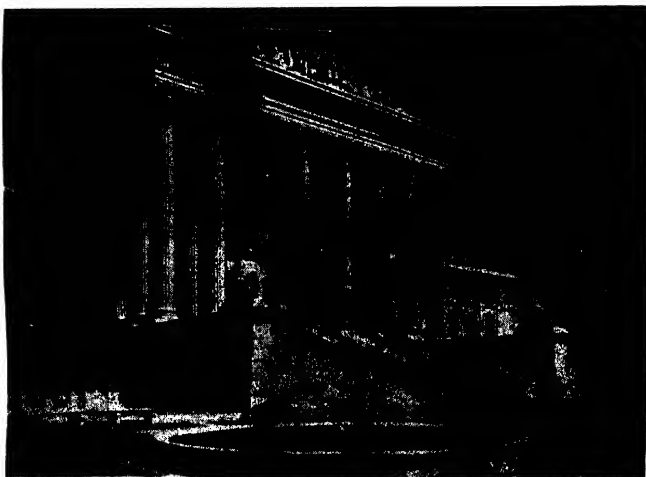
28 Newbinger, *Modern Geography*, pp. 203-204.

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SHRINES OF THE UNITED STATES

LIKE all people, Americans love their native land. Whether America is a land of their birth or their country by adoption, they have a deep sense of pride in the surroundings and an abiding devotion to the way of life that are their heritage as citizens of the United States. As permanent symbols of their nation's zeal

Plymouth Rock marks the landing place of the first settlers of New England, the North Atlantic Coast states. The Washington Monument in the nation's capital recalls the strength of character and directness of the first U.S. President, George Washington, who led the war that won the country's freedom. The



The Supreme Court Building, a marble temple in Washington, where the nation's highest tribunal meets

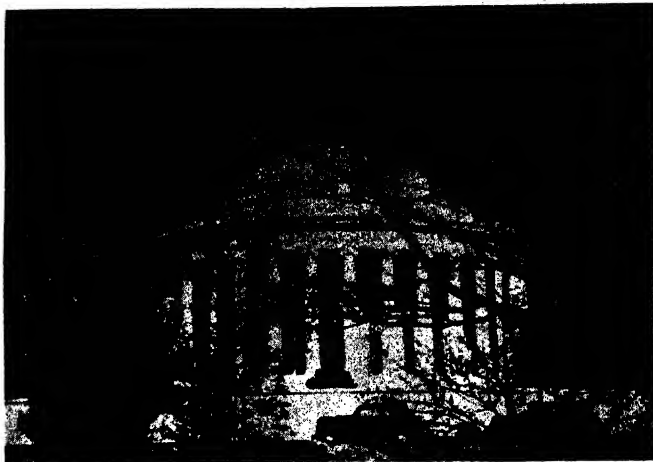
for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, Americans venerate shrines that are milestones in the life of the United States. Old and young make pilgrimages to the scenes of great events in the struggle for freedom, to monuments commemorating outstanding U. S. leaders, and to the halls of their government. All these shrines are symbols of the high aspirations embodied in the principles of American democracy.

Supreme Court Building symbolizes the power and majesty of justice for the individual in the American pattern of government, a pattern which categorically rejects the dictator's creed that the individual is nothing, the state everything.

Such shrines, and others like the Statue of Liberty, which the people of France presented to the people of America, and the Liberty Bell, which pealed out the

news of America's Declaration of Independence in 1776, have inspired generations of Americans who visit them in respectful, almost religious mood.

secuted millions from other lands. They draw from America's monuments a new appreciation of the sacrifice and perseverance by which past generations so



The Jefferson Memorial, a round, colonnaded, low-domed structure, designed after the Pantheon in Rome, stands at a point on the south side of the Potomac River Tidal Basin in Washington, in memory of Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States and the author of the Declaration of American Independence

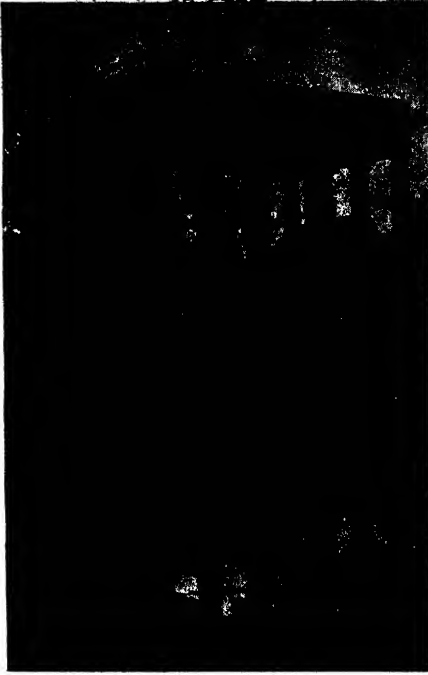


The Lincoln Memorial in the heart of Washington, the U.S. capital, commemorates Abraham Lincoln, "The Great Emancipator," who was President of the United States from 1861 to 1865

Americans receive from their nation's shrines a new awareness of the dignity and the spiritual depth of the "land of the free", which has been a refuge for per-

richly endowed the nation in which Americans live, and for which they were fighting.

Courtesy : USIS.



In 1920, a protective portico was built over Plymouth Rock where the first settlers of the North Atlantic regions of the U.S. landed on December 21, 1620, after crossing the Atlantic from England in their sailing ship, the Mayflower



The loud pealing of the bell, now known as the Liberty Bell, proclaimed the birth of a new nation, the United States of America, in July, 1776, when representatives from 13 English colonies in America met in Philadelphia and signed the Declaration of Independence

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BURJORE TREASURYWALLA Collector and Connoisseur of Indian Art

By KAUNDINYA

THE death of Mr. B. N. Treasurywalla on the 21st December, 1945, after a long illness in Bombay, removes from the field of Indian Art, a picturesque figure, a passionate lover, and a distinguished connoisseur of Indian Art. The Parsis of India occupy a peculiar position. Driven by Islamic persecution in their own country, they had migrated to India and preserved their individual religion and culture which is the twin-brother of the Old Vedic culture and religion. Adopting India as their own motherland, this great community had thrown in their lot with Indians and had taken an active part in Indian life in all its phases. In politics and industrial life, they have rendered distinguished services to India, and the names of Naoroji, Wacha, Tata and others shall for ever live in shining letters in

the records of Indian national life. In the fields of letters and learning the community has made very distinguished contributions. And during the last few years many talented Parsis have made good use of their riches in collecting works of art, and have, directly and indirectly, contributed to the growth of Indian national life. The well-known Ratan Tata Collection of Works of Far Eastern and Indian Art occupies a large wing of the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay to which city the merchant-prince made a valuable gift to demonstrate at once his great bounty and the responsibility of his great citizenship. For gifts of works of art are also a valuable service to the community and rank as high as gifts for hospitals and refuges for the poor and the destitute. For, if hospitals

help to make sick men well, museums and galleries "make well men better."

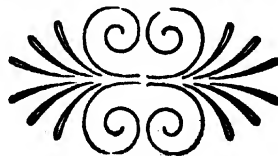
But whether collectors of Art make gifts of their treasures or not, they perform a signal service to the cause of culture, to the cause of the history of the Art of a nation. And as servants of national culture, their position and function is as valuable as those of historians, antiquarians, and archaeologists. Unfortunately, in popular appreciation, the collector of works of Art has not yet received his place of honour, and he is generally placed in the ranks of misers, hoarders of wealth and other "selfish" individuals who guard their treasures from any participation by the community at large. But we are beginning to realize that art-collectors render a valuable service to the nation for they dig up from oblivion, and save from destruction and exportation valuable records of the spiritual culture of a nation—data and evidences of the nation's highest achievements in civilization and culture. In India, the functions of art-collectors are particularly valuable, for the public museums and galleries are not in possession of adequate funds to save from destruction or exportation all the valuable records of Indian civilization. The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act has done something in this direction, but is wholly inadequate and impotent to prevent the exodus of our portable art-treasures, particularly, manuscripts, pictures, images, coins, and textiles. There is nothing in India corresponding to the *Edicto Pœcca* of the Italian Government, which controls, even, if it cannot perfectly prevent, the exodus of the treasures of Art. Our politicians and economists rightly deplore the economic exploitation and the consequent poverty of India. But the loss of our portable Art-treasures cannot be estimated in terms of their market values. An enormous amount of our valuable masterpieces of Art has been taken away from this country by tourists, globe-trotters and British merchants and officers in high positions of advantage. This appalling exodus and exportation of innumerable masterpieces of Indian Art has impoverished our national wealth, the eternal heritage of Indian culture, to an extent, which even many of our learned men have not the requisite "education" to estimate and realize. This cultural exploitation has been partially, though inadequately, mitigated by the growth of a small group of Indian collectors of Art, who with very inadequate resources have valiantly tried to stem the flow of our Art-treasures to other countries. All honour is, therefore, due to them for the great service they render to preserve our portable monuments of Art. From this point of view, the death of Mr. Burjore Treasurywalla, the son of an humble merchant, is a distinctly national loss which we in our passionate pursuit of political salvation may be liable to overlook. "He who steals my purse steals trash." He who takes away my Art-treasures is the ruthless of all bandits. In patiently collecting valuable documents for the history of Indian paintings and sculpture, Mr. Treasurywalla has rendered a signal service to the cause of India's national history, of far more value than those of our learned professors

and teachers, by a long course of training in handling and selecting Indian paintings and sculpture, he had developed into a connoisseur of highest taste and equipment. As a passionate lover and admirer of Indian Art and culture he stood in the highest pedestal of devotion. Though he occasionally contributed stray articles and reviews in some journals, he was not an educated man in the narrow sense of the term. Born in the year 1889, he studied in the New High School in Bombay and later in the Wilson College for two years. He joined his father's business of Wallace and Co., in



Burjore Treasurywalla

which firm he was a partner for 25 years. But the real story of his life is richly told in his distinguished collection of Indian paintings which is assiduously collected through a large number of years and in which he assembled valuable evidences for the rich history of Indian Art—the study of which is still in its infancy in this country. He studied Indian Art with a passionate devotion and with the trained eyes of a talented connoisseur. We have many learned antiquarians but very few connoisseurs and from this point of view it will be difficult to fill up the void and vacancy caused by his lamented demise. His home of Art-treasures, which he called "Shiva-mandiram", was a veritable Temple of Art—a place of pilgrimage of all lovers and admirers of Indian Art.



AN AMERICAN ARTIST PRESENTS A PANORAMA OF LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES

A democratic interest in many phases of art has long been a characteristic of the American people. In recent years a large share of this interest has been directed to



A group of students at the University of Wisconsin, in the agricultural North Central U. S. State of Wisconsin, visit the studio of John Stuart Curry

a renewed and surprisingly widespread interest in painting.

Young American painters have turned again and again during the past decade to portray the diversified aspects of their people and their country. Increasing numbers of young people have become interested in painting. Individuals, museums, art schools, business organizations and government agencies alike have aided in the democratic encouragement of these artistic endeavors. Competitions have been arranged to discover new talent; pictures have been bought and distributed on an unprecedented scale; artists have been employed to write a comprehensive history of the development of design in the United States; smaller cities and towns have established art centres, and commissions for murals have been awarded to many artists of recognized ability.

One of the leaders of American regional art is John Steuart Curry. Among other important projects, he was

commissioned to paint murals for the new U.S. Department of Justice building, in the capital city of Washington. Curry was already popular for his vigorous pictures of the American Midwest and its people. Curry's boyhood in the Midwestern U.S. State of Kansas was the inspiration for much of his work. Kansas, where he was born in 1897, is located in the exact geographical center of the United States, and is an agricultural state with severe contrasts in weather.

Curry's paintings are typical of the latest trend of American art. There are no limitations on his subject-matter. All materials are part of the panorama of American life.

This democratic approach to art is found in Curry's teaching methods. Under another important commission as Artist in Residence at the University of Wisconsin he painted rural scenes depicting the American farmer's life and environment in the agricultural State of Wisconsin in the North Central part of the United States. Curry's studio, a plain white frame structure of his own design, was a meeting place for students. He held painting and drawing classes there regularly, and each student was encouraged to develop his own individual style. Thus he made an important contribution to the rising interest in art in all forms, especially painting among American students.

One of his major projects at the University of Wisconsin is a mural in the Bio-Chemistry building. Located on a stair landing, the scene is a contrast between a neglected farm and one that is managed by modern scientific methods. In the center of the mural life-sized figures surge forward, symbolic of a healthy, vigorous society led by uniformed research workers and a crew of husky American youngsters.

True to his own way of life, Curry is typical of the group of American regional painters who attempt to paint the scene they know and love best, the actual



J. S. Curry works on a mural for the Bio-Chemistry building at the University of Wisconsin

tragedies and ambitions of the people of their own sections or in their own sphere of life.—USIS.



J. S. Curry, leader among regional artists, holds drawing and painting classes in a white frame studio of his own design, in Wisconsin



J. S. Curry explains the principles of painting to a student at the University of Wisconsin where he is Artist in Residence



Artist J. S. Curry and a student from the Midwestern U.S. State of Kansas work on a mural in the Bio-Chemistry building at the University of Wisconsin



John Steuart Curry, prominent among regional artists, works on a mural

THE AUSTRALIAN LITERARY BACKGROUND

By GEORGE MULGRUE

THE literature of Australia is the new literature of a young country. Unlike the literature of India, with its background of three thousand years of writing, that of Australia goes back ninety years at the most. And for many of those ninety years, what was written in Australia was written *about* the country rather than of it.

For the first eighty years of Australian history, it was natural that the people as pioneers had little time for writing. A country where men were preoccupied with the business of existing in the face of enormous difficulties was hardly the environment for literary people. It is surprising that the Australians of those days found time even for reading, but G. B. Barton's survey of 1866 shows that they spent almost £11,000 on English periodicals in that year, and £50,000 on books—amazing sums if we consider that the population at that time was about 400,000.

But even in those days, men and women were writing in the Colony. In 1824, W. C. Wentworth, better known as a politician, produced a poem called *Australasia*. It was not a good poem, but it disclosed a feeling of patriotism and indicated a confidence in the country's future that was to underlie the work of the best of Australian writers in the years to come. It was perhaps the first writing of the country.

Thirty years later, a young Australian named Catherine Spence published a novel. It was called *Clara Morrison*, and it had, like other works of hers that followed it, a bias towards social reform. In this and in her personal career, Miss Spence pointed the road down which Australian literature was to travel, for like those of America, many of Australia's best writers moved with the social rebellions of their day.

A little later, the first of the novels about Australia appeared. It was Henry Kingsley's *Geoffrey Hamlyn*, and it was the first of a long series that has continued up to the present day. The most outstanding is D. H. Lawrence's *Kangaroo* and many of them are good and give a true picture of the country. But they are no more Australian than the works of E. M. Forster or Louis Bromfield are Indian.

In the meantime, a new feeling was arising in the country. In 1862, Henry Kendall, a native-born Australian, published a volume of poetry. Although, like Wentworth's, his verse was not great, it did demonstrate a desire to make poetry of the Australian scene, and to set forth his dream of Australia as a Utopia, another topic that has exercised the minds of Australian poets ever since. Shortly afterwards, too, came Marcus Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life* and Rolf Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms*.

The first was a novel of the early convict days, and the other a story of the Bushrangers. Both of them established for all time the fact that Australia is a country rich in material for the novelist. At the same time, Adam Lindsay Gordon, still erroneously thought of by many Englishmen as the Great Australian Poet, was writing his poems about horses and horsemanship, topics that could be treated in a typically Australian

manner. Gordon's work is of little value, but it still lives among people who have never heard of better poets.

And then, in the nineties, writing in Australia began really to progress. Till then no one had possessed real stature. It was only then that writers arose who were important when viewed against a world background. For the first time in its history, too, most of the country's writers were native-born, and it was then that they began to claim that they wrote, not as English Colonists, but as Australians. Joseph Furphy, when he wrote his book *Such is Life*, under the pseudonym of Tom Colliss, summed up their attitude by describing the bias of his book as being "offensively Australian". It was in this period that the real foundation of Australian literature was laid.

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The two main influences at work were a desire to write as Australians, and a desire to change social conditions . . . a feeling of rebellion. The writers of the time were critical of the world as they found it, and they believed that it was possible to change it for the benefit of the Australian common man. Moreover, there was at the time a vehicle for their work. For the *Sydney Bulletin* had appeared upon the scene.

A. G. Stephens, the Literary Editor of that paper, and a very gifted man, believed that if a man could say something worth saying and say it vigorously, his work was worth printing. Were his writing not literary enough, the paper could apply a little polish. The main thing was that he should write as he felt. Thus it was that there was no distinctively Australian activity in those days that had not been discovered, or at least fostered, by the *Bulletin*. And thus it was also that Australian literature developed first, not in terms of the novel, but in terms of poetry and the short story.

This development has continued right up to the present day. Even now, much that is best in Australian prose appears in the short story form. It is not surprising then, to find that the greatest name in Australian literature is that of a man who was primarily a writer of short stories.

Henry Lawson was the giant of his day. He made the Western Bushman real. He was bothered with neither style nor plot nor pattern. He saw things and wrote down what he saw, with humour and pathos, and when it was done it had style and plot and pattern. He had more effect upon Australian literature than any other man, and it is in this regard that he may be compared with Rabindranath Tagore. There is one other point of resemblance, too, for Tagore, like Lawson, wrote simple stories of the simple people of his native land.

Such is Life

Then, in 1903, Joseph Furphy's *Such is Life* was published by the *Bulletin*, and A. G. Stephens said that it was likely to become an Australian classic. He was

right. It remains as one of the outstanding novels written in and of Australia. Furphy was an ordinary bushman, but he was well read, and had a democratic soul, and he put between the covers of his book a whole lifetime of physical wandering over the Western Plains, and mental wandering over the Universe. His book was written over forty years ago, but like India's Ram Mohun Roy, he is a modern, because he put truth above traditionalism.

In the field of poetry, too, Australia was attaining stature. While Furphy was writing his novel, Bernard O'Dowd was formulating his theories about verse. Poetry, he said, must be *militant*; it must answer the questions of the age. And thinking of him, we immediately call to mind the Urdu poet Iqbal, who has been described as passionate, virile, racy of the soil; his poetry a burning torrent of energy. These words could be equally well used of O'Dowd. O'Dowd, who still writes, has been publishing verse since 1903, but his prose work *Poetry Militant*, published in 1909, established him for all time as one of the great Australians.

Other names spring to mind as representatives of the period, but the most important is that of Miles Franklin, a woman, who like O'Dowd, is still with us; who in fact only recently produced a fine historical novel in *All That Swagger*. Her book *My Brilliant Career*, published in 1901, gave her a place among the giants, and it had the same quality as the work of Lawson and Furphy and O'Dowd—pride of country, rebellion against the world as it was, glorification of the ordinary man, and a high hope for Australia's future.

WRITERS OF TO-DAY

And so we pass through the period that preceded the 1914 war, and come across names of many competent novelists and poets; names like Louis Stone and Barbara Baynton, A. B. Paterson and C. J. Dennis, till we come to the writers of to-day. These again are far too many to be noted individually, but at their head are those of Katherine Susannah Prichard, Henry Handel Richardson, Eleanor Dark, Kylie Tennant and Xavier Herbert. All of these, except the last are the names of women.

Katherine Prichard is the most powerful of Australian writers of fiction. She has strength, intuition and a definite style. She has brought many aspects of Australian life to the stage of her novels, and has probed each of them with the accusing finger of one who insists that wrongs should be righted. *Working Bullocks* and *Harby's Circus* are the most outstanding. Many of her short stories appear in a volume called *Kiss on the Lips*.

Henry Handel Richardson lives and writes out of Australia, but her work is none the less truly Australian. Although she had been publishing novels for twenty years before its appearance, she achieved her reputation chiefly from her great trilogy *The Fortune of Richard Mahony*, a magnificent psychological study of the effect upon a highly strung, cultured man, of the

raw new country that was Australia in the gold rush days. She has been called one of the greatest literary psychologists of the day.

Xavier Herbert's novel *Capricornia*, when it was published in 1933, placed him immediately among the ranks of the great Australian writers. It was a passionate demand for a better life for the half-caste population of the Northern Territory, and caused more discussion than any other Australian book since *Such is Life*. The Australian tradition of revolt of the underdog was being faithfully followed.

Eleanor Dark, like Henry Handel Richardson, has a strong trend towards the psychological in her work. Her *Prelude to Christopher*, a deeply psychological study, established two things, first, that she was a novelist of the first rank, and second, that it is possible to write a novel about Australia, in which no mention is made of the locale; which could quite easily have been written about any other place in the world, and which was yet intrinsically Australian.

VOICE OF COMMON MAN

That, in fact, is the preoccupation of many Australian writers at this time . . . Australia is an urban country. Despite its vast open spaces, most of its population live in towns, and writers are trying to kill the convention that books about Australia must necessarily be about the bush and country people. Among these writers are Bernard Eldershaw, Frank Dalby Davison and Vance Palmer. They do, of course, write about the country . . . Dalby Davison is best known for *Man Shy*, a novel which deals with animals . . . but they are more concerned with psychological studies.

Kylie Tennant won the S. H. Prior Prize in a yearly competition sponsored by the *Bulletin* for the best Australian book with a novel called *Tiburon*, a story of small town life. Since then her output has been large, and all her work points a finger at something that is faulty in Australian life—the Sydney slums, the fortunes of the wandering country workers. She has a great vogue in the United States, where she is one of the best known Australian authors.

It has been impossible in this review to mention more than a few of the outstanding among Australian writers, but perhaps it has shown the background against which Australian literature must be viewed, the short vivid ground of a nation's birth and brief history; a struggle against nature, and a revolt against social conditions; of the published voice of the common man. That is what Australian literature has in place of the three thousand years of unbroken literary tradition that is India's. And from this background the Australian writer has evolved his own tradition which has been described as a compound of sound learning, rebelliousness, ardent faith in the common man, and an even more ardent faith in the Australian future. With that tradition, the Australian writer is satisfied.



THE DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL

By PROF. UPENDRANATH BALL, M.A.

For administrative purposes each province has been divided into a number of districts with a Collector-Magistrate as the Chief Executive Officer. When the East India Company assumed the Dewani of Bengal such divisions did not exist. There were a number of Sarkars for the collection of revenue. But the officers in charge of the Sarkars did not possess such extensive powers as the District Officers of the present time. Murshid Kuli Khan divided the province of Bengal into 13 large *Chaklas* or districts, which were divided into a number of Parganas. Mir Kasim Ali surrendered to the Company the three districts of Midnapore, Burdwan and Chittagong in 1760. Midnapore then consisted of the faujdari of Hijli, and the Chaklas of Midnapore and Jaleswar. The faujdari of Hijli was then not an independent charge. It was attached to Hooghly, and comprised the whole of Sarkar Maljyatha, four salt Mahals in Sarkar Jaleswar, and the zamindari of Tamluk in Sarkar Goalpara. The rest of Sarkar Goalpara constituted the Chakla Midnapore, some Mahals of which have now been transferred to the neighbouring districts of Bankura, Manbhum and Singhbhum, while some Mahals of Chakla Jaleswar are now included within the district of Balasore.

In the beginning the Chaklas of Midnapore and Jaleswar were placed under one officer with the designation of Resident, who had varied functions such as head of the revenue, criminal and judicial administration, and also served as a Commercial Agent, Political Officer and Military Governor. In 1777 an officer known as Collector was appointed for the supervision of revenue collections, while the other functions were performed by the Commercial Resident. In 1781 a civil court was established for the trial of civil suits. In 1787 the offices of Collector, Judge and Police Magistrate were vested in the same person. But in 1793 a separate Collector was appointed, and the offices of Judge and Magistrate were in the hands of one person. The Salt Agents at Tamluk and Hijli worked under the Collector of the Salt Districts and in addition they did some revenue work. Their powers as revenue and judicial officers were transferred to the Collector and the Judge-Magistrate of Midnapore in 1793, and the office of the Collector of the Salt Districts was abolished. From 1800 to 1836 the revenue collections of the salt divisions were made by the Collector of Hooghly. Ghatal and Chandrakona Thanas were also included in the district of Hooghly from 1795 to 1872. There have been several adjustments of boundaries since the district came into the hands of the British. As it has been the case with Midnapore so it has been with other districts.

Although the Company obtained the Dewani in 1765 the actual work of collection of revenue by the agents of the Company were not undertaken till 1772. Six Supervisors were appointed in 1769 for supervising the revenue and judicial work of the officers appointed by the Nawab. But their work was not satisfactory and it became difficult to check the Nawab's men. So in 1772 when the Company took up the direct administration of the revenue affairs the Supervisors were designated as Collectors. In 1774 the European Collectors were recalled and the Province of Bengal was divided into fourteen districts, each under an Indian Faujdar. This arrangement was set aside in 1781, when

18 Civil Judges were appointed for apprehending criminals who were sent by them to the Daroga of the nearest Faujdari Court. Then the Daroga, the Magistrate and the Zamindar exercised concurrent authority for the prevention of crimes.

Lord Cornwallis considered the combination of revenue and judicial functions unsatisfactory and therefore annulled the judicial powers of the revenue officers in 1793. For each district there was a European Covenanted officer as Judge and Magistrate, and the Collector was relieved of judicial work. Lord Bentinck found the work of Judge-Magistrate too heavy and transferred the magisterial responsibilities to the Collector in 1831. Since then the head of the District has been the Collector and Magistrate. To assist the Collectors the posts of Deputy Collectors were created in 1833. Lord Auckland with the sanction of the Court of Directors separated the offices of Magistrate and Collector in 1837. But after some time the offices were combined in 1859.

The district is the pivot of the entire machinery of administration. The District Officer is the head of the district and as such his functions are of a varied nature. As Collector he is the head of the revenue organisation and as Magistrate he exercises general supervision over the lower criminal courts and directs the police work. He is responsible for law and order, collection of revenue, co-ordination of all nation-building activities and general administration. And the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee considers that only a superman can bear such a heavy burden. The incompatible functions of a policeman and tax-gatherer are combined with the beneficent activities of promoting the welfare of the people. It has been held that such a combination of non-homogeneous functions in a single executive is in normal circumstances unsound in principle and in practice. But the members of the Committee consider that Bengal is now in an abnormal condition.

The ratio of the higher administrative cadres to the population in Bengal has been found to be lower than in any other Province in India except perhaps Orissa. The *per capita* expenditure on government in the province is less than that of the four other major provinces, and therefore Bengal has been under-administered. Besides, there are inadequate communications which make the task of administration not quite satisfactory. The chief complaint against Bengal is that it has not the Revenue staff which the provinces where land is not permanently settled possess. These Revenue staffs are an important source of information to the Government and they are very useful in carrying out executive orders in the rural areas. Another defect of Bengal is that it contains a number of big districts. The population of the district of Mymensingh is nearly six millions. The failure of the executive authority to control the legislature by winning the support of the majority of the members has exposed the hollowness of the Provincial Autonomy extended by the Government of India Act, and the province has been without a regular Ministry for a number of years. These are the special conditions of Bengal.

The Revenue of Bengal is much less than that in the other major provinces, although Bengal is the

richest province in India. The Permanent Settlement is no doubt responsible for shortage of revenue. But that is not the only cause. There must be other factors leading to the low financial position. The Enquiry Committee has made a number of recommendations for increasing the expenses. This is just like a physician prescribing very costly medicines to a patient who has hardly any means for a bare living. If Bengal is in need of anything it is a plan of economic development. Without sufficient resources at its disposal the Government is not in a position to discharge its duties to the satisfaction of the people. Other major provinces are not lacking the machinery for administration and they enjoy no doubt better income. But whether the interests of the people are better promoted is the main question. The Enquiry Committee have not asserted that the people in the other provinces are better off. A costly machinery of administration does not necessarily mean that the interests of the people are better cared for. We can expect this condition when the Government is thoroughly identified with the people.

A Development Board has been recommended for the Province. This Board will be a purely official body consisting of the heads of the Departments. A number of experts may be attached to the Board, such as a Scientific Adviser, an Economic Adviser, an Engineering Adviser. The District Officers should be expected to work out the district plans and put himself at the head of all the departments in the district. He should be required to co-ordinate the activities of all the departments. He would thus be a Governor on a small scale.

In the course of the long list of recommendations one finds no reference to the necessity of consulting public opinion or the need of enlisting the co-operation of the people. The machinery has to be perfected for efficient administration, that is the most effective way of organising a system with a view to impress the people of the majesty of the official world. It has been very correctly analysed that the governmental organisations generally resist evolutionary changes and lag behind progress in political ideas and advances in administrative techniques. We were therefore expecting that a system would be evolved which would respond to the demands for progress. Instead it has been recommended that the hands of the District Officer should be sufficiently strengthened. All the departmental officers in the district, such as the civil surgeon, the district agricultural, fisheries and veterinary officers, inspector of schools and inspector of co-operative societies would be made responsible to the District Officer who would be enabled to build up a combined operations' team from the personnel at his disposal. Co-ordination of the activities of all the departments is surely very necessary, but this can be achieved without reducing the heads of the departments to a subordinate position or without suppressing the activities of the people.

The administration of India has to be reoriented from the village to the top. Without co-operation of the people the stability of the government cannot be ensured. There will be a circle officer in each Thana to guide the people. He should be properly trained in the work of rural reconstruction. But evidently he will be a young man without any experience of administration. The Union Boards and other rural organisations require the guidance of sympathetic friends with a view to improve the local affairs. It is doubtful whether young officers will have sufficient tact to deal with the villagers with a view to lead them to further advance. They may

point out the pitiable and undesirable tendencies in the rural bodies. But will they have sufficient enthusiasm to put new vigour in them? If an administrative officer of good education and wide experience interest himself in the affairs of the villages, he can render immense good. Even then he should thoroughly identify himself with the people and work as one of them. Unless he sheds off his official hue he will not be able to inspire confidence. As there is a union board for a number of villages, there should be a circle board for a number of union boards. The Circle Officer should work as the executive officer of the circle board. He should place at the disposal of the board his views on all questions, and should educate the representatives of the people about the different plans they could adopt, but in no circumstances he should dictate to them about their duties. He should loyally carry out the wishes of the people. He should see that all the plans of rural development decided upon by the representatives of the people are given a fair trial. If, on the other hand, he puts obstacles in the way, the conflict would lead to chaos. A circle should be the unit for development of minor projects. Education, sanitation, communication, economic development, social welfare should be organised by the people within each circle according to its resources. The Circle Officer may guide the people about the ways and means and the method of giving a shape to the plans. He can warn if a false step is taken but he should never control or coerce.

The Circle Officer may be entrusted with the collection of revenue within his area. The union boards in their turn should have expanded activities. The collection of revenue in the villages can very well be done by an official of the board under the supervision of the members. This would save a lot of botheration to the people as well as to the Government. The records should be available at one place for all purposes and the board may derive thereby an increased income. There are different persons in the rural areas appointed for the collection of different taxes and levies. Unification of all the collections in one organisation would bring great relief to the people. By this process the rural life is likely to be improved and the circle is likely to develop as a self-supporting unit. All administrative activities will then be concentrated and the local interest stimulated. The reconstruction of the administrative machinery should be undertaken with a view to create greater interest in the public affairs and to secure the most efficient method of co-operation. The best machinery will fail to produce the desired effect if it is based upon any other principle than the co-operation of the public. The Rowlands Committee is silent about popular control at any stage in any sphere. It has drawn up its recommendations without any reference to the public opinion.

The new machinery of government must be sensitive enough to respond to the general will. It will be a waste of energy if the democratic ideas are ignored. The system of government should be broad-based on the association of the people with the administration. The union boards would form the foundation of the advance. All the affairs within the union should be made over to the management of the people. The union boards should be represented on the circle board with the circle officer as its executive officer.

At present the district consists of a number of subdivisions and the subdivision contains a number of

Thanas. The area of the district is in many cases considered unwieldy, and there is no denying the fact that the life within the district is not sufficiently organised except in certain affairs of the administration and for the landlords and the litigant public. The communications within the district are inadequate and rarely do the people meet for any public purpose. The interests of the people require that they should organise themselves for certain general purposes excepting for litigation. They should exchange their views regarding education, sanitation, economic problems and other affairs in which they are all interested. An area with about 20,00,000 of population may easily undertake measures for its own development. Such an area should form the constituency for the election of representatives to the provincial legislature. In those circumstances all the activities of the district administration can easily be concentrated in such an area and these areas should be managed by a popularly elected body with a competent staff of executive officers for various departments. The modern system of district administration should be superseded and there should be an elected district council to carry on the administration in all spheres of government with the help of men regularly trained for the purpose. The existing machinery is unpopular and in many cases not prepared to accommodate to the modern spirit. The Rowlands Committee has rightly pointed out the spirit of aloofness in the officers. Such a spirit cannot be controlled unless the entire machinery is overhauled and subjected to the guidance of a popularly elected body.

The administration of the province is carried on by the Indian Civil Service. The members of the Service have in them a sense of superiority and this spirit has been communicated to the provincial and the other services. There is no work within the province which an Indian cannot perform, and in the interest of economy all the services should be Indianised. For efficient administration of the district it is neither necessary to import men from outside nor to pay such high salaries. An intelligent and well-educated Indian will ordinarily be satisfied with a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month. A new cadre of district officers from Rs. 500 to 1,000 should be established and for other services a subordinate cadre of Rs. 150 to 450 will be able to carry on the administration with efficiency. A district officer should be assisted by a number of men of the lower rank. These officers must be properly trained for the work of administration.

One more reform is necessary in this connection. The administrative officers should be divested of all judicial work. For administering justice judges should be recruited from the lawyers. The judges again may be put in two ranks, such as District Judges and the Assistant Judges. The District Judges may draw from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 and the Assistant Judges from Rs. 200 to Rs. 450. Promotion from the rank of Assistant Judge to that of District Judge will depend upon merit and scholarship. These judges should administer justice both civil and criminal. The judiciary should be placed entirely under the supervision of the High Court and the Executive Authority should not interfere in the administration of justice.

According to the scheme thus laid out, the judiciary should be made independent of the executive authority and the district administration should be placed entirely under popular control. The provincial Government may indicate to the District Council the line of develop-

ment and there should be officers appointed by the Province to guide the administration in the different departments. All the activities within the district should be co-ordinated by the District Council. The District Officer will help it as its Chief Executive Officer. The work of the technical departments should be guided by the Provincial Board of Development. But the District Council should act as the agent of the provincial board. There should be officers appointed by the Provincial Board to supervise the work of the districts.

For local purposes there are union boards, local boards, and district boards. In many places the Local Boards have been abolished and the functions of the other local bodies have been restricted. If the scheme drawn up here is properly worked out the existing district boards shall have to be abolished and in their place district councils should be established with expanded activities. These district councils will elect their own chairman, and other office-bearers. The District Officer appointed by the Provincial Government will be the Chief Executive Officer of the Council. All the officers in the district should submit to the control of the district council. The recruitment of the officers should be in the hands of the Public Services Commission. The qualifications of the officers should be specified by the Commission and all cases of insubordination and inefficiency should be reported to the Commission. The Commission may also be entrusted with the work of promotion, dismissal and disciplinary action.

The district work will go on smoothly under a popularly constituted District Council with an efficient body of officers and an independent and competent judiciary. The technical departments of the administration should be worked according to the requirements of the people and all schemes of development should be approved of by the district council. The major works will remain in the hands of the Provincial authority. The District Council may be consulted on such works, but these works will depend upon the greater needs of the province and as such the determining voice will not lie with the district council.

The district thus organised will form the basis for an well-organised nation. People will be able to participate in the activities of the Government and every step taken for promoting the welfare of the people and safeguarding the interests of the state will have the benefit of their criticism and co-operation. The work of government will become easy on such a strong foundation.

Briefly the rural activities and the work of reconstruction of the village life should be entrusted to the union board. A number of union boards, say twenty, should constitute a circle. The circle will thus become a fully-organised centre for administrative and local purposes. There should be a circle officer, a development officer, an overseer of works, a medical and health officer, a police officer, a registrar and an Assistant Judge in a central place within the Circle so that the villagers may easily avail themselves of their services. Twenty circles should ordinarily constitute a district. The present subdivisions will, in this case, become redundant. They shall be split up into a number of circles, and the subdivisional offices should be utilised for the circle offices in the jurisdiction of the circle within which they would fall.

The district will be the field for comprehensive

work of general administration, economic development, and justice. The District Council consisting of the representatives of the people would become units of national government. If anything is necessary in India at the present time, it is a well-organised district

administration based upon popular control. National government will be a mockery if the actual administration of the people remains in the hands of a bureaucratic organisation like the present Indian Civil Service.

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INDUSTRIAL PROTECTION DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

By PROF. P. C. MALHOTRA, M.A.

THE Indian Fiscal Commission Report (1922) deploring the fact that the Indian Industrial Commission was debarred from considering the question of tariff policy made the following significant observations :

"Education can be improved, banking facilities can be extended, technical assistance can be offered to industries, but what is mainly wanted is a policy that will inspire confidence and encourage enterprise, and we do not think that the recommendations of the Industrial Commission provide this."

Over twenty-two years have passed since these words were written but the need for "a policy that will inspire confidence and encourage enterprise" has not abated. In fact now that the fortuitous protection provided by the recent war will have ended the necessity for such a policy is imperative.

The discriminate protection of industries in the pre-war period gave over to their indiscriminate protection (though accidentally) during the war. If the industrial growth resulting from discriminate protection was halting, limited and sporadic, that obtaining from war-created shelter to industries was haphazard and had in it the seeds of decay. The industrial expansion in the pre-war period was slow and restricted within a narrow field, that in the war-period was rapid and more wide. The problem before the war was to accelerate the pace of development and widen the sphere of industrial expansion. The problem after the termination of the war is to consolidate the gains during the war, to prevent war expansion from melting away, to stay the collapse of war-born industries, to restore to health war-wounded industries.

FACTORS BEARING ON THE POLICY OF PROTECTION DURING TRANSITION

What should be the policy of industrial protection during the period of transition depends upon four factors :

- (i) The industrial future envisaged for the country,
- (ii) The industrial problems of the transition period,
- (iii) The duration of the transition period,
- (iv) Protection policy inherited from the pre-war period.

In all schemes of post-war economic reconstruction in India, industrialization occupies a prominent place. The principle has been admitted that an industrial drive should not only make up the existing leeway but also blazon new trails. Closely connected with the question of industrialization is the matter of tariffs.

Dr. John Mathai in the Oxford pamphlet *Tariffs and Industry*, observed :

"As far as one can judge at present, it is likely that in the next few years protection will assume less importance in the economy of the country than in the past."

He opined that during the war and for several years after the termination of hostilities foreign competition in manufactured goods will largely be eliminated. The colossal destruction of material assets which the present war has caused would call for a prolonged period of reconstruction. The problem during this period would be how to meet a reviving demand from countries which have been starved of goods with the limited supply available rather than restrict supplies so as to avoid overproduction and uneconomic competition. This is more a theoretical attitude towards a concrete problem rather than a real one and such a generalized belief may lead to the taking of a false step which would prove detrimental to the interests of the country.

NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE INDUSTRIAL SURVEY

An immediate step which must precede the formulation of a suitable policy of protection both during the period of transition and in the post-transition period is a comprehensive survey of the industrial situation as it has been attained to-day. Such a survey if viewed analytically would indicate clearly three phases of the industrial situation—the pre-war industrial position, the industrial situation attained during the war and the post-war industrial position. Such an examination would give a clearer perception of the industrial problems of the transition period than any type of guess reading. There are certain types of consumers' goods industries which would not need immediate tariff assistance in view of their being a strong foreign demand for their products at present and on account of the temporary elimination of foreign competition, e.g., cloth and sugar. In the case of building material industries like cement the pent-up internal demand and the developed position of the industry may be relied upon to give a strong buttress to such industries in the period of transition and even afterwards. Then there would be an omnibus list of consumers' goods industries which found a sheltered market during the war. In this category we can group paper, glass, aluminium ware, medicines, etc. In this field the resurgence of foreign competition is not expected to take much time. Moreover, the war-developed and war-born industries have been working at a high cost. In some cases the machinery has been recast to suit the purpose.

In other cases improvised machineries have been used. In nearly all cases the machinery employed has been old and would need renovation. As soon as foreign competition appears and with the disappearance of government orders these industries would be in the doldrums. The industrial survey suggested would also reveal some war-wounded industries which would necessitate immediate attention. The most important group of industries would be the producers' goods—light and heavy. The manufacture of tools, implements, appliance and heavy machinery has been a neglected field and yet these industries would be found to be the corner-stone of any wide and stable industrial edifice. The chemical industries would stand a class by themselves in the list of basic industries. Then there would be industries essential for national defence like ship-building, air-craft manufacture and automobile. And finally, there might be a miscellaneous group which would include industries not coming in the suggested classification.

THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD

It is both a complacent and an unrealistic view to hold that foreign competition would not appear for at least some years on the termination of the war. Britain's position depends upon her foreign trade. As a consequence of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement Britain needs to increase her exports by 75 per cent over the 1938 figure and the whole of this increase must come from manufactured exports. She would certainly give priority to such export industries as would regain prosperity for her and not completely bury herself in tasks of internal reconstruction. Munition manufacturing factories can be switched on with some adaptation to the production of goods needed in peace time. The U.S.A. will undergo an immense and a speedy process of this type of adaptation. And countries which have lost capital equipment but retain the knowledge, technique, organization and what we have now come to call the know-how, would build their economies within a surprisingly few years. In the list of such countries we may place Japan and Germany.

If the foregoing estimate of economic tendencies is correct, the need for a suitable and a planning conscious tariff policy during the transition period stands emphasised. To say that is not to minimise the importance of direct assistance by the State to Indian industries in the form of finance for capital requirements, scientific research, transport, education, etc.

INDUSTRIAL PROTECTION AND ECONOMIC PLANNING

Another fear that the necessity of industrial protection during the transition period may be overlooked arises from the implications of economic planning in post-war India. Sir J. Coyajee in the Oxford pamphlet *The Economic Background* observes that protection in the post-war period will be subsumed in economic planning. But even in economic planning the need for regulation of foreign trade (which is more extensive application of tariffs) would remain, "for national planning and the regulation of foreign trade are interdependent. While every new restriction on imports encourages the 'regulation' of the industry concerned, industrial or agricultural regulation is impracticable without a control of competition domestic and

foreign".* Thus, the extension of national planning—a snow-ball process, each industrial plan postulating for its success the control of other industries—is accompanied by an extension of control over foreign trade.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TIME FACTOR IN PERIOD OF TRANSITION

In formulating the policy of industrial protection during the transition period the likely duration of transition stage is of importance. The period of transition may be anything from at least six to ten years. Economic planning if it comes under way may also require the same time for preparation. It is inadvisable that in this duration there should be a make-shift arrangement with respect to the policy of protection to be followed. While the policy of protection to be adopted during the transition period will get its legacy from that prevailing during the pre-war era, this policy of protection must be developed with a view to its being easily dovetailed into the scheme of things adumbrated whenever economic planning comes into being.

POLICY OF PROTECTION DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD

The period of transition must not only be looked as a time for readjustment but also an interregnum for a long-term policy preparation. From this point of view any tinkering with the tariff policy in the transition period is not desirable. The Government of India has appointed a Tariff Board for protection of war-born industries. The Tariff Board has been asked to scrutinise the claims of the following industries for protection: non-ferrous metals including antimony, grinding wheels, caustic soda and bleaching powder, sodium thiosulphate, sodium sulphite anhydrous, sodium bisulphite, phosphate and phosphoric acid, butter colour, aerated-water powder colour, rubber manufactures, fire hoses, wood screws, steep hoofts for bating, bichromates, steel pipes and tubes, aluminium, calcium chloride, calcium carbide, starch. But the present situation demands the re-opening of the wider problem of industrial protection in general and determination in this light of the place and function of a permanent tariff board. It has already been suggested that an Industrial Commission should be appointed immediately now that the war has ended, the findings of which would greatly assist the formulation of the correct industrial policy both during the transition and the post-transition period. In the mean time an Emergency Import Duties Act should be passed which would be able to safeguard against the blizzard of foreign competition whenever and in whatever form it appears. 'Fore-warned is fore-armed' should be the working motto lest we may be facing the task of digging the well when the fire is on.

The immediate task before the Tariff Board would be (i) to evolve a scientific Emergency Tariff out of the faggot of Emergency Import Duties Act; (ii) to investigate the claims for protection and other means of assistance to (a) war-born industries, (b) war-expanded industries, (c) war-wounded industries; (iii) to arrange for bulk purchase from abroad of producers' and capital goods; (iv) to explore and recommend scope for bilateral trade agreements.

* *Commercial Policy in the Inter-War Period*, p. 140—League of Nations (1942).

The functions of the Tariff Board in the post-transition period can be developed so as to include in addition to its ordinary functions of reviewing the working of protection, imperial preference, or other commercial treaties and the operation of excise duties, the study of the tariff system of other countries, to investigate the charge of discrimination of Indian products abroad, to enquire into cases of complaints regarding combination of manufacturers of the country to the detriment of domestic consumers, to examine cases of dumping of foreign goods in the home markets; to examine cases of profiteering by foreign manufacturers in certain circumstances (e.g., the Board of Trade's attention was drawn to the cases of unscrupulous profiteering by British manufacturers who were taking advantage of the fact that India was unable to buy from the United States, raising their prices as much as 80 per cent.—*News item supplied from London, dated 22nd January, 1946, by U.P.A.*)

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INDIA'S TARIFF POLICY AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANISATION

The terms of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement bind England to a pattern of commercial policy indicated by America in the proposals for an International Trade Organisation. India's membership of the Bretton-Woods also implies her acquiescing in the commercial policy finally shaped at the I.T.O. While England's problem is to expand exports, India's need is to diversify and expand industrial production in the country. India must be free to adopt whatever commercial policy suits her economic planning. She may be expected to co-operate in international economic policies but not to an extent that makes her deviate from her economic goal for the sentiment of international liberalism. The earlier India frames a comprehensive tariff policy the better; in lingering for a decision she might be faced with a *chose jugée* at the I.T.O. which would seriously restrict her freedom of choice.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE BACKGROUND FOR AGRICULTURAL PLANNING

By K. M. GURURAJA RAO, L.A.G.,
Mysore Agricultural Service

NEVER in the annals of Indian Agricultural History have promises of all-sided agricultural improvements been held out, as now, when they are seen to descend in cascades. Agriculture with us forms the bed-rock of a hoary civilisation, which, to quote H. G. Wells, "is but the agricultural surplus." Considerable care and judgement is called for before any upset of the placidly moving "apple cart" of empirical methods, based on patient toil, is thought of.

It is imperative to reduce the shock of this impact by diverting carefully the flood of modernism in agriculture through fertilising channels to yield happy results.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS

These may be judged from five aspects: (1) Scientific or technical, (2) Economic, (3) Educational, (4) Social and psychological and (5) Administrative.

AGRICULTURE—A WAY OF LIFE

The flood of achievement of modern science in agriculture in more advanced countries, backed up by their national Governments, is apt to take us off our feet. Except for a few plantation and money crops our agriculture is, mostly, still run on a subsistence basis. Our cultivation methods are the ones, which man found out patiently working with nature. These methods have developed silently out of the reach of the blaring din of modern science into a technique, which has given the farmer results. What with the vagaries of seasonal conditions, slowly impoverishing soil, his own progressive poverty and system of taxes from landlords and Government, which are inexorable, the farmer has adjusted his life and his profession to a fine balancing comfort, of desires without hopes and responsibilities without rights. Life, we are told, is essentially centrifugal and agriculture has found a fitting base for this expanding life's demands; *vis-a-vis*, we have the modern dynamic scientific materialism, centripetal in action, driving the life-blood of the country into the congested urban factory life with its enchanting promises of rights before responsibilities, competitive pleasures, soaring ambitions and hectic leisures. Wisdom and experience beckon us to accept the coming change. But

SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

The scientific approach of the improvement of the Agricultural problem may be said to have begun in India from about the year 1905, when the Government of India announced their intention of setting aside annually 20 lakhs of rupees for development of agricultural research, experiment, demonstration and education. Twenty-three years later the Royal Agricultural Commission reviewing the work of the agricultural departments said, in their report "that great progress had been achieved by the agricultural departments cannot be denied; but their influence has so far reached a very small fraction of the total area." Professor N. V. Joshi, presiding over the Agricultural Section of the Indian Science Congress last year, pointed out, that the yields of crops in India have not shown in general any improvement over what was reported upon by Voelker in 1891. These are significant remarks and show in all their naked truth that all that science has done for the cultivator, barring a few money crops, had ended so far in brilliant futility.

It is a compelling necessity, therefore, to seek for the causes and expose them so that scientific knowledge may be diverted into fruitful channels. Science, it must be admitted, is, by nature, international. Scientists must

therefore conform themselves in their methods of research to international standard. This outlook gives added strength when their own national standard of agriculture has reached a high level of efficient organisation to make use of valuable results of research. This cannot be said of our agricultural methods and hence while the Indian worker has to toe the line set by other standards the result of research fails to have local values. In the main, "Science", as C. H. Waddington says, "is analytical" and is interested in fact-finding. It cannot assess values. It is here we see the tragic failure of agricultural science in that we are assessing research facts with local values over which it has no manner of control. Thus the agricultural worker is set a difficult task of deciding whether he has to stay with the pole of local values for his findings or sail with the punt of research on international standard. The result is that though the research sections are manned by highly trained staff, whose anxiety to keep meticulously to international standard, even to the crease of their trousers and their cut, is barren of results in raising the general standard of agriculture in the country.

There is another aspect of the working of science, which should be noted. Science, being essentially analytical, has given room for specialisation so much so that the specialists are made to work in blinkers "knowing more and more about less and less." Agriculture, to be successful, is to be practised as an integrated whole—a co-ordinated, convergent drive of allied subjects for increased crop production. A practical successful demonstration of such farming to interest capitalists for large-scale farming or to fill the gap of food-grain shortages, is notoriously conspicuous by its absence, which shows the weakness in the grouping and handling of scientific knowledge to yield results. These conditions remind one of the reported custom in China of having two chauffeurs for every car—one to drive and the other to teach him how to drive.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT

Ruskin says in his Political Economy, "What is chiefly needed in England at the present day is to show the quantity of pleasure that may be obtained by a consistent, well-administered competence—modest, confessed and laborious. We need examples of people, who, leaving Heaven to decide whether they are to rise in the world, decide for themselves that they will be happy in it and have resolved to seek, not greater wealth, but, simpler pleasure; not higher fortune, but, deeper felicity, making first of possessions, self-possession and honouring themselves in the harmless pride and calm pursuit of peace." Those that are conversant with the life of the Indian agriculturist can without hesitation say that such an ideal, which is recommended for England, had been put into practice in old India thousands of years back. Even now without such an outlook, life in an Indian village is almost impossible. A life dedicated to such an ideal is being shaken to make the agriculturist answer to the definition of a modern economic man. Sir Maurice Gwyer defines the modern economic man as "a person who acted wholly from motives of self-interest without regard to the interests or indeed feelings of other men, and who took advantage of every opportunity, which presented itself to add to his own wealth." Now, I ask, is this the kind of economic man we want to make our farmer?

Considerable light has been thrown recently on the want of reliable statistics on the subject of agriculture which should hamper reliable planning. Speaking on the subject in opening the Indian Economic Conference, Sir A. Dalal said:

"This science is the latest and as far as statistics were concerned not only were there substantial inaccuracies in the material available, but, there were also large gaps even in such statistical material as had been so far collected in this country."

Sir L. K. Hyder in his presidential address pointed out that "the field of Economic History of our country lies unexplored." Speaking on agricultural planning in the post-war period, Sir Manilal B. Nanavaty emphasised that

"Rural population was composed of all grades of civilisation from the primitive man to the highly efficient cultivator and planning must be on a sociological basis, covering every aspect of a man's life and must keep in view needs and possibilities of different regions."

Bombay Plan makes it clear that agricultural improvement is necessary so as to raise purchasing power of the farmer to absorb increasingly the output of industrial concerns. Those that are in intimate contact with farming will not hesitate to admit, so far, the word economics as applied to other professions, has no place in the scheme. A local Kannada proverb shows what the farmer thinks of statistics—*Setti Lekka Bittu Ketta, Ryata Lekka Ittu Ketta*, which means that a setti (merchant) is ruined if he does not maintain accounts whereas a ryot is ruined by keeping accounts. I am very doubtful if even Government farms keep accounts which can stand up to accurate auditing and for striking a proper profit and loss account. For a long time yet the local farmer will have to carry on without the application of economics in the modern scientific sense.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION—A FAILURE TO TURN YOUNGMEN TO AGRICULTURE

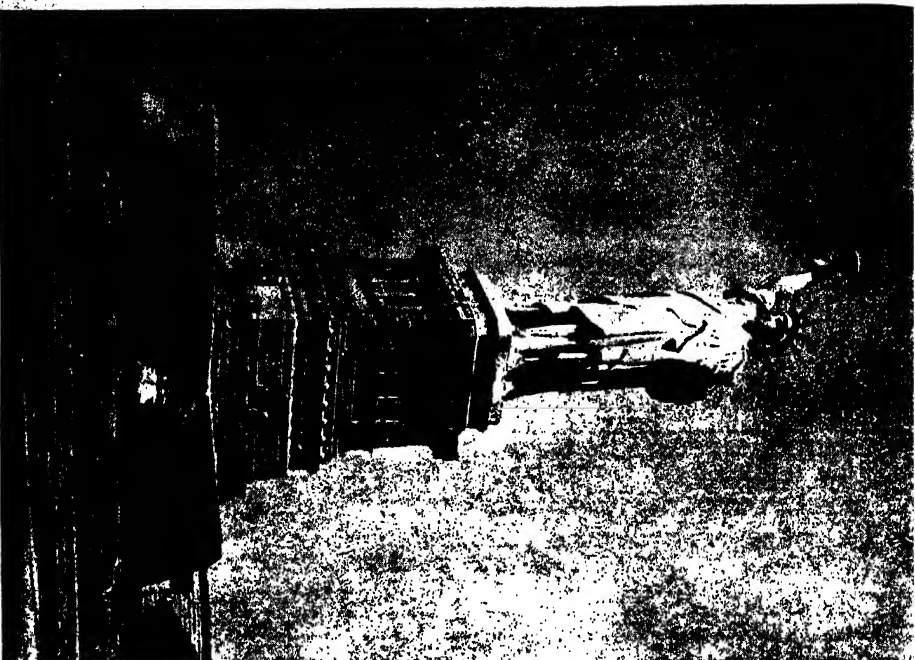
Agricultural Education through its organized institutions began about the year 1905. In keeping with its sister literary education, which prepares boys for a better life without providing with the knowledge as to what standard of life he can afford, so also the agricultural education has been training students preparing them for an advanced scientific agriculture without teaching them what exactly the life of the agriculturist means. Without labouring much on the point, it may be said, that most of the men, who have gone out successfully from agricultural colleges and schools, are to be found in any vocation but agriculture. They are to be seen in such jobs as Station Masters in railways and telegraphists and even in Government service in the departments like Police, Revenue or Magistracy. Every agricultural college or school, while calling for applications for admission, makes it a point to emphasise that the applicants must be from agricultural classes and own lands. The minimum standard for admission into the college is a pass in Intermediate Examination of the University. This almost imposes a condition on the students of their having left all connection with rural life for at least five years because, when the boy leaves the primary school, he practically bids good-bye to any agricultural bias he may have, as no High Schools or Colleges are situated in villages.



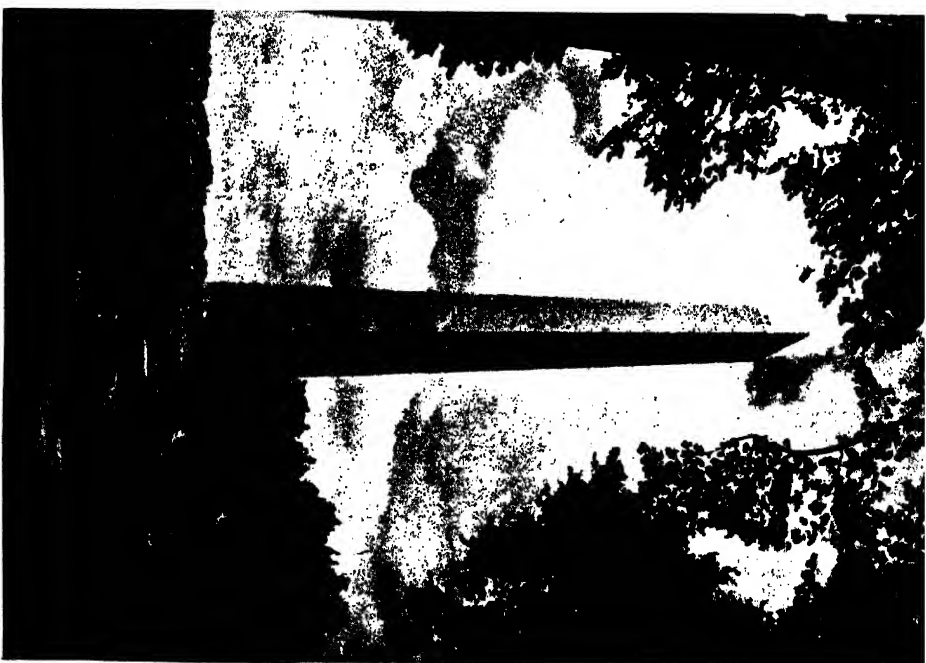
The U.S. capitol, a great white domed building where the U.S. Congress convenes, dominates the capital city of Washington



The oldest public structure in Washington, the Executive Mansion of the President of the United States, has been known as the White House to millions of Americans for generations



The Statue of Liberty, lowering above Bedloe's Island in the harbour of New York City, is symbol of the principles upon which the U.S. Government was founded. The statue towers 305 ft. from the foundation of the pedestal to the torch.



The Washington Monument, erected in honour of George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the American Revolution and first President of the United States, is 555 ft. high, constructed of masonry and is the tallest structure of its kind in the world.

Agricultural education therefore becomes, on all fours, a training for a qualifying degree as other university degrees are. It should be no shame to admit its failure in as far as it cannot be made use of in full in its application to a resourceless, poverty-ridden farming. Even the few cases where the trained graduate takes to farming are almost sure to answer to the description of Mark Twain about Henry Ward Beachor, 75 years ago. Mark Twain said of him. "He was a very inferior man, when he first began, and he is now fast rising from affluence to poverty."

Attempts at covering up this failure are very much in evidence as one can see in the rapid development of the agricultural departments to absorb the stream of successful students.

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL

It is common knowledge that though the profession is one of the noblest, as a man in this profession can live a life of honesty and integrity, the farmers occupy in modern society the lowest status.

Mr. W. H. Moreland, while speaking on the "Outlook of the Indian Cultivator" says in the Report of Royal Agricultural Commission :

"It may be affirmed with confidence that the welfare and prosperity of rural population will not come by technical advances alone. The will to live better must furnish the driving power that is required . . . in other words the central problem is psychological, not technical. . . . The dominant feature in Rural India at the present day is that the will to live better is not a force to be reckoned with except in particular circumstances."

A deep probing into the case will show that in regard to the older folk their tribulation, experience and deferred hopes have brought on a feeling of frustration. Though for themselves it is too late to change to modern life, they are forced, against their will and knowing the disastrous consequences such a step will entail on their age-long estates, to allow their ambitious youngmen to leave the agricultural profession to seek a better living in urban areas.

AGRICULTURAL ADMINISTRATION

It would be interesting and instructive to study how the improvements, which have been worked out in the laboratories and experimental farms, are made

to reach the cultivators on the field. There are three agencies at work with varying degrees of knowledge and power.

First comes the scientist, who, with his eye on recognition from foreign workers, sets standards and attains results, which cannot be made use of fully by the resourceless cultivator. Then comes the District Officer and his staff, who is expected to apply these results through propaganda and demonstration to change the age-old methods of the cultivator. They find in the majority of cases that, in the complexity of the ryots' condition (economic, social and psychological), the improvements emanating from the scientific sections are mostly unco-ordinated and fragmentary and so unacceptable by the ryots. Finally, we have the inescapable fact that the Agricultural Departments are part and parcel of the huge machinery of Government and are worked by the inexorable and common rules and regulations of general administration. Seniority in service must have precedence over ability, knowledge and aptitude in giving promotions, and communal politics has, of late, come no second in making confusion worse confounded. When the departmental machinery under such conditions fails to reach efficiency standards as measured by the yard stick, not of scientific achievements, but of service standards, it is not uncommon to see a civil servant from general administration being posted as head of the department who, being accustomed to impose administrative authority, relegates research to a secondary place and standardises efficiency through a round of recognised routine of reports and returns. Under pressure of administrative exigency it has become common to see officers from scientific sections with no knowledge of agriculture and who have never been on any agricultural farms being made to play the role of agricultural advisers, as district officers, to the very men who, through patient toil and tribulation, have built up a system of agriculture which is full of results.

With the background sketched above it should make one doubly doubtful, if, in post-war planning, agricultural improvements mean merely an extension and elaboration of the existing system, it would not merely be holding out promise to the underdog of agriculture of another tail to wag and nothing more.

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LAW, LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

A Synthetic Approach

By PROF. K. R. R. SASTRY,

Law Department, University of Allahabad

Law stands to be illuminated by literature and philosophy. Law is the "concrete realization of philosophy" and law and philosophy are lit by literature. Law is the "synthesis of speculations of ages as to the rules of human conduct, imposed in order to protect, not merely society as an organisation, but the individual from evil."

Manu, a legal philosopher of great renown, draws the motive for desisting from crimes from a deep delving into human nature :

सर्वो दण्डजितो लोको दुर्कर्मोहि कुचिर्वरः ।
दण्डस्य हि भयात्सर्वं जगद्भोगाय कल्पते ॥

"The whole race of men is kept in order by punishment, for a guiltless man is hard to be found ; through fear of punishment indeed this universe is enabled to enjoy its blessings."

Philosophy is "investigation and love of wisdom." and wisdom is an *achievement*. The wise person is beyond the dualism of hope and fear. The true philosopher is a "synthetic thinker and spiritual seer who by knowing *Brahman* realizes everything else and communicates *his wisdom to others*."

"The State," says Aristotle, "comes into existence for the sake of life but it exists for the sake of the *good life*." (Pol. I, 2).

What are the things that make men happy as distinguished from pleasant? "To watch the corn grow or the blossoms set, to draw hard breath over ploughshare or spade, to read, to think, to love, and to pay" — these make men happy.

How literature serves a handmaid to philosophy?

"All that is really beautiful is offered to us as a gift from the Maker. We are allowed to see the sun arise and set, to watch the clouds sailing along the sky, to enjoy the forests and the fields and the glorious sea, all without spending even a copper-coin. The birds sing to us for nothing and we pick up wild flowers as we walk along the roadside. There is no entrance fee to the starlit halls of the night. There is so much beauty all around that the thirst for it need never go unslaked or unsatisfied. A thing of beauty is a joy for ever."

WHERE LAW AND PHILOSOPHY MEET

In ancient Hindu theory, the temporal sovereign was not the source of law. Man-made law and revealed law were incompatible.

Where law is a revealed one, sanction is a religious and moral one. In ancient Hindu society, where religions and secular elements were interwoven, and where civil and criminal sanctions were found in the state of non-separation, fear of consequences in the other world was as much a reality as in the present existence. A certain dread of divine displeasure always acted upon the human mind.

The divine origin of law and the great antiquity of it going to a dim past produced in the mind a sympathetic attitude of willing compliance. Deference to authority and to a superior is a characteristic of all minds steeped in tradition. Conditional evil *a la* Austin is not the only force that secures obedience to law. Man finds it easier to acquiesce than to resist.—(Bryce: *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Vol. II, p. 41).

Democritus (460-360 B.C.) laid down, "The laws would not forbid each to live after his own liking so long as the one did not injure the other." The famous appeal of Antigone to the eternal unwritten laws is couched by Sophocles, a great Greek tragic dramatist, in these words:

"Yea, for these laws were not ordained c. Zeus
And she, who sits enthroned with gods below,
Justice, enacted not these human laws,
Nor did I deem that thou, a mortal man,
Couldst by a breath annul and override
The immutable unwritten Laws of Heaven,
They were not born today nor yesterday;
They die not; and none knoweth whence they sprang."

In Socrates, we find the identification of justice with obedience to the law. He associated with the idea of the unwritten law, the notion of the universally valid law which came from the gods.

"One of the most moving episodes in all literature is that which describes how Socrates in prison, when urged by his friend Crito to escape, praises the laws of his fatherland as the basis of all social order and firmly refuses to depart from them, though he knows that obedience is death."—(Max Hamburger: *The Awakening of Western Legal Thought*, p. 111).

Plato laid strongest emphasis on the moral factor in relation to the idea of justice.

'Man is a social being,' says Aristotle, the faithful disciple of Plato. The distributive measuring rod is the principle of *Isotes*, equality before the law.

LAW AND MORALITY

Morality has been a source of law, a supplement of law, a prime test of its interpretation and an ultimate limit to its sphere and degree of enforcement.

CONCEPTION OF "RIGHT"

When the claim of each is only limited by the power of each, we can have nothing of the nature of a right.—(J. Brown: *Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation*, p. 245). But when the claim of each is limited by reference to the claims of others we have rights.

METHODS OF STUDYING JURISPRUDENCE

"Any constructive study of jurisprudence must be historical, it must be analytical, it must face the facts of our present social order, and to be productive of the highest results, it must be broad in its scope."—(*Political Theories*: Merriamak, p. 176).

The purposes of criminal justice have deep adherence to its *philosophical* basis. Transgression of the Law which bound king as well as the subject had to be punished. The primary principles of punishment were for the *protection of the people* and restraining them in paths of virtue through fear of punishment. For, according to Manu, if the king were not without indulgence to punish the guilty, the stronger would roast the weaker like fish in their elements.—(*Manu*, Chapter VII, 20).

It is not at all surprising that Jhering should consider punishment, as no unmixed evil but having the effect of purifying the offender and reconciling him again with gods and men.

THE BASIS OF PROPERTY

"Property is objectified will." This metaphysical theory of property is perhaps the nearest approach to the concept in a historical sense. The subjective will of man acquires for it an objective existence by appropriating the material objects and others. Such an exclusive acquisition and use of material objects that are scarce and desirable have been important factors in the life of man. "Such ownership or property has been desired and striven for, partly for pleasurable consumption, partly as means to further acquisition of consumable goods, but also for power over other human beings and for the prestige that attaches to ownership and power."—(J. A. Hobson, *Property and Unproperty*, p. 13).

In such a complete grasp of juristic principles, the names of a few legal philosophers emerge themselves out of the archives of time. Manu, the austere Hindu Law-giver, Yogi Yajñavalkya, Solon, the Greek Law-giver, the noble Papinian, who died a martyr for truth and justice, stand out as beacon lights for future generations. In the last century England produced one such in Sir Frederick Pollock. The science of law would become an arid track if it be not lit by philosophy and literature. This border-land was called the "penumbra of legal science." It is in such a deep and extensive study that the end of all social sciences can be realised. If the desires of men are always deserved that society would consist of happy individuals indeed.

PRAGJYOTISHAPURA

By JOGESCHANDRA RAY, VIDYANIDHI

THE name Pragjyotishapura occurs in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and meant a city which had formerly been a seat of *gyotisha*, astrological and astronomical learning. Who, why and when gave this old name to Kamarupa? It seems to me certain that Sakadvipi Brahmins while migrating to Kamarupa carried the memory of their father-land and applied the name to their new home a few centuries after Christ. These Brahmins are known in Bengal as Acharya and in Assam as Daiyajna. Their ancestors were devoted students of *gyotisha*, computed almanacs on which depended the social and religious observances of the Hindus and wielded enormous influence thereby on the society. Every king had his astrologer as much as the family priest as a member of the royal court. The performance of Grahayajna, the Tantrika rits of propitiating the planets, was their exclusive function. Even now the majority devote themselves to the study and profession of *gyotisha*.

The ancestors of these Brahmins originally came from Sakadvipa, one of the seven countries of Asia known to the Indians in ancient times. A Dvipa, primarily means a piece of land having water on its two sides. Jambudvipa, India, is a typical example. Sakadvipa was the country surrounding the sea of Aral and extended southwards to the Karakorum and Hindukush ranges. There are passes, though high, across the Karakorum, the Gaudhamadana Parvata of our ancient geographers. Hindukush was probably known as the Varaha-parvata.* Sakadvipa contained population of four classes. The highest class contained as among the Aryans, the intellectual priests called Maga. They were worshippers of the Sun, made his image like a human being, introduced Sun-worship in India and formed a sect called Saura. The Aryans of the Rig-Veda worshipped the attributes of the Sun but did not conceive a human form of the luminary. The Maga Brahmins were great astrologers and astronomers. They introduced the Saka era, when the summer solstice took place at the first point of Pushyanakshatra. When it receded a quarter nakshatra space which it did in 241 years the so-called Gupta era commenced in $78 + 241 = 319$ A.C. Both the eras are of astronomical origin. Scholars have searched in vain for historical events which they imagined were commemorated by the dates.

According to the Mahabharata, Pragjyotisha was situated somewhere on the southern border of the Sakadvipa. We learn this from the account of the military expedition of Arjuna, who went out to exact tribute from the kings of the northern quarter (Sabha, p. 25). "He defeated the kings of the countries which lay in the north and those of Sakala-dvipa. Sakaladvipa was one of the seven dvipas. With these kings he marched to Pragjyotisha. Bhagadatta was the king. He had armies of Kiratas, Chinas and the people who lived in the coastal tracts of the sea." The Kiratas were the turbulent hill-tribes and the Chinas the Chinese. The sea referred to here is the sea of Aral about which lay the Saka-dvipa. From this account, it appears that, Pragjyotisha was situated far to the south of the sea.

This situation of Pragjyotisha is corroborated by another passage of the Mahabharata (Asvamedha, p. 75). Bhagadatta is described in many places as the king of the Yavanas. The Yavanas lived beyond the present Western Frontier of India in the fourth century B.C. Hence it appears to have been what was known as Chinese Turkistan. It is at present a Republic of Soviet Russia.

There was another Jyotishapura, Uttarajyotishapura, i.e., the city which took the name later, 'Uttara', as distinguished from former 'Prag'. Uttarajyotisha lay to the south of Indraprastha, and was conquered by Nakula (Sabha, p. 37). In the absence of connecting links it is impossible to identify the two Jyotishapuras. It is, however, obvious that Pragjyotishapura became famous for the *gyotisha* learning of the Saka Brahmins. The date of the chapters on the conquest of the four quarters may be put down as the fourth century B.C. It is to be noted that the poet knew the river Lauhitya, modern Brahmaputra, but not the country on the other sides.

The Ramayana also mentions Pragjyotishapura in connection with the search for Sita in the four quarters (Kisk. 42). The town is said to have been in the western quarter, in the Varaha-mountain which was ruled by wicked 'Danava' named Naraka. The mountain is, however, placed in a deep ocean, though no instruction was given to the scouts to cross it.

The situation of a place indicated by the points of the compass can not be fixed unless the central place is known. In the Ramayana account the central place is apparently Ayodhya, Lucknow. Now, if two straight lines be drawn from this place, one along the south-west and the other along the north-west point, the region included between the lines would be the western quarter. In the Mahabharata account the central place is Indraprastha, say, Delhi, which is far away to the north and west of Lucknow. The north quarter will include the region between the North-West and North-East points. It thus appears that Pragjyotishapura lay somewhere in the North-West Frontier of India. It might be a place like Chitral. The sea mentioned by the poet of the Ramayana was probably a wide river.

In the Mahabharata (Vana, p. 241), we are told that as the Pandavas were approaching the Gandhamadana mountain they saw a white hill formed of the bones of Naraka Asura mixed with stone. This account also shows the position of Pragjyotisha on the North-West Frontier of India.* In his *Arthashastra*, Kautilya praised the white silk of Suvarnakudya in Assam. Apparently he did not know Pragjyotishapura.

* The situation raises an important question : Was Pragjyotishapura, the place of the Vedanga Jyotisha, the celebrated astronomical tract for computing the dates of Vedic sacrifices? The latitude was 35 deg. N. and the date (as shown by me in 'The First Point of Aarini', Prabasi Press, Calcutta) was 1372 B.C. The latitude of Chitral is 35 deg. N. Therefore, the place of the Vedanga Jyotisha was Chitral or somewhere about it. If this conjecture be correct, Pragjyotishapura had been a seat of astronomical learning of the Vedic Aryans as well as the Saka Brahmins, before the Mahabharata account.

* See *Brahmandapurana*.

The Brahmandapurana (48.50) has Pragiyotishapura for Kamarupa. The Purana is said to have been taken to Java in the fifth century A.C. It is, therefore, as old at least as the third century A.C. There was a colony of Sakas in Upper India giving the name Saketa or Ayodhya. They were defeated by Bhima who went towards the east. Probably the Saka Brahmins migrated from Upper India, entered Kamarupa about the second century A.C. and made their influence felt by transplanting Pragiyotishapura with all its old traditions and geographical names from the north-west to the north-east corner of India. Examples of old names given to new places are common. And who would think of jyotisha except those that were interested in it?

The Kalikapurana was composed in Assam about the eighth century A.C. But it received interpolations and additions about the tenth or eleventh century. It gives a fantastic explanation of the reason of the name of Pragiyotishapura given to Kamarupa. It says that in a previous age staying in this place Brahma left out a Nakshatra, hence the name Pragiyotisha (प्राक्नक्षत्रं ससर्जं).

38. 119. Bangabasi edition, Calcutta). Evidently this refers to the omission of Abhijit from the circle of Nakshatras of the ecliptic. There were twenty-eight Nakshatras. The number was reduced to twenty-seven, when the vernal equinox used to occur in Rohini (Mahabharata—Vana, p. 228 or 229). The date is about 3250 B.C. at any rate before the composition of the Yajurveda (2500 B.C.). If the reading of the Sloka be: प्राक्नक्षत्रानि ससर्जं, Brahma created the Nakshatras, i.e., if the formation of the circle of twenty-seven Nakshatras were meant, its date would remain the same.

This does not, of course, mean that the Grahavipras of Assam were not ardent students of Jyotisha since their arrival in that country. I understand a large number of manuscripts on Jyotisha have been collected in Assam. There are, undoubtedly, many still lying neglected in remote parts of the province. These should be collected and all classified with dates. Among them may be found original works of importance. I am personally interested in tracing the existence of a manuscript dealing with a remarkable Yuga of 247 1/12 tropical years, probably known as Mahesvara Yuga. Every Yuga commenced on a Sukla Saptami of the month next to that of the preceding Yuga. The Sukla Saptami of every month thus became sacred to the Sun. The Yuga gives a solar calendar and was probably in use for the daily affairs of life. It is a remarkable fact that the solar calendar is followed in all the eastern provinces of India, from Assam to Madras, unlike the rest of India. Who introduced the solar calendar, is a question, that has not been answered. Light may be obtained from Assam.

The Kalikapurana, as seen above, felt called upon to explain the origin of the name Pragiyotishapura. The author certainly knew that the Nakshatras of the ecliptic were designed in the Punjab and not in Assam. Barring similar instances of partiality for Kamarupa he seems to have predilection for astronomy. He knew many astronomical cycles and had remarkable insight into it, unlike most Puranic writers. A few instances are given here to illustrate the point:

(1) Take the birth of Naraka. His mother was the Earth and father, the heavenly Boar, the white

Boar, the sacrificial Boar, all well-known names of the constellation Mriga (The Orion of European Astronomy). Vishnu assumed this form to raise the Earth from water which submerged her. The constellation while rising in the east appears to come in contact with the Earth. This is poetically described as sexual union of the Boar and the Earth. The union took place on the day of the summer solstice when the Earth receiving the first showers of the rainy season is supposed to be in menses and unclean. The union took place at midnight. We guess it from the fact that Naraka was born at midnight. A little calculation will show that this happened six thousand years ago. Naraka, the issue of the union, was an Asura like Bali whom Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation placed in Patala (southern sky). Kautilya in his Arthashastra invokes the names of Bali and Sambara, Naraka, Kumbha and Nikumbha as a magic mantra to cause slumber.

It is, however, quite possible to have an earthly counterpart of Naraka. There are many examples of such double representation. He was produced from the Earth like the Bhumiya, 'indigenous', of Orissa, a sturdy race, and happened to be the chieftain ruling over Kiratas. The heavenly and the earthly traits have as usual been mixed up in the legend.

(2) Apart from the story it is noticeable that the author of the Purana takes particular care to tell us the dates of events, showing his fondness for astronomy. We know there were two systems of measuring time, Daiva and Manusha. A Daiva Yuga is 360 times longer than the Manusha Yuga. The Puranas as a rule make no difference between them and speak of Yuga without the qualifying adjective. The author of the Kalikapurana often specifies the Yugas stating them to be Manusha. For instance, he says, Rama slew Ravana in Manusha-Treta-yuga. Devi Dasabhuja manifested herself at the beginning of the Manusha-Treta-yuga of the first Manu. This habit of limiting the period is characteristic of one who deals with measurable time.

(3) Several Puranas have described the birth of Parvati. But the Kalikapurana appears to be the only Purana in which the date of the birth is given (41. 41). She was born at midnight of Sukla-ninth with Nakshatra Mrigasira in the Vasanta season. The date appears to be the Sukla-ninth of Chaitra, the first month of the Vasanta season when the preceding summer solstice happened on the Sukla-first of Sravana. In the same chapter we learn that Mena, the mother of Parvati, observed vows for twenty-seven years. Evidently the Nakshatra cycle of twenty-seven years was in mind.

(4) An interesting instance of the author's insight into the facts of legends is found in the statement that the buffalo which the goddess Durga slew was the body of Rudra (60.156). Perhaps no other Purana would have ventured to tell us the nature of the buffalo. Rudra in the Rig-Veda is said to be as terrible as a wild buffalo, a boar, a lion. These animals could be pictured in the Mriga Nakshatra representing the body of Rudra.

(5) The author of the Kalikapurana has taken many stories from the Matsyapurana. Among these is the story of the marriage of Siva with Uma, the daughter of Himalaya. The date of the marriage is not found elsewhere. It is thus defined in the Purana (44.41): "It was a Thursday, the Sukla Fifth of Vaisakha, the Moon in Uttaraphalguni and the Sun at the beginning of Bharani." Uttaraphalguni appears to be incorrect

and should have been Ardra if the other data are accepted. The Nakshatra Uttaraṣaṅgini is auspicious for marriage and perhaps some astrologer wrongly introduced it. On the other hand, Ardra whose presiding deity is Rudra would have been more appropriate. The Sun enters the Bharani division on the thirteenth-day of Solar Vaisakha. Strange to relate traders of this district of Bankura in West Bengal, at least the older generation, observe the date for opening new account books, called *Hal Khata*. Business account books are changed on the New Year's Day. There is, therefore, no doubt of the thirteenth Vaisakha having been once the New Year's Day, exactly like the first of Vaisakha observed at present. In a legendary account, Ramai Pandit, the founder of Dharmapuja in West Bengal, is said to have been born on this date, which is defined by the same terms except the Moon's Nakshatra. His followers observe it as a holy day. As far as I am aware, no other part of Bengal, not even perhaps Assam, remembers this date.

The year satisfying these conditions is found to be 571 B.C. when the vernal equinox happened on a Wednesday, the Sukla Fourth of Vaisakha. Therefore, the new year began on the day following.* Varahamihira

* According to many Siddhantas the rate of precession of the equinoxes is 54 seconds per year. The equinox, therefore, takes 889 years to recede one Nakshatra space. In 319 A.C., the epoch of the Gupta era, the equinox was at the beginning of Ashvini. Hence it was at the beginning of Bharani in $(-889+319) = -570$ A.C. = 571 B.C. Here is a proof that Saka 241 = 319 A.C. was the year when the Nakshatra circle commenced with Ashvini. If we take Saka 421 = 499 A.C.

says that the astronomer Garga reckoned the Nakshatras from Bharani. There is reason to believe that Garga was a Grahavipra. He was a famous astrologer and astronomer of old. It was he, who gave the name Krishna to Nanda's son and alone knew who he was. [The boy Krishna who performed the wonderful feats was the sun. He was later mixed up with the historical Krishna.] Probably Kalikapurana and the astronomers of this district owe the date to some common source. Did the author of the Purana know that the date of Siva's marriage was too near to be believed? Was he tempted to quote the date because of its association with the name of Garga?

Being ignorant of the social history of Assam, I am unable to adduce evidence of the influence and status of the Grahavipras in olden days. Much can be gathered from the examination of the surnames of the Brahmins. These surnames were at one time titles enjoyed by their forefathers. For instance the surname Dalai is a corruption of Sanskrit 'Dalapati', the captain of a company of troops, a title found also in Midnapore. Baradalai is a head captain. Grahavipras officiated as priests of temples. They still retain the privilege in some parts of India. It will be interesting to enquire who the priests in the Kamakhya Temple were before the present Vaidika Brahmins came and took up the duties of the priests of the temple. Was the author of the Kalikapurana a Grahavipra priest of the temple? If not, it becomes difficult to understand why he attempted to justify the name of Pragjyotishapura for Kamarupa while he displayed enough knowledge of astronomy and why he devoted so many chapters to the description of Kamarupa.

as the starting year we come to $(-889+499) = -390$ A.C. = 391 B.C. when the conditions are not satisfied.

BEETHOVEN AND HIS MUSIC

By J. N. GUHA

In the musical world Beethoven is as much a genius as Shakespeare and Leonardo da Vinci are in the domains of literature and art. I do not think any other composer has ever reached such prolific height, no, not even Brahms or Wagner, as Beethoven has in his incomparable sonatas, symphonies, and later quartets. In fact, it can be rightly stressed that had there been no Beethoven, the world would never have had Brahms and Wagner. The latter are so much steeped in the spirit of Beethoven that Wagner had even been heard to remark, "If one studies Beethoven's ninth symphony meticulously in all its aspects, one is bound to learn everything that is in music", and it is a well-known fact that Brahms' first symphony was hailed by everyone as Beethoven's tenth.

BEETHOVEN'S GENIUS

The reason of Beethoven's greatness lies in his independence of mind and spirit. Beethoven, in his earlier compositions, followed the same classical style of Mozart and Haydn—one has only to hear his first symphony and first piano concerto to prove it. At their first hearing, it is very difficult to differentiate them from any similar works of Haydn and Mozart, although,

I must say, both the works distinctly bear the masterly stamp of Beethoven. His fifth symphony stands out as a landmark in the symphonic world; for the first time a symphony is composed which does not adhere completely to the age-old traditional style and forms of classical works. All his subsequent works show definite signs of the romantic element, which greatly influenced the later generation of musicians. In other words, Beethoven was dynamic and versatile and never was afraid to adopt new and revolutionary methods.

In all, Beethoven composed nine symphonies, five piano concertos, a good number of sonatas for solo pianoforte, overtures, and chamber music.

The most popular symphonies of Beethoven are third, fifth, sixth (pastoral), seventh and ninth (choral). The last one is very seldom performed as it requires a large orchestra along with a trained chorus to sing the finale, Schiller's poem, "Ode to Joy." Wagner asserts that not in his life-time had he ever heard a faultless performance of the ninth, which is indeed a giant among symphonies. The recording of this work by Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra is anything but satisfactory.

SYMPHONY OF VICTORY

The fifth symphony is, of course, well-known to the present generation for its majestic opening bars, which represent the symbol of victory over tyranny. In the third movement, grand 'appreggios' by the Cellos and Double Basses very appropriately reminded Berlioz, the great French composer and music-critic of "the gambolling of elephants." The sixth (pastoral) is the first of its kind to depict nature in its different phases. There are divergent views on the "Pastrol" being played with animation in Walt Disney's "Fantasia." Personally, I thought it was grand. The seventh shows the master in his dominantly gay mood and Wagner aptly calls it "the apotheosis of dance." Of the eighth, Beethoven used to call it "my little symphony." There is an episode on his third (Eroica). After the French Revolution, Napoleon's rise to power infused great hopes in the masses of Europe but alas! he turned out to be a Dictator. Beethoven originally dedicated his third to this saviour of mankind but when the French army besieged Vienna, where Beethoven had been living then, he tore off the score and rewrote it, adding a funeral march as one of the movements.

All the above symphonies are brilliantly recorded by H. M. V. under the inimitable conductorship of Arturo Toscanini.

PIANO CONCERTOS AND SONATAS

Among his piano concertos, the most favourite are the fourth and fifth (Emperor). The last one—surely it can be called "Emperor" for its majestic movements—is brilliantly recorded by both Artur Schnabel and Walter Gieseking while the fourth could be heard on records played by that eminent pianist, Wilhelm Backhaus. Beethoven's first concerto is also a favourite piece with music-lovers, but as I said before, definitely Mozartian in style.

Beethoven composed a lot of sonatas for pianoforte. He himself was an expert virtuoso pianist and therefore his music for pianoforte is always grand and inspiring. His famous sonatas are as follows:

'Pathétique', 'Appassionata', 'Hammer-klavier', 'Waldstein', 'Moonlight' and a host of others. The finest slow movement of all musical works is, I think, the Andante from 'Hammer-klavier.' Gieseking's recording of this is worth collecting, while Edwin Fischer interprets the rest very efficiently.

Besides these piano sonatas, there are sonatas for violin and piano and for cello and piano. The most notable one is "Kreutzer" sonata for violin and piano, skilful interpretation of which is given by that wonderful virtuoso violinist, Yehudi Menuhin and his sister, Hephziba. One of the finest chamber music pieces ever composed is "Archduke" Trio by Beethoven. Brilliant recording of it has been done, the players being Solomon (piano), Holst (violin), Pini (cello). At least, this is in no way inferior to its previous rendering by Cortot, Thibaud, and Casals.

HIS MASTERPIECES

Beethoven's quartets, composed in his later years when the master was in full maturity of his spiritual upliftment, are masterpieces of highest excellence, rather difficult to comprehend at its first hearing even for the most musically-inclined ears. In one of the Brains Trust Sessions of B.B.C., a question was put to this effect, "What would you must have, if you are

stranded in a lonely island in the remote corner of the Globe?" Dr. C. E. M. Joad, the philosopher, answered, "Beethoven's later Quartets." This is the highest tribute, I think, one can give to this sublime music of celestial beauty. Likewise, Beethoven's Mass in D Minor shall be always considered the most heavenly music of this kind ever composed.

Last but not the least, mention of Beethoven's grand and majestic overtures must be made. The most prominent of these are: *Neonara* Nos. I, II, III, *Egmont*, *Coriolanus*, *Prometheus*, *Ruins of Athens*, etc.

Leonara No. III, according to Sir Charles Grove, the erudite music-critic, is the quintessence of all music, and musically it is a piece of music more perfectly composed than any other. And we are given a superb recording of it by the Vienna Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Bruno Walter.

BEETHOVEN'S LIFE-SKETCH

Ludwig Van Beethoven was born in Bonn, Rhineland, of a Dutch father and a German mother. He showed aptitude for music from his childhood and was given early musical teachings by his father and the local musicians. Then he was, when very young, brought to Vienna, the hub of the musical culture in those days. Mozart was then at the peak of his fame. When he heard Beethoven for the first time playing a piece of his own music, he embraced him and publicly kissed him on both cheeks and prophesied that the young boy was the budding Prophet of the musical world. Mozart's words were not uttered in vain—Beethoven did become the Prophet in the art of music.

For the best part of his life, Beethoven lived in Vienna. He was mostly poor excepting in the later period of his life, when he had a few years of comparative comfort. He had among his friends a few of the then European nobility, such as Kreutzer, Waldstein, etc., in whose names he dedicated some of his works. Beethoven's contemporary was another great man, Goethe, and their meeting is still regarded as one of the great historic events of the world.

Beethoven's love-life was not successful. It is a fact that he fell in love with three ladies but each time his love was turned down. The C sharp minor sonata, so commonly known as "Moonlight", was composed when Beethoven was under the influence of violent love—it is not very difficult to believe in the authenticity of this episode, particularly when one hears the serenely melodic slow movement with which the sonata opens.

LIFE'S GREATEST TRAGEDY

It is easy to divide Beethoven's life into three stages, of which the middle part is very rich with the finest music ever written by him or for that matter, by any other composer.

The greatest tragedy of Beethoven's life was the infliction of gradual deafness and afterwards complete deafness, which denied him listening to his wonderful music composed at the full height of his genius. At the first public performance of his immortal masterpiece, ninth symphony (choral), Beethoven was present. With the last bar of music, the whole house rose to offer the master its tumultuous cheers, but alas! he did not even know that the symphony was finished. Then when he was told of the vociferous joy and thunderous applause of the audience, he rose from his seat and acknowledged their greetings. Such is the irony of fate.

It has been argued that Beethoven's slow movements are so serenely beautiful, yet so full of pathos, that only he, being so sad and disappointed in life, could have written such music. Against this contention, Emil Ludwig, that distinguished critic of music, says in the preface of his book, entitled *Beethoven*, "It is true Beethoven was sad at heart, and his slow movements only too clearly reflect this. But he never let himself succumb to this low-down feeling as one finds in all

his third or final movements when he always emerged victorious."

That was Beethoven, the conqueror. Throughout his life he fought his adverse fate squarely and always came out with his head high above the pettiness and insignificance that environ the mortals. Like Shakespeare and Leonardo da Vinci, his contributions will ever bring forth joy and solace to the multitude of human beings throughout the vast expanse of this universe.

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PROBLEMS BEFORE THE BENGAL ADMINISTRATION

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London)

We have been so much accustomed to hearing, as also the world outside, unmixed praise of the Indian services, in particular, of the Indian Civil Service that occupies the key position in the Indian Administration and practically runs the show, that its efficiency, wisdom and certitude have been taken for granted without dispute. There was a time when the compliment paid to the service was not altogether unmerited but as it is often said power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. The Indian services have been no exception to this law. Exercise of power without responsibility has corrupted them intellectually and morally. The process of their degeneration has long set in, although it attracted notice and stirred public conscience to an extent never before thought of when the administration in Bengal practically broke down under the strain imposed by the emergency conditions created by the imminent threat of Jap invasion on the borders of the province. The most glaring evidence of incompetence and corruption of administration is furnished by the catastrophic Bengal famine of 1943, the worst in living memory which carried off about two millions of people according to admittedly modest computation. Although Bengal and parts of Orissa were worst affected, scarcity of food was general throughout the country. There has been a lot of controversy as to how far the famine was man-made and how far it was an act of God. An attempt has been made on the official side to attribute it to the failure of the *Amam crop* in the winter of 1942-43, but even making full allowance for this factor the calamity can not be even partially accounted for by it and the conclusion of official incompetence and indifference cannot be avoided on any showing. By November of 1942 it was clearly evident that the season's harvest was exceptionally poor and the peak of the famine was reached in the last few months of the year 1943. So there was enough time to adopt the necessary measures to avoid the worst features of the famine, at least to minimise the mortality rate and other effects of scarcity. But far from adopting necessary measures to cope with the impending calamity the Bengal Government kept announcing stolidly that there would be no scarcity even when the year was advanced and scarcity was well under way. Then there was mutual recrimination between the Central and Provincial Governments as to the allocation of responsibility for the famine. These facts themselves hardly indicate a

healthy state of affairs in the administrative organisation of the country.

The account given in the report of the Famine Enquiry Commission of the stages through which the famine came about and the steps taken by the Government to cope with the crisis makes a dismal reading and a sad commentary on the incapacity, lack of foresight and imagination and a callous indifference to the sufferings of the people on the part of the officials of the Governments of India and Bengal. The whole business was a tale of bungling and muddling. It showed beyond doubt, as nothing before had done, that a bureaucracy tends to become mechanical and wedded to routine. It runs smoothly so long as the routine conditions prevail, but fails miserably before any unforeseen emergency. The same story of bungling was repeated in the confusion and chaos which was experienced at the time of the bombing in Calcutta and the consequent mass exodus of people from the city. The mismanagement of the system of controls introduced, universal corruption and jobbery in the Civil Supplies organisation also point to the same conclusion. It is in this background that a committee was set up in Bengal to enquire into the working of administrative machinery of the province in December, 1944. We propose to deal with some aspects of the work of the Committee in this and subsequent articles. The first thing that strikes us about the work of the Committee is that the scope of the enquiry, as laid down in the terms of reference* and as conceived by the Committee itself, was too narrow. They related only to a reorganisation of the machinery of government and personnel management while the real problem is deeper and more fundamental than this. What is wanted above everything is an administration inspiring confidence in the people, that is, an administration under the full control of the ministers responsible to the people. Without this condition any amount of reorganisation and reform in administration is bound to prove futile. But the scope of enquiry as laid down in the terms of reference and as accepted by the Committee itself assumes the existing framework of government as its basis. This was certainly an initial handicap imposed on the Committee.

* Vide Bengal Government Resolution No. 5565-A, dated the 5th December, 1944.

The terms of reference of the Committee are as follows :

1. "To assess the work to be done by the Government of Bengal both now and in the foreseeable future in order to ensure the efficient government of the province of Bengal on modern and progressive lines."

2. "To report to what extent the existing administrative machine is adequate in structure, extent and quality, and to recommend methods of improving it at all levels to render it adequate, for the efficient discharge of that work."

3. "In particular to examine—

(a) the suitability of the present territorial jurisdictions (e.g., Divisions, Districts, Sub-divisions, Thanas and Circles);

(b) the extent to which, and the directions in which local self-governing institutions may be utilised as an efficient adjunct to the administration with special reference to public health;

(c) the desirability of employing technical personnel and its co-ordination with the existing structure of district administration;

(d) sources and systems of recruitment to, and conditions of employment of, the public services with a view to:

(i) securing the best men with due regard to the declared policy of Government in respect of Communal reservation, and

(ii) precluding discontent, irresponsibility and temptation to corruption.

4. "Generally to make recommendations for the improvement of administration."

The Committee themselves understood their task, to use their own words,

"as that of a machinery of Government Committee and as not requiring us to concern ourselves with questions of policy . . . Broadly, therefore, we have confined ourselves with the questions of principle, e.g., while on the organisation side we have devoted considerable attention to the structure of the Government machine, both at Headquarters and in the districts, we have not attempted to go into the detailed organisation of individual Departments . . ."

So the Committee worked under an initial handicap which limited the scope of their enquiry and we have to review their recommendations in the full knowledge of this condition. As we have already pointed out, within the existing framework of government not much improvement of a substantial nature can be expected by merely dotting the 'i's and crossing the 't's of the existing machinery.

Another handicap under which the Committee had to work and to which they themselves have referred is that although by their terms of reference they were required to take into account both the work to be done in the present and in the foreseeable future yet they were not given any idea about the Government's policy in the future or in their post-war plans. "In the absence of any such indications," they observe,

"We endeavoured to obtain from the several departments a statement of what they had in mind for the post-war period. The replies we received were, with exceptions, not very encouraging or very help-

ful. It appears that for the most part, the plans are far from being completely digested and have been drawn up in separate compartments without any attempt to relate them to the schemes of other departments and without any reference to the financial or technical resources likely to be available."

It was yet clear, however, that the main emphasis in the activities of Government would in future lie or the development field and so they applied themselves to the task of overhauling the machinery of Government with the requirements of development kept in the forefront. From this angle, in their view, the most urgent requirement was to work out as soon as possible an ordered plan, properly articulated as to its constituent parts and phased as to its rate of achievement within the limits of technical and financial practicability. This gives rise to the question of priority among different schemes which is a matter of Government policy. On this question the Committee takes the view that advance in the economic field should take precedence over development measures in the sphere of social services such as promotion of educational and cultural activities though not minimising the importance of the latter in any way.

"Indeed," they observe, "the full potentiality of the physical and human resources of the province can not be achieved until education is much more widespread than it is at present. It is merely a reminder that first things must come first, and the advances in the economic and social field must be properly phased."

We have, however, doubts in our mind if they have correctly judged about priority. From their own statement quoted above it would appear that education should have priority over advances in other fields. It seems to us that items in a comprehensive post-war development scheme can not be tackled piecemeal; they are so co-ordinated and inter-related that advance in one field can not be made without advance in other fields. It is like team work, the whole caravan must move along together or it would come to a stop. The question of priority apart, however, we quite agree with them that any material advance in either the economic or the social field would require—

(a) "the provision of a large number of trained personnel," and (b) "the elaboration of methods and procedures in the realm both of technology and administration."

They are equally justified in holding that these requisites are at present lacking in Bengal and therefore their main task is to evolve a machine which will be adequate to the end in view. At the very outset they recommend as the essential pre-requisite of giving effect to their proposals for overhauling the machinery, the scrapping of the outworn system of land tenure in Bengal and the adoption of the majority recommendations of the Floud Commission.

It would appear that the Committee's analysis of the nature of the problem confronting them is on the whole satisfactory. We are afraid, however, that their diagnosis of the fundamental evil of the existing administrative machine is not so happy. This they find in the comparative cheapness of administrative and inadequacy of staff in relation to other provinces. The ratio of the higher administration cadre to the population is, in their view, the lowest of all provinces with the excep-

tion of Orissa and the *per capita* expenditure on Government in Bengal since the beginning of the century has been lower than that of the four other major Indian provinces. Their conclusion is, therefore, "in the past, Bengal has not been so much badly administered as under-administered." Many will not see eye to eye with the Committee on this point. Cheapness or dearness is always a relative matter, but it should be appraised on the basis of its relation to the *per capita* income of a people, and not to the *per capita* expenditure on administration incurred on different areas. Merely saying that Bengal's *per capita* expenditure on administration is less than that of Bombay does not prove the cheapness of Bengal administration, if her resources are much poorer than those of Bombay. The amount of expenditure by itself does not offer any sound basis for comparison of cheapness or dearness. Moreover, the comparison should not be restricted to the provinces among themselves but to the progressive countries in the west, due allowance being made for the disparity in the level of wages and prices. But cheapness by itself need not lead to bad administration necessarily. Benefit of administration can be maintained by proper and wise distribution of the expenditure among different heads. To be in a position to state that Bengal has been under-administered it is necessary to make a comparative study of the relation between the output of the administrative work and the staff employed in a number of countries which has not been done by the Committee. Such undemonstrated statement by the Committee is liable, as it has actually been subjected, to the charge that it has been put forward as a pretext for further expansion of superior services thus adding to the opportunities of further European employment. Actually the recommendations made in the report go to a great extent to confirm such suspicions.

Few would find fault with the other factors which they regard as special handicaps in the way of administration in Bengal. They are :

- (a) Inadequate communications.
- (b) Unweildily size of some districts.
- (c) Unstable support at the command of the

Government since the introduction of provincial autonomy, and

- (d) The absence of a revenue staff which in other provinces provide a personal link between the Government and the people right into the villages.

So far as inadequate communications are concerned, that has got to be dealt with in the post-war period not only as impeding the speeding up of the wheels of the administrative machine but also as a means of economic regeneration of the province.

The Committee has made some recommendations for offering Government officials special facilities for touring and establishing speedy contact with mofussil areas ; these are quite good. But these alone will not meet the needs of the situation, unless the general communication system of the province is improved. As

regards the unweildily size of the districts, the Committee itself recognises the difficulty of laying down any precise limit to the ideal size of districts as units of administration. They say :

"What is a manageable size of a District is a matter of judgment rather than of formula."

Yet they have recommended the splitting up of some of the existing districts and this recommendation has already been taken up by the Government in regard to some of the districts concerned. We agree that administrative convenience is a very important consideration here, but it is not the only consideration. The political, financial and economic implications of the partition of the districts should also be carefully considered before any action is taken. Already in some of the districts representative bodies have voiced their opposition to the measure. It is not wise to carry through such measures in the teeth of popular opposition. So the Government should take proper notice of the intensity of popular feeling on the question and weigh it against the administrative advantage to be derived from the partition before taking the final decision. To our mind the consideration of the question should be better postponed till the coming into office of a popular government of the province as a result of the forthcoming elections. It is not so very urgent that it must be attended to immediately. A Government enjoying the confidence of the people and responsible to them is better competent to deal with such problems than an irresponsible bureaucracy.

So far as the third difficulty, viz., unstable support behind the Government goes, it may be hoped that the new election will do away with this handicap by placing a Government with a stable majority in power.

As regards the fourth difficulty, viz., that arising from the absence of a revenue staff in the interior to serve as local representatives of Government the Committee has suggested that the Government should give the earliest possible effect to their decision already taken to adopt the majority recommendations of the Flood Commission. This is also a controversial issue and we should think the responsibility of giving effect to it should be left over for the popular ministry to undertake. Without anticipating their decision we may make an alternative suggestion for the creation of a local agency. This may perhaps be found in Union Boards revitalised on the lines suggested by the Committee and also the increased number of Circle Officers as recommended by them.

It is not possible within the compass of this short paper to review their detailed recommendations on various heads such as the structure of the machine (a) at headquarters and (b) in the districts, personnel questions, speeding the machine, service conditions and local bodies as adjuncts to administration, which we propose to do on a subsequent occasion. Here we have confined ourselves mainly to the preliminary problems facing the Committee.



FOOD SHORTAGE IN INDIA AND GOVERNMENT'S DUTY

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

The food situation in India marks a new departure in the history of the Government of India in so far as handling of famines in the past is concerned. From 1770 up to 1943 the attitude of the Government had been of 'no shortage' even when famines had been taking tolls in millions of human lives. The changed attitude is a happy augury. Destitutes are now dying only in tens and not hundreds every day.

It is admitted on all hands that without substantial imports from other lands, the situation can not be tackled at all. Siam, Australia, Ecuador, U.S.A. and other countries should be requested to come out with generous help. Stop all exports, and in spite of repeated statements by responsible officials that all exports have stopped there is a lurking suspicion that facts are otherwise. Remove all suspicion by removing the causes.

A faithful statistics of the total requirements and actual stock in the country should be prepared. High ranking officials differ on the question of estimated deficit. According to one, it is three and according to another, it is seven million tons. This is deplorable.

In approaching people to have an idea of their stock, they should be assured that nothing would be taken from them unless it is willingly parted with; that full compensation would be paid and every one would be allowed to lay sufficient food aside for the requirements of his entire family and even of near relations.

Introduce a better procurement scheme and store grains in the villages for meeting the needs of the local people. Construct granaries in the model of the old. They may be available on payment of rent or requisitioned if the situation demands. For grains already procured better storage arrangements are absolutely necessary. Prevent waste in Government stores and deal with offenders sternly for any waste. The question of storing paddy instead of rice should be thoroughly gone into. The husk is a natural protection against influences of weather and weevil.

Remove all unnecessary pressure on food by sending away military and other personnel without delay. Enforce strict economy in military establishments; introduce rationing in military diet. Public or Government and private banquets, dinners, etc., should be abandoned, if necessary, by legislation prevented.

Suggest alternative food such as groundnuts, peas, chana, maize, etc., and make them available to the people. Subsidise sale to make prices attractive. Do it without delay so that people may get accustomed to such diet and may not suffer for continued use during times of stress.

If the situation has already been very grave, control all sales of foodgrains, ration all areas. Monopoly in grain trade by the Government should be introduced.

Make other necessities of life such as cloth, fuel, kerosene, mustard and coconut oil, salt, sugar, etc., easily available and within reasonable price. Money (and time) saved on these items will go a long way in meeting prices of edibles besides cereals.

Look into the financial side of the poor and lower middle class of the population. Improve upon or open new sources of income. The situation is worse than what it was in 1943 because hundreds and thousands of people had then been earning a lot in connection with the War. Some people and their dependents are already in the grip of famine and are dying by inches.

Remove or lighten the burden of taxation as far as possible. Enhancement of Sales Tax (in Bengal at the present moment) is most inopportune. Remove surcharge on Income Tax on small incomes, say, Rs. 3,000 a year. Revise railway rates and remove distress by re-introducing tickets having three-pies and nine-pies over half-anna and anna rates in their value. (This system of "rounding off" was introduced in the early part of 1943 due to extreme scarcity of small coins). Remit land taxes where distress is acute.

Make generous grants to existing government machinery dealing with health, sanitation, education, etc., matters on which the poor people have to spend a lot. Such grants to charitable institutions will save a few rupees a year to every poor man and this will be diverted to purchasing of edibles. From this time onward employ able but indigent males and females in village uplift work for which there is provision (at least, in Bengal, to the extent of Rs. 950 lakhs). When actual famine breaks out these persons will not prove additional burden to the relief workers.

Adopt long-term measures for growing more food; adopt tank irrigation immediately; import deep tube well equipments on priority basis; sink wells and generously supply Persian wheels. Supply better seed and institute agricultural demonstration centres in or about the villages.

Watch strictly all governmental operations over measures adopted for the mitigation of distress. Remove corrupt officials and deal sternly with anti-social acts on the part of traders, officers and members of the public.

Remove, as far as possible, all points of friction with the public. On the apprehension of the breach of the peace, do not adopt measures whereby greater disturbance of peace and tranquillity with loss of valuable innocent lives and permanent maiming of limbs is caused. Calcutta, Bombay and other places are instances.

Infuse courage in the hearts of the people and let them feel that you have been doing your utmost to meet the situation. Remove all causes of suspicion and misunderstanding by frequent issue of truthful communiques or press notes. Spread of all rumours should be met with counter propaganda.

Take the public into confidence and seek more active co-operation from them. Relax official control when relief units are found dependable. Petty interference and a high-brow attitude should be avoided by all means.

Place administration of food in the hands of a non-official organisation with representatives from the Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha and other organisations, preferably from different provinces.

All parties have signified unequivocal support to Government in handling the food situation. Lay the foundation of working jointly in face of danger by harnessing all parties in the Central Food Organisation where, it is expected, first lessons will be taken in working in a larger sphere.

Release all political prisoners and create an atmosphere of mutual goodwill between the people and the Government. The political prisoners are seasoned and selfless workers and will prove a source of great strength to the Government in handling famine.

PRE-MAURYAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE

By AVINASH K. SRIVASTAVA

The subject is pretty comprehensive and the field is extremely wide. The term pre-Mauryan includes an aeon extending from a historically conceivable period up to say that of the artistic and architectural achievements of Asoka Maurya. Art and architecture both form a "matrix" of civilization, which, when viewed from a historical standpoint, appears the main material evidence preserving the story of man's intellectual evolution, his aspirations and his trend of life and thinking through the ages.

Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa have revealed the existence of a full-fledged civilization (c. 3250-2750 B.C.), sometimes called Indus civilization, supposed to have once spread over the whole of northern India including the land watered by the Ganges and the Jumna. This civilization reveals the earliest known phase of the building art in India. The finished quality of the material used, the high standard of their manipulation and the astonishing stability of the architecture as a whole is simply marvellous. But aesthetically this period is branded as barren as would be the remains of "some present-day working town of Lancashire" a few scores of years hence. These were mainly a trade-loving people whose style is aptly styled as one of "stark utilitarianism." With the help of mud-mortar burnt bricks were used in the way which is known as "English bond." Wooden lintels, stout beams and planks have been recovered from the ruins which were apparently used for the upper storey constructions.

The Indus civilization is also noted for the construction of a variety of buildings such as dwelling houses, market halls, store-rooms, courtyards and baths. Special mention may be made here of a large house looking like a palace with a frontage of 85 ft. and a depth of 97 ft., and a courtyard 32 ft. square "surrounded by chambers on both ground and upper floors, paved with brick and provided with a covered drain which was connected with vertical drains discharging into small earthenware vessels sunk beneath the courtyard pavement for purposes of the upstairs privies."

Another elaborate construction worthy of note is the great Bath. This singular structure seems to have been a big establishment including a swimming bath 39 ft. x 23 ft. x 8 ft. (deep) with flights of steps at the ends. On all the four sides of the bath there were verandahs backed by galleries and rooms, and wells to fill the bath. Charcoal and ashes found indicate the existence of an upper storey of timber as well. To make the bath watertight and its foundation secure, "the lining of the tank was made of finely dressed brick laid in gypsum mortar, about 4 ft. thick; backing this with an inch-thick damp-proof course of bitumen" further stabilized "by another thin wall of burnt brick behind it; then came a packing of crude brick and behind this another solid rectangle of burnt brick encompassing the whole." One of the accessories to this great Bath is supposed to have been a *hamam* showing traces of hypocaustic system of heating.

The construction of this 'hydropathic establishment' reflects great credit on the engineering of about 5,000 years ago.

Other antiquities unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa include limestone figures of bearded men, terracottas representing female figures and various kinds

of animals (even rhinoceros), and a blue faience tablet with a cross-legged figure, kneeling worshippers, a *naga*, and some pictographic characters. Painted pottery and seals with various kinds of animals and pictographic letters neatly inscribed are found in abundance. Similarly there is no dearth of beads, ornaments of chank and carnelian, rings, stones, bangles, pestles, gold jewellery, coins, implements and tools. Iron from metals and the horse from animals are of course wanting.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri had carried out some excavations at Buxar where he brought to light ruins of a chalcolithic city (3rd millennium B.C.) and a series of terracottas, some showing affinity with those of Sumer and Sindh, and some comparable with those of pre-Sumerian Eridu and Aegean. "These two strata of terracotta preceding the primitive stone Yakshas of the fourth century B.C. point to the pre-Aryan culture-currents."

To the Dravidians Indian art is supposed to be indebted for the cult of phallus, mother goddess and other popular deities and nature spirits. Their bamboo constructions and temples also played a great part in determining the origin of Indian architecture. For, after the decay of the Indus civilization when the art of building again comes into view in the Vedic period of the Indo-Aryans, it no longer consists of well laid-out cities of finished masonry but takes a start afresh in the form of rudimentary village huts. A parallel instance of this type is also to be found in the West when the Mycenaeanized Greeks or the Romanized Gauls had to relinquish methods of their permanent construction and revert to the 'temporary habitation of wattle and daub.'

The evidence of Aryan art and architecture in the form of ruins extant or monuments preserved for the period when the foundations of Vedic culture were laid, is extremely scanty. The reason of the paucity of this architectural achievement is that the material used (*viz.*, timber, earth, stucco, and unbaked bricks) was of perishable nature which could not escape the assault of the ravenous tooth of time. A peculiar philosophy of life also, occupying the minds of the people, maintained an illusory character of the world, which made them detached rather than devoted to the task of erecting monuments capable of outlasting time itself. Furthermore, as Indian art and architecture had a religious origin in the prescription and construction of Vedic fire-altars, the art of building and 'design' was not popularised lest the uninitiated should participate in it and impair the efficacy of sacrificial rites. Otherwise there are numerous literary references to the arts of carpentry, metallurgy, weaving, sewing, tanning, pottery, textile, etc.

The village was elaborately constructed and fenced. Timber and bamboo were largely used for the hut and house, post and porticulis.

The only monument extant which could be assigned with certainty to the Vedic period is the Vedic burial-mound of about eighth century B.C. unearthed at Laurayia Nandangarh. This also yielded a gold plaque upon which was impressed the figure of a nude female

supposed to be the Earth Goddess of Vedic burial hymns.

M. Dubreuil also deserves the credit of discovering at Kerala and near Tellichery in Malabar certain rock-cut tombs of which the most typical example is the tomb with a circular chamber and a very slender central pillar. A Vedic fire-altar is also traced in a hollow cave, hemispherical in shape, discovered at Cananore in Malabar.

Some of the minor arts of the period may be inferred from antiquities unearthed in the Taxila excavations at Bhir mound. These include beads, articles of stone, terracotta reliefs and polished sandstone discs, testifying to a high and technical level of the art of glass making and cutting and polishing stone. These and such other antiquities found at Bhita, Basarh, Pataliputra and Nagari are the precursor of the great artistic developments of the Mauryas and are assignable either to the latest phase of the Vedic period or just to the age of the Buddhistic activities.

The regular political history of India begins with King Bimbisara of Magadha, belonging to the line of the Saisunaga kings according to the Puranas, and to an independent imperial dynasty of his own name according to the Buddhist canonical literature. The *Vimavavthu Commentary* (p. 82) mentions the name Mahagovinda as Bimbisara's architect and town-planning engineer. Bimbisara is said to be the founder of Giriraja, "hill-fort." Later he had also moved his capital to New Rajagriha. His son Ajatasatru is credited with the erection of a splendid pandal at the entrance of the Sattapanni Cave in the hills of Rajgir on the occasion of the sitting of the second Buddhist Synod. In the *Mahaparinnibbanasuttanta* we find mention of the names of Sunidha and Vassakar, the two ministers of Ajatasatru, who were specially deputed for laying the foundations of the historical and holy city of Pataliputra.

The only remains extant of the Bimbisarian period are the walls and ramparts of the old city of Rajagriha, a few houses and a few rock-cut caves. The fortifications are of cyclopean proportions and are of stone masonry. Rough piles of undressed stone and boulders are carefully fitted and bound together for up to a height of 12 ft. Small blocks with cores compressed are less carefully prepared and mortar has nowhere been used. The example of the Pelasgian architecture of the Acropolis at Athens of the same age suggests that there might have been a superstructure of wood and brick or stone and brick upon this cyclopean stone masonry as well.

Another interesting pre-Mauryan monument is the Piprahwa stupa on the Nepal frontiers with the following inscription inscribed on the urn recovered from within it: "This shrine for relics of the Buddha, the August One, is the pious foundation (*Sukiti*) of the Sakyas. His brethren, in association with their sisters, their children and their wives." It is believed that this is one of the eight original stupas in which were enshrined the last remains of the great Sakya by eight different claimants, and among whom the Sakyas of Kapilavastu were also one. That there were stupas in existence before the reign of Asoka is evident from his Nigali Sagar Pillar Inscription, where he records the enlargement of the stupa of Buddha Konagamana, which, thus, must have been in existence for some time before his rule.

The Piprahwa stupa, when opened, was found to be a solid cupola of brick-work having a diameter of

116 ft. at ground level and standing only about 22 ft. high. The bricks were huge slabs, the largest measuring 16 ins. \times 11 ins. \times 3 ins. The stupa was built round a massive stone coffer of grey sandstone 4 ft. 4 ins. \times 2 ft. 8½ ins. \times 2 ft. 2½ ins. in size, containing the sacred relics of the Buddha. "The masonry of the stupa," says V. A. Smith, "is excellent of its kind, well and truly laid; the great sandstone coffer could not be better made; and the ornaments of gold, silver, coral, crystal, and precious stones which were deposited in honour of the holy relics display a high degree of skill in the arts of lapidary and goldsmith."

In Fergusson's opinion a stone structure at Rajgir, called Jarasandha Ki Baithak, is also anterior to Asoka. The remains of a cyclopean enclosure wall of a shrine dedicated to Vasudeva Samkarshana at Nagari in Rajputana, also belongs to a period slightly earlier than the great Maurya builder.*

In the end mention must be made of some Yaksha statues of pre-Mauryan or early Mauryan period whose plastic form and elements of decoration set up an iconographic type which inspired greatly the later statuary of the Sungan and the Kushan periods. This was the cult of the Yakshas, one of the many demigods of popular belief, which led to its artistic expression in the construction of the statues carved in the round.

Two colossal detached figures of reddish-grey sandstone were excavated by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton from the vicinity of Patna in 1812, and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by J. Tytler in 1821. These are now kept in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Both are fat-bellied standing figures of 5 ft. 5 ins. and 4 ft. 9 ins. each. In the first one head and arms are lost, and in the second the countenance is defaced and limbs are missing. In drapery and decoration the second one is a replica of the first, which wears armlets and a heavy necklace of several strings of beads. Drapery is marked by lines in relief, and consists of a loin-cloth tied by means of a long belt with a somewhat stylistic knot below the navel, and a scarf passing in an oblique fashion over the left shoulder. There are traces of a fly-whisk and the so-called Mauryan polish on these statues. Behind the shoulder on the scarf of both the statues are inscribed inscriptions in the characters of about the first century A.D. recording that one is the figure of 'Yaksha Sarvatra Nandi' and the other of 'Bhagawan Akshatanivika' i.e., Kubera of inexhaustible riches. Considering the archaic features of the statues it appears that the sculpturing belongs to the second-third century B.C. and the inscription was added later.

From the iconographic point of view it conforms to the Yaksha Manibhadra from Pawaya in Gwalior Museum. The drapery lines are comparable with those of the female *chauri*-bearer from Didarganj, now in the Patna Museum, assignable to the age of the Mauryas.

According to Smith, the earliest example of 'early' sculpture as distinct from Mauryan is found in the Yaksha statue, labelled Manibhadra, obtained from the village of Parkham, 14 miles south of Muttra on the Grand Trunk Road, and now kept in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra. Some scholars, including Jayaswal, opine that this and the Patna sculptures are the contemporary portraits of the kings of Magadha in the fifth century B.C., e.g., Ajatasatru and a Nanda King (cf. *JBORS*, Vol. V, Part IV December, 1919).

* See *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 4, pp. 1288.

Anyhow, the over-life-size Parkham Yaksha is a conspicuous and archaic statue of polished grey sandstone almost similar to that used for the Asokan pillars. The height including the pedestal is 8 ft. 8 ins. and the breadth across the shoulders is 2 ft. 8 ins. The 'excessively massive body' possesses considerable grandeur and it impresses one by the 'sheer force of its volume'. It is clothed in a *dhoti* with an elaborate frill hanging in front, the sheet being tied into a looped knot by means of a flat girdle. A scarf is tied round the chest, and the ornaments consist of heavy ear-rings, a triangular necklace, and a flat torque from which four tassels hang down on the back.

A female standing figure in the round (6 ft. 7 ins.) probably of a Yakshi, found at Besnagar near Bhilsa in the Gwalior State was presented to the Indian Museum by H. H. the Maharaja Sindhia in 1885. Though the statue has suffered considerable mutilation from violence and exposure its strictly frontal pose indicates a naturalistic modelling and recalls the Sanchi bracket-figures to our mind. The double breast chain, heavy head-dress, linked belt of beaded strands and heavy ear-rings deserve particular notice. Drapery on this and the Parkham is indicated at the back by horizontal lines, incised, unlike the relief of the Patna statues.

Other examples of such colossal statues are : (1) Baroda (Muttra) Yaksha, (2) Yakshi of another Muttra village worshipped as Manasudevi, (3) Another Muttra Yaksha noticed in the U.P. Historical Society Journal, May 1933. (4) Fragments of a Yaksha statue from Kosam, (5) Another Besnagar Female Statue, locally known as *Teli* or oil-woman, described by Cunningham who also mentions the existence in his time of a polished sandstone elephant and rider.

The Besnagar *Kalpa-vriksha*, 'wish-fulfilling tree of Indian tradition', is also sometimes assigned to the pre-Mauryan period. The sculpture shows the sacred tree *Ficus Indica* encased by railing at the base and a network of bamboo fencing a little higher up. Certain objects symbolical of riches, prosperity and affluence, which the *Kalpa-vriksha* is believed to bestow upon its worshippers, are hanging from its branches.

The foregoing description of the various Yaksha statues is indicative of many important and interesting details. We have here the evidence of a distinct school of sculptors with Muttra as its central producing market. The Besnagar Female Figure bears the inscription that its sculptor was one Naka, a pupil of Kunika. The Parkham Yaksha mentions another pupil of Kunika named Gomitra, thus signifying to the various sub-branches at distant places of one school of sculptors led by Kunika.

These detached statues should be taken as earliest examples of indigenous Indian art. This art may also be aptly styled as popular or folk-art prevalent among the masses and devoted to the worship of godlings, or semi-divine beings like the Yakshas, Nagas and Tree-spirits, whose portraits were also sculptured. The existence of an indigenous folk-art, as distinguished from the art of the cultured classes is also evident from the mention of two different terms for artists by Panini, viz., *Rajasilpis*, i.e., Court artists and *Gramasilpis*, i.e., the artisans in the employ of the village communities (V. 4. 95.).

The Yaksha statues are not entirely devoid of artistic merit. Dr. Coomaraswamy remarks how they are "informed by an outstanding physical energy not obscured by their archaic stiffness, and expressive of an immense material force in terms of sheer volume"; representing "an art of mortal essence almost brutal in its affirmation, not yet spiritualised, without any suggestion of introspection, subjectivity or spiritual aspiration." "Stylistically the type is massive and voluminous and altogether plastically conceived, not bounded by outlines."

This oldest iconographic formula of Indian art served as the forerunner or the 'grand ancestor' of all subsequent Indian statuary. The *stair* for representing gigantic forms of the Bodhisattvas and the Buddha which followed the Yaksha statues, and the taste for exaggeration in art persisted for a considerable period of time in the artistic history of India.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

NON-VIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR : By M. K. Gandhi. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Second Enlarged Edition. 1944. Pp. 589. Price Rs. 7.

In the present edition there are 166 chapters and 11 appendices. The new material incorporated consists of 21 chapters and one appendix. The former consist of articles which appeared in the *Harjan* during the period 18-1-1942 to 9-8-1942 while the appendix is a summary

made by Gandhiji of an exposition of non-violence by Dr. K. N. Katju which appeared in the *Harjan* on 26-4-1942. Excepting about a dozen sections contributed by the late Shree Mahadev Desai and Shree Pyarelal, the book as a whole consists of the writings of Mahatma Gandhi published in *Young India* and *Harjan*.

The masterly introduction by the late Shree Mahadev Desai constituting at once an interpretation of the doctrine of non-violence and an explanation of the inconsistencies in its application with which Gandhiji has been charged, has to be studied carefully so that

the serious reader who only would enjoy a book like this may be in a position to follow intelligently the evolution of the doctrine. A factor which facilitates such study is the chronological order adopted in the arrangement of the material which, starting from the middle of August, 1920, ends with the beginning of the same month in 1942.

The wealth of literature thus made available, the various aspects of the problem handled, the illustrations to clear the philosophical ideas and the ethical ideals underlying non-violence make this book invaluable for the purpose and those responsible for both the selection and the arrangement of the material deserve congratulation. The Navajivan Press is doing a great service to students of Gandhism by the publication of books on its different aspects. A suggestion the reviewer would like to offer is that it should seriously consider the desirability of publishing in book form, all the more important pronouncements of Gandhiji on his theory of trusteeship which one may well regard as the corner stone of Gandhian economics.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

WHY VOTE CONGRESS : By B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. *Hind Kitabs, 107, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay, 1945. Pp. vi + 81. Price twelve annas.*

This timely publication presents the Congress case briefly, yet very successfully. The author has dealt with how different classes of people like the peasant, the craftsman, the exporter, the industrialist or the merchant will be affected if the Congress comes into power. The achievements of the Congress Ministries during 1937-39 are also described impartially, while the Fundamental Rights, the Congress Election Manifestoes are both given in the Appendix.

We are sure the booklet will serve a very useful purpose in educating the people before the coming elections.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND THE MODERN WORLD : By Amiya Chakravarty, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon). *The Book House, 16, College Square, Calcutta, 1946. Pp. 13, one portrait on cover. Price twelve annas.*

A penetrating analysis of the significance and influence of Mahatma Gandhi on the modern world. Dr. Chakravarty ends by an extract from a letter of Mahatma Gandhi in which he wrote that the method of organising good must be opposite to the method of organising evil. 'What it is,' writes Gandhiji, 'I do not yet know fully. I feel that it lies, as far as may be, through perfection of individuals. It then acts as the heaven raising the whole mass. But I am still groping.'

The get-up and printing are good ; but the pamphlet seems to be very heavily priced.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

EPOCH'S END : Tarashankar Banerjee, translated from Bengali by Hirendranath Mukherjee. *Mitralaya, 10, Shyamacharan De Street, Calcutta, 1946. Pp. 514. Price Rs. 8.*

Out of the turmoils of Bengal famine and Eastern War's backwaters, the creative energy of Tarashankar Banerjee, a leading name among modern Bengali novelists, has fashioned this novel. The novelist needs no introduction to the Bengali reading public today ; but it was quite in the fitness of things that he should be introduced to a wider reading public, and Shri Hirendranath Mukherjee's venture has been in the right direction.

Tarashankar's knowledge of the poignant miseries of life and also of its resurgent idealism has been time and again in evidence in the series of novels and short stories he has been pouring out of himself. But his *Manwantar* has been a new experiment, a novel, in the metropolitan setting, and it is doubtful how far it has been wise to introduce him to the non-Bengali reader

through this book. Tarashankar Babu's characteristics, his skill in portraying the decaying aristocracy and his power in showing the fire that still smoulders in it, have heavily lost in their migration from the village to the city. *Kabindi* or *Dhatri-devata* would have been a better choice.

The translator's note shows his awareness of what might or would seem to be blemishes in the eyes of the orthodox reader. Kanai, Neela and Bijayda emerge from the pages a happy group, looking forward to the future ; the old revolutionary in Bijayda is passing through new experiences, or getting ready for them. There is genuine power in the delineation ; there are, at the same time, unsatisfying unmotivated episodes which slightly hamper the smooth working of the machinery as a whole. But perhaps that also is a part of the general design, and the reader will recall the comment made by Virginia Woolf on contemporary trends :

"Much of what is best in contemporary work has the appearance of being noted under pressure, taken down in a bleak shorthand which preserves with astonishing brilliance the movements and expressions of figures as they pass across the screen. But the flash is soon over, and there remains with us a profound dissatisfaction."

The novelist has tried, and tried successfully, to catch the mood of the transitional period, a mood of listlessness and charge-over, when we are moving or are moved from one age to another.

P. R. SEN

CONSOLIDATING BANKING LAW : By Mr. K. T. Shah. *Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Pages 60. Price Re. 1-12.*

A bill to consolidate and to amend the laws relating to banking companies was introduced in the Central Assembly in November, 1944, and it was circulated for public opinion. The proposed measure has been very widely discussed and criticized from various points of view and that not always favourably. The small banks have their apprehensions as the proposed measure would greatly handicap their work and activities and it would adversely affect the growth of indigenous banking particularly in the districts. Besides the measure is meant for commercial banking of British type leaving aside co-operative, land mortgage and other institutions. Indigenous banking and their special nature of business, requirements and necessities are ignored by the authors of the measure. In no sense the bill can be called an all-comprehensive enactment. There is no provision for the compulsory inspection of Banks by Government Inspectors periodically as in some foreign countries. While the bill proposes to safeguard the interest of depositors, no provision has been made for directors from among depositors like policy-holders directors in Insurance companies under the Insurance Act, 1938.

Mr. Shah is not blind to good measures proposed in the bill but wants a more comprehensive Act rather than a half-hearted measure which betrays suspicion of the authorities towards Indian Banking. The suggestions in this brochure will be helpful to the members of the newly elected Central Assembly when the bill will be taken up for final consideration.

A. B. DUTTA

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA : By K. M. Panikkar. *George, Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1943. Pages 124. Price 5sh.*

The countries of South-East Asia—Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Netherlands East Indies, Malaya and Singapore—which were either overrun or dominated by the Japanese after Pearl Harbour, have come to the limelight since their liberation from the Japanese yoke and have presented the most hotly disputed question of the rule of one race by another.

This book was written before the Japanese surrender following on the use of the atom bomb against two Japanese cities, but the problems envisaged by the author with which the United Nations would be confronted, have actually made their appearance and are still crying out for solution.

The author, who has made a special study of the cultural and strategic problems of this vast region inhabited by nearly 150 million people, has analysed in this book the historical, political and economic aspects of the nationalist movements now sweeping these lands and has arrived at certain conclusions. He is of the opinion that a return to the *status quo* is not possible under any circumstances. According to him, the problem of security in South-East Asia is essentially connected with the problem of freedom, and unless the post-war arrangements bring freedom to these countries, their defence cannot be assured even if the strongest foreign armies and navies could be mobilised for the purpose. The population are likely to be actively hostile and help the invader, as the extremist sections of nationalists in many of these countries are reported to have done during the Japanese occupation. The intensive nationalism that has grown up in South-East Asia will not compromise on the question of freedom and will undermine governments and organisations which are not built upon national foundations.

So far as the overriding question of defence is concerned, the author advocates a system of collective security based mainly on the co-operation of America and Britain, with local authority and responsibility shared mainly between India on the one hand and Indonesia on the other. The position of America in the Pacific will enable her to come to the assistance of South-East Asia within a sufficiently short period. Her Pacific Navy and her Air Force primarily based on Hawaiian Islands will be able to move in support of local forces. Though the British Navy by its distance or preoccupation may not be able directly to participate in a war in South-East Asia, the Indian Navy with the co-operation of the British will be in a position to provide adequate protection, but essentially the responsibility for defence must fall on the local power of India and Indonesia.

Taking a long-period view, the author holds the opinion that it would not be in the interest of security to exclude Japan entirely from this area. She is bound to be under all circumstances one of the best customers of South Asiatic produce. The cotton of the Philippines, the oil and rubber of Malaya and Netherlands East Indies, rice, sugar, hemp and quinine, in fact, all the products of this area find a ready purchaser in Japan. The exclusion of Japan from the economy of South-East Asia is neither possible nor desirable, although before Japan is allowed access to South-East Asian markets, she will have to provide concrete proof of her peaceful intentions and be prepared to co-operate with others for the prosperity of Greater East Asia. The author sounds a note of warning that any scheme which permanently excludes Japan from these areas will have slender chances of success.

The fundamental standpoint of the author about the political organisation of South-East Asia is sound, but some of his conclusions regarding the problem of defence have become slightly out of date by the discovery of such epoch-making weapons of warfare as the atom bomb. It is idle to look for the security of national boundaries when life itself is hanging in the balance.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

HANDBOOK OF SUGAR AND GUR INDUSTRY : *H. Bhattacharya. Published by the author from 11-B, Fern Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

In a short synopsis the author has made this technical subject quite interesting. The book is specially

useful for the new enterprisers. It contains valuable information and data concerning Sugar and Gur industries of India and its neighbouring sugar producing countries. Only the sugarcane, date and palmyra varieties of gur are prevalent in Bengal. The author has thrown some light on the possibilities of some other species of palms which can be utilised for this purpose.

GOPAL CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI

JAGATIK PARIBESH O GANDHIJIR ARTHA-NITI : *By Anathgopal Sen. Indian Associated Publishing Co., Ltd., 8 C, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-8.*

It has been mainly as a sequel of the War and of the famine of 1943 that people's interest in the economic and political ideas of Gandhiji has at last been really roused. Before this, he was looked upon only as a moral or religious leader, and as a leader of political action; he was supposed to have nothing new to offer by way of economic or political thought.

Of the few orthodox economists among whom Gandhiji found a sympathetic response, the name of the late Anathgopal Sen should stand as one of the foremost. Mr. Sen used to write a fine, lucid and pleasant style; and latterly, he had devoted himself to the propagation of Gandhiji's ideas in Bengali with conspicuous ability. The present book is a collection of essays on the subject, which first made their appearance in the *Sanibarer Chitha*.

In these essays, Mr. Sen first dealt with the present crisis in Capitalism, and then examined the various solutions offered out of the crisis by the various ideologies of the West. He then proceeded to show how, in actual practice, many of the so-called progressive forces ended by tightening the hold of the State, or of a bureaucracy ruling the State, over the lives and destinies of the common man. Against this background of shattered hopes in Europe, he re-examined Gandhiji's economics of decentralization, and found in it the only hope for a world brought to the verge of ruin by centralization of all authority under various guises. Mr. Sen was of opinion that decentralization of political authority, i.e., real democracy, can only come as a result of corresponding decentralization of the productive system. The last chapter of the book is devoted to an examination of Gandhiji's theory of trusteeship.

The book forms one of the best introductions to Gandhism in the Bengali language; and we hope it will also be made available by the publisher to readers all over India by translations into Hindustani and other provincial languages of India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

HINDI

DAKSHIN KI KAHANIYAN : *Compiled and published by Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras. Pp. 65. Price twelve annas.*

Though integral parts of the same Indian sub-continent, North and South India have long been kept apart for all practical purposes by the language barrier. Even English has not been able to break it in spite of its importance and predominance over all the Indian languages. Since the last three decades, to some extent, Hindi has fairly striven to accomplish this tremendous task of cultural affinity and national integrity. Having learnt Hindi, South Indians have lost no time to share the literary treasures of the North and in return have added many more from their own to it. This collection of Tamil, Telugu and Canarese short-stories is a contribution of the latter type. The short-stories selected for translation are quite good and tend to give a fair idea

of the trend of contemporary fiction in the principal South Indian languages. The translation is fairly good and makes interesting reading.

MADHU-MANJARI: Compiled and published by *Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras*. Pp. 246. Price Rs. 2.

The book under review is a collection of representative Hindi short-stories compiled mainly for the consumption of the South Indians. Brief introductions of the authors have added to the importance and usefulness of the collection.

M. S. SENGAR

CHIDVILAS: By *Sampurnand, Gian Mandal, Limited, Kashi, U.P.* Pp. 272. Price Rs. 3-8.

Here is philosophy brought down from the clouds, on the one hand, and out of the closet, from the other. For, it is the thesis of the learned author, that philosophy should primarily enable an individual to understand aright the world in which he lives as well as to ameliorate it integrally. It is a link between the visible and the invisible, the inorganic and the organic, and the material and the spiritual. The book is complementary to the author's previous publication, pertaining to the inter-relationship of Philosophy and Life, in which he raised a number of problems but of which he did not essay then a detailed interpretation or explanation. The present volume has done this now. It is divided into three parts. The first lays down the postulates and premises of philosophy; the second deals with the vestibule of knowledge; and the third provides the broad context of practical good conduct. The eminent scholar holds rightly that philosophy should be substantiated by spiritual self-discipline, else it will fail to be fruitful both in the life of the individual who pursues its study and in that of the society of which he is a member. He has fully drawn upon the works of the philosophers of East and West, for, as he maintains, to divide philosophy,—which is a search for the supreme Truth,—is as misleading as it is to parcel out that Supreme Truth into bits bearing different labels. *Chidvilas* is the playground of pure consciousness in the stuffy City of the Mind. It provides, therefore, a sort of open space, with its vision of the sky, to all seekers lost in the maze of merely intellectual concepts and conclusions. The Index at the end of the book is very helpful, indeed, while the printing is a pleasure for the eyes.

G. M.

MARATHI

'NARASINHA' KELKAR: By *V. U. Vaidya*. Published by *Y. G. Joshi, 623-15 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2*. As 40th book of the *Manohar Grantha Mala Series*. Price Rs. 1-8.

This is an elegant attempt at presenting in 92 pages the remarkable career of Mr. N. C. Kelkar for those who cannot possibly read the 20,000 pages he has published in book form in Marathi and about 2,000 pages in English. Particularly the chapters describing Mr. Kelkar as the capable colleague of Lokamanya Tilak and as the Prince of the Marathi journalists have been written with admirable precision and restrained enthusiasm.

T. V. PARVATE

KANNADA

'KANNUDIYA HUTTU' (The beehive of Kannada): By *Shri S. B. Joshi*. Published by *Samaj Pustak-alaya, Dharwar*. Pp. 12+162. Price Re. 1-12.

Shri S. B. Joshi of Dharwar has earned a very good reputation in the field of Kannada philological study. He has contributed several thought-provoking books and pamphlets regarding the origin and development of Kannada language and culture. The University of Bombay has set its seal of approval to the works of Shri Joshi by giving publication grants to him. The

peculiar characteristic of Mr. Joshi's writings lies in the fact that he gives a new orientation of outlook to the study of dry-as-dust grammar and etymology of Kannada language.

In the book under review Mr. Joshi has tried to awaken the Kannadigas to the increasing need of understanding the genius of their language and its potentialities. He has shown how the disuse of our inquisitive instinct has blunted the edge of our intellect to the detriment of our growth and impoverishment and penury of our vocabulary. In the preface to the book Mr. Joshi has aptly put it that the penury of vocabulary is an index to the mental deficiency. The knowledge of the minute shades of meaning attached to words is the *sine qua non* of a good education. Unfortunately in this respect Kannada-speaking public is lagging far behind. Mr. Joshi's present book bears the imprint of the patient and scholarly study of a decade or so and gives us ample testimony of the elastic potentialities of Kannada word-building and use of racy idioms to suit even the expressions appertaining to modern requirements—provided, of course, there is a genuine will and a true perspective to see things and understand their significance. In the last chapter Mr. Joshi has dwelt on the mellifluousness of Kannada and has cited various instances to prove his thesis. The style of the book is homely and simple. For students of the Kannada language the book is indispensable.

V. B. NAIK

TELUGU

JAGATTU-JEEVAMU: By *Vasantarao Venkata Rao, M.Sc.* Published by the author. Printed at *Vedavyas Press, Vizianagaram*. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1.

The author has given out in an easy, clear and understandable way the main aspects contained in the well-known works of Sir James Jeans, Sir Eddington and Maeterlinck.

Mr. Venkata Rao's contribution to Telugu literature on scientific topics is commendable.

HINDUDESA CHARITRA Parts IV & V: By *Veturi Satyanarayana, B.A., B.L.* Printed at *A. G. Press, Bezwada*. Pp. 69 & 106. Price five annas and six annas.

These two volumes on Indian History are eminently suited as school text-books.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

ITIHASNI RUPAREKHA: By *A. P. Pattani, M.A. (Cambridge), Diwan, Bhavnagar State*. Printed at the *Mahodaya Printing Press, Bhavnagar, 1943*. Thick card-board. Pp. 135. Price Re. 1-8.

In spite of heavy administrative calls in virtue of his office, Mr. Pattani who has derived his literary taste from his late father Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, finds time to write and publish books. His translation of Bernard Shaw's *Joan of Arc* was published a short time ago. The book under notice is based on another well-known English author, H. G. Wells' *Outline of History* (commencement chapters). Views on the subject-matter of the book entertained in ancient India and bearing on the development of the human race are embodied in it. It is difficult to treat such a scientific and technical subject in a popular way, but Mr. Pattani has tried his best to do so by means of copious illustrations, coloured and otherwise, a clear vocabulary, and simple language. His preface is addressed to parents and teachers, who have in the first place to learn the subject and then communicate it to the young ones under their charge. The subject is both interesting and fascinating and it was a commendable idea of the author which prompted him to undertake this self-imposed task of acquainting those Gujaratis who did not know English what science was doing to elucidate it. The price is remarkably low for such a well got-up publication.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Place of Small and "Backward" Nations in the New World

In an article in *The Aryan Path*, Fenner Brockway examines the prospects which federation offers to the underprivileged—nations and peoples—in the United Nations Organisation in which they individually have so weak a voice :

The international pattern for 1920 was drawn by an American professor who, although he had become President of the United States, had a mind which was academic rather than administrative. He set down fourteen points which he believed represented abstract justice in international relations and built on them an international structure, the League of Nations, which theoretically embodied the idea of the equality of all nations.

Despite the market-place character of the Peace Conference, however, the League of Nations embodied in its Statutes many of the idealistic principles which the disappointed President had formulated. The nations, whether large or small, were regarded as equal and a plan was promulgated to bring about arbitration, security and disarmament and to mobilise the combined strength of all the nations against an aggressor.

The story of the progressive failure of the League need not be told in detail. It finally disappeared in the catastrophe of renewed world war. The League failed because it was futile to erect a dome of Peace on a building whose every section, from the foundation-stone upward, was split and splintered by particles which did not fit and which ground one against the other.

In a world which is capitalistic and imperialistic it is impossible to maintain an international political structure of peace.

The statesmen and a great part of public opinion have learned from this experience, but, instead of setting about the establishment of an international economic order on which they could confidently build an international political order, they have thrown over the high principles which were embodied in the Charter of the League of Nations, and have instead built a structure in the United Nations Organisation which accurately reflects the present condition of the world. There is no pretence of the equality of nations. America, Soviet Russia and Britain are the three Big Powers who boss the world, and their omnipotence is recognised. Peace is to be maintained, not by a Charter based on justice or freedom or equality or co-operation between the nations, but by a deal between the three Great Powers. If they can run in harness, major war will be avoided. If they cannot, major war will come despite any pretence of arbitration, or security against aggression, or disarmament. If unanimously the Big Three decide that one of the small nations has acted aggressively, their united power will be used to hold it in place. But if one of the Big Three decides itself to be aggressive, no part of the United Nations Organisation will move an inch to hold it back.

Judging from present events, there is little hope that the Big Three will not fall out. The collapse of the Conference of Foreign Ministers is a warning. But the

potential conflict between them goes further than even this dire event foreshadowed. There is a fundamental antagonism between America and Russia which goes deeper than the antagonism between America and Germany before the World War. America was a political democracy and Germany was a political dictatorship, but both were essentially capitalist countries, even though the identification of the economic organisation and the political State had gone to a point in Germany which was foreign to American conceptions. Between America and Russia there is not only the conflict between a political democracy and a political dictatorship, but between a socialist economic basis and a capitalistic economic basis. Russia understands this enduring conflict. It has become realist in an imperialist world and it is digging in over all Eastern and Central Europe ; it is extending its power in the Far East ; it is even claiming power in the Mediterranean on the other side. America is making its rival claims in the Far East and is refusing to recognise Russia's puppet Governments in Eastern Europe because they are not politically democratic. At the moment Russia appears to be making ground faster than America, but in the background there is the fact that America knows how to manufacture the atomic bomb, and the point will come when it will say to Russia, "Thus far and no further."

Britain occupies a midway position. It stands for political democracy like America, but it aims to establish a socialist economic basis, like Russia. At present, because political issues are dominant and, perhaps, because Britain is economically dependent upon America to a considerable extent, Britain is siding with its Western rather than its Eastern ally.

What is to be the place of the small and "backward" nations in this realistic new world ? Ironically there is one fact which makes the difference between the small and great nations less than it was before the world war. This is the fact of the atomic bomb. When a thimbleful of the particles of atomic energy can destroy half a million people, armies and navies and the size of air fleets become of little account.



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A small nation with laboratories and factories to produce atomic bombs is a greater power than a great nation which is without the secret.

If it is true, as reported, that Sweden is close on the heels of America and Britain in the production of the atomic bomb, this small nation is at this moment one of the great powers of the world. Its pre-eminence will not last; but this privileged position, if indeed it be a fact, gives Sweden the opportunity at this point of time to talk equally with America, Britain and Russia and to give a lead at least to the beginning of an international organization for the use of atomic energy for constructive rather than destructive purposes.

Sweden illustrates not only this immediate atomic situation, but another possibility for some effective representation of the small nations in the world, despite the domination of the Big Three. Sweden is the leader of a group of nations which are tied closely by racial and cultural affinities as well as by economic interests—the Scandinavian group, including also Norway, Denmark and Finland. Each of these nations separately is of small account, but together they can be of considerable influence. In some respects they are a model to the modern world. They are politically democratic and, whilst not fully socialist, have a standard of well-being which is the equal of that of any of the Great Powers. They are important to one at least of the Big Three—Britain—in supplying necessary food-stuffs and timber. They are important in the moral leadership of the world in their belief in libertarianism; they are moving towards a social economic basis, but political dictatorship is the last thing which they will accept. Because of these things the Scandinavian Group of nations could have the greatest influence in Europe, and they might well link up with Holland and Belgium and particularly Switzerland, which have many of their characteristics. Separately, these small nations may seem insignificant, but together they could be a big power.

It is in the principle of federation that the hope of small nations' making their influence felt in the world rests.

One turns further East, and already the Arab League, despite the undeveloped industrial structure of its States, is becoming a power. Already Britain is showing that the League cannot be ignored, and, if the League will co-ordinate the Arab nations of the Near and Middle East and of Northern Africa, it will, within a decade, be able to challenge the domination of the Big Three. One thing the nations of the Arab League need supremely if they are to fulfil this possibility: modernisation—modern agriculture, modern industries, modern docks, modern transport and modern education.

In Palestine, there is a model for the whole of these territories. Jewish industry and Jewish agriculture are not only as efficient as any in the world, they have not only been successfully applied to conditions which are typical of the other Arab countries, but they are based on a spirit of co-operation and equality which, if extended to the neighbouring countries, could make this corner of the earth not only materially efficient but culturally noble and spiritually high.

Before we go further East, let us look at the Continent of Africa. Its Negro peoples inhabit not only most of its territories, but, through the deportation of slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have spread to the West Indies and the Americas. In Britain a few weeks ago a Pan-African Congress was held, at which representatives of the Negro peoples of all countries met, and with unanimity, they formed a Federation to assert their equality with any race on earth and to challenge the imperialisms which dominate them.

Let us go further East. Here, India occupies the centre of the stage.

It may still have to pass through a period of struggle, but every far-seeing person realises that the achievement of its independence is inevitable. It will not be alone. The present struggle in Indonesia and Indo-China, the less dramatic struggle in Ceylon and Burma and the Malayas, are the promise that Free India will be the leader of a group of nations whose peoples are already becoming one in the emotion of their common fight. They are clearly a Federation of Nations of the future. No one who looks into the coming years can doubt that there are here group of nations which will not tolerate domination by the existence of Great Powers.

We come back to the atomic bomb. It is possible that the civilised world has become so artificially civilised that it will destroy itself. America and Russia may in their madness reflect their antagonism in war and drop their atomic bombs upon each other, and upon the spreading allies on either side, until life is obliterated on mass scale and the civilisation of the "developed" nations destroyed.

If this last madness of civilisation occur, it will be the duty of such "backward" nations as escape the fate of their more "advanced" fellow peoples to begin once more the long story of the upward progress of the human race.

Sir William Jones

1746-1794

The following is an extract from a lecture (as published in *Science and Culture*) on the life and work of Sir William Jones delivered by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, on the occasion of the Bi-centenary celebrations of the birth of Sir William Jones, on January 7, 1946:

Sir William Jones was born in London on September 20, 1746. His father was Welsh, of yeoman stock, who came to London from Anglesey, and became a well-known mathematician and acquired the friendship of Halley and Newton. His mother was the daughter of a London cabinet-maker, and she was a remarkable woman who helped to build her son's mind and character: she will live in men's memories by her words to her inquisitive son—"Read, and you will know." Young Jones, with what his father left him, got the best education which the son of an intellectual father could receive in eighteenth century England. He was

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cent to Harrow where to Latin and Greek he added some knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew and soon eclipsed all his fellows. In 1764, he entered the University College, Oxford, where he assiduously read the works of Greek poets and historians, and was enabled to gratify that desire for a knowledge of the oriental languages which had grown strong within him during the last two years of his residence at Harrow. He studied Hebrew, and learned Persian and Arabic thoroughly well, and employed an Arab speaker from Aleppo, who happened to be in England then, to teach him Arabic pronunciation. He also acquired some knowledge of Turkish.

In 1765, in his nineteenth year, he left Oxford to become private tutor to a young nobleman, Lord Althorp, afterwards Lord Spencer (with whom he travelled to Germany, France and Italy). He graduated in 1768 and became an M.A. in 1773. A fellowship at Oxford relieved the young scholar from pecuniary worries. He became a finished Latin and Greek scholar, and he learned French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese.

In 1770 at the repeated request of King Christian VII of Denmark, Jones (at the age of 24) translated into French a Persian biography of Nadir Shah, with a learned introduction which constitute a short history of Persia and an admirable description of Asia, the manuscript of which was in the possession of the King. He also published a French metrical translation of the *Divan Hafiz* and his "Traite Sur la Poésie orientale." In the same year (1770) he got himself entered as a student of the Middle Temple and was finally called to the Bar in 1774.

In 1771, he published his famous and an exceedingly well-written work, *Persian Grammar*, (republished later with corrections and additions by the late Professor Lee), a French *Traite*, a French dissertation, and in 1774 his Latin commentaries on Asiatic poetry and some translations of oriental poetry.

Recognition for his linguistic attainments came to him in 1772, when he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

He consorted with the intellectual elite of England who had gathered round Dr. Samuel Johnson, and he was an intimate of both Burke and Gibbon. He took up law for his living, practised at the Bar, and was finally appointed Commissioner of Bankrupts in 1776. In 1781, he brought out his essay on the Law of Bailments, which became a classic on the subject, being frequently reprinted in England and America.

In 1778, he published a translation of the orations of *Isaeus* from the Greek and in 1781 his famous *Alcaic ode*. He strongly opposed the American war and slave trade.

His Arabic and other oriental studies he had not neglected and in 1783 he published his English translation of the seven Arabic poems known as "Muballaqat."

In March 1783, Jones obtained a much-coveted appointment to a judgeship of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. He was knighted at the same time at the early age of 37. In April 1783 he married the eldest daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph (a lady who proved a very devoted wife to him, and brought out a sumptuous edition in six big volumes of the complete works of her husband as the best tribute to his memory three years after his demise.) They set sail for India in the same month arriving in Calcutta in September 1783. He joined his official duties in December 1783, and at once set about the acquisition and promulgation of the knowledge of oriental languages, literature and culture.

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In January 1784, with the collaboration of a few Englishmen like Charles Wilkins, the first Englishman and one of the first Europeans to study Sanskrit, William Jones founded the Asiatic Society. (later known in 1839 as the Asiatic Society of Bengal).

He founded it in the presence of about 30 distinguished British people resident in Calcutta "for investigating the history, antiquities, arts, sciences and the literature of Asia."

Up to his death, for ten years successively Jones took a leading part in the investigations of the Society, and he contributed a number of papers to the transactions of the Society (*Asiatic Researches*). He also communicated papers on Botany, Zoology and Medicine, sciences which he had taken up for serious study.

As President of the Asiatic Society, his Anniversary Discourses given every year from 1785 to 1794 in the month of February, made a survey of all that was then known and all that he could reasonably speculate about the History and Civilization of Asia in general (1785) and on those of individual peoples—the Hindus (1786), the Arabs (1787), the Tartars (1788), the Persians (1789), the Chinese (1790), and the Borderers, Mountaineers and Islanders of Asia (1791); and the subsequent annual addresses were on the Origin and Families of Nations (1792), on Asiatic History, civil and natural (1793), and on the Philosophy of the Asiatics (1794).

Soon after his arrival in India, he took to Sanskrit studies with all seriousness; and a mind, nurtured in the classical languages of Europe, Latin and Greek,—and in Arabic and Persian which he had also made his own while in England, found a veritable mine of precious stones in Sanskrit. It was he who first emphasized its close resemblance to Greek and Latin, becoming thus one of the founders of Comparative Philology. Ultimately he was able to read and use some 28 languages. He was the first to point out that Sandrocottus mentioned by the ancient Greek and Roman writers as the Indian leader who drove out the Greeks brought by Alexander of Macedon, and defeated Seleucus, was identical with Chandragupta Maurya mentioned in the Sanskrit classic.

Charles Wilkins, later knighted (1749 ?—1839), who had entered the East India Company's service in 1770 and who assisted in establishing a printing press for oriental languages in Bengal in 1778, was sent by Warren Hastings to study Sanskrit in Benares. Wilkins became quite proficient in Sanskrit and he translated the *Bhagavad Gita* (published 1785)—the first Sanskrit work to be rendered directly from Sanskrit into a European language,—*Hitopadesa* (1787), *Sakuntala* (1795) and Sanskrit grammar (1808).

Wilkins was joined in his great work by Sir William Jones on February 2, 1786.

That day in his Third Annual Discourse before the Asiatic Society, his subject being the History and Culture of the Hindus, Sir William Jones formally announced, so to say, to the European world, the great fact of Sanskrit being in India as the repository of Indian literature and civilization, and the fact of its being closely related to Greek and Latin.

The following pronouncement was epoch-making:

"The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philo-

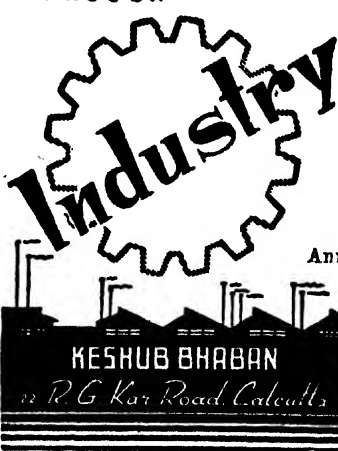
loger could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from a common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists; there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family."

Sir William Jones' brilliant suggestion put linguistic scholars on the right track of conceiving human speech to be groupable in *families*, members of which were derived from a common archetype. A new human science, that of Comparative Philology, or Linguistics, with its numerous ramifications linking it up with other sciences both human and physical, came into being, as the immediate result, so to say, of this inspired statement of Sir William Jones.

Sir William Jones, poet and literary man as well as judge and jurist, did not eclipse himself in the orientalist. His translation of the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa (1789) has been one of the most significant services in the cause of international literature translated into German by George Forster in 1791 was read with genuine pleasure by Goethe. The same may also be said of his translation of the *Hitopadesa*, and of the *Manu-Samhita* (1794). The *Institutes of Menu* (*Manu*) translated in 1794 and the translation from the Arabic of the Muslim Law of Succession to property of Intestates, and of the *Sirajiyah* or the Muslim Law of Inheritance, (1792) have their value both in the administration of justice in Indian law courts and in the comparative study of Law.

At a time when the European merchants had been out for the material exploitation of the eastern countries, Sir William came here with a great cultural ideal. A born Englishman he transcended the narrow nationalistic outlook and turned the attention of the West from the material to the spiritual and cultural side of India.

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It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

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The All-India Economic Conference

R. Visweswar Rao writes in *The New Review*:

The man in the street does not generally take adequate interest in the gatherings of Economists.

But the recent session of the All-India Economic Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of Principal D. G. Karve discloses a happy change in perspective and consequently their proceedings attracted wide attention.

In this conference the economists headed by Sir Manoharlal, the Finance Minister to the Punjab Government, for the first time declared that economists yield to none in demanding freedom and that independence has to be won and not sought as a gift.

The presidential address referred to the need for broadening the scope of economic science so as to assume a constructive role in shaping social policy. 'Such be the case, economists must move with the times. Principal Karve was also of the opinion that there will never be a living economics without a living social power i.e., an authority which is originally connected with the social environment of which the economist himself is a part. All the well-marked tendencies of the times point towards a further extension of power-economics as a handmaid to power-politics and how much the economic institutions with which we are accustomed will suffer from this new direction of social objective, it is now too early to say. In this all-important respect, the economic destiny of mankind is hanging on a thin thread between rival ideologists.'

He observed, 'I am convinced that it is wrong to think of economics as being based on any invariable instinct or even principle of human conduct. Habit rather than choice, will rather than reason is the basis of economic conduct, in common with other aspects of human behaviour. Economics is not a science only of correct or rational human conduct. It is like grammar. It observes, classifies and generalises human usage in a particular part of human activity. There is no logic of economic behaviour. There is only a grammar of economic activity.' This viewpoint has indeed given a reorientation to the nature and purpose of economic activity and it is high time our economists realise that they are concerned more with human beings and institutions rather than with purposeless economic theories which have no bearing on the realities of the situation. Prof. Karve has done well in emphasizing the need for verifying theories so that the economist can reach the summit of scientific recognition. Mere relying on mathematical formulae which have no more meaning than letters and symbols cannot help the economists.

Prof. Karve said, 'The economic destiny of mankind is hanging on a thread between rival ideologies which are two well-known; to attempt to draw a very restricted and definite boundary about the scope of economics is neither inherently justifiable nor practically feasible.' In other words, it means economists should not be like Nero fiddling when Rome is burning. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that he should emphasize the need for a dynamic economic theory, that will strengthen the foundations and broaden the scope of economic studies.

Prof. Karve also did well in emphasizing the need for starting a net-work of research institutions for economic investigations.

Important problems like the Indian food problem, post-war currency standard, the problem of road and rail transport, with special reference to rates policy, methods of financing, post-war plans for economic development were discussed. It shows how for the first time the economists have discussed problems which have a definite bearing on the life of the common man.

They also gave practical suggestions for augmenting our food supply. The discussions on post-war currency standard showed how we should have a currency standard suitable to our own needs and requirements. The discussions on railway rates and problems of road and rail transport emphasized the need for revising the rates structure which suffers from serious defects.

The special features of this year's conference were the two special lectures delivered by Dr. Lokanathan and Prof. Gadgil. Prof. Gadgil observed that poverty is the greatest limitation of planning. We must start with a clean slate so that our planning can be of use to the masses. Doctor Lokanathan's address was equally realistic. For example, he said that unless we keep ourselves at a level in tune with world-prices we will be nowhere.

The recent conference of the economists which was attended by Prof. Vakil, Dr. Gyanchand, Dr. Jain, and others clearly demonstrated that economists have realised their duty to the motherland and will be second to none in answering the clarion call of the country.

Nai Talim

BASIC EDUCATION

Writing on Nai Talim or the Wardha Scheme of Education in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, G. Ramachandran observes:

There are the two worlds we know. First, there is the world of Nature. There is then the world made by man, the world we call Human Society. Both these are great worlds. And there is one great fundamental factor common to both. The world of Nature and the world of Man have both come from creative work and are sustained and nourished by work. Behind and beneath the silent and often impassive face of Nature ceaseless and tremendous work goes on every moment. Even within the inconceivable tiny structure of an atom further innumerable and tinier subdivisions of matter revolve endlessly. Human Society too presents the spectacle of ceaseless life only through ceaseless activity. Where in Nature or in Society work ends, life ends too. Work is thus literally life. If we can meditate on this truth and realise fully its significance, then it has a revolutionary message for each one of us engaged in educational reconstruction.

Whether we like it or not, or evade it or not, work is the law of life. But all real work has a complex texture. As with human beings so too with work; it has a body and a soul. Work has a material aspect. From this comes the production of material goods. Its soul consists in its potency to enrich the minds of all those who engage in work. Work is thus a unity of material and spiritual factors. We can extract from work material products. In fact, work has been valued because it

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produces all those materials which our earthly life needs. But to approach work merely to extract material products is to approach it in the spirit of lust. To do so is to go to work for taking from it only a part of what it can give, and to miss getting from it the other part, which is the far more precious of the two. For, we then forget that work has a soul, the potency to enrich our minds. If we want to get from work all that it can give, we must approach it in the spirit of love and not of lust. In love we seek the heart and not the body.

In Nai Talim is the challenge to us to approach work in the spirit of love.

We are not merely to extract material production from work but we must win its soul for the growth of all our human culture for the real education of our minds. In Nai Talim every boy and girl, every man and woman, has the chance to win the soul of work and thus win its body too. In Nai Talim no single material result of work is lost. On the contrary, by winning education and culture from it even the material results are bettered. Can we not now see why Gandhiji insists that all Nai Talim, from "the cradle to the grave," is simply and wholly education through work and activity? Who but a fool will then seek the body of work, throwing away the chance to win its heart and soul?

In a sense we have no choice either. We must all work with our hands and limbs in any just social order. That work must be relegated to certain classes in society is an old bourgeois idea now thoroughly exploded. The just social order conceived by the West is one of a class-less society as in Communism. The East in India is conceiving such a just social order through Satyagraha. But in both work by all, for all, holds the centre. Now then, if we must all work, and cannot in any manner escape it at all, is it not just the part of wisdom that we seek and obtain from the work we must do all that it can give, its body and its soul? To seek and obtain from such work as we select to do its bodily gifts in the shape of material products and its spiritual gifts in the shape of a rich and vital education is the purpose of Nai Talim. Not to allow the great stream of work to run away into an ocean of mere material production but to obtain from it all that is of value to the human mind is its central idea. So long as this is not realised Nai Talim will appear difficult and puzzling. But once this central idea is grasped Nai Talim will be like a full-masted ship with all its sails set, sailing smoothly and swiftly with the wind.

How shall we approach work in the spirit of love?

How shall we win the soul of work? The seeds of all our likes and dislikes, loves and hates are sown in our minds when we are children. All our prejudices for and against everything begin their journey in us as we ourselves begin the journey of our life. So love of work must begin when we are children. If for any reason children learn to dislike work, then all through their life, in youth and in old age, that dislike will persist in them. In such case more and more education will mean more and more running away from all work with the fingers and the limbs. Is not this very largely so today in what passes all around us for education? Every parent and teacher knows that children love to "do" things more than to "learn" things. In present day education the "doing" and the "learning" are two different processes, and children are compelled to make a choice between the two which really should come to them as one integral unit. How often do parents and teachers say sternly to children who are "active" in the garden or handling some instrument or other object, "Now leave off, and go to your books." Books! books! they should be in a proper educational system.

Most of the learning in schools today begins and ends with books. It is this Chinese wall of books that shuts out the healthful touch of the earth and of work from our children.

Books in their proper place should help to quicken and deepen the contact of the mind with the reality of life; but when they come leaping at us over the limits, overwhelming us on all sides, they build a prison around us filling our minds with frustration and benumbing our fingers and limbs into devitalising inaction, adversely affecting our life and culture as a whole. So when we guide the child away from books in Nai Talim and turn its eyes towards such creative work as it can do, we are doing no harm to its autonomy, but only rescuing it from a prison and enabling it to plunge joyously into that very autonomy which is its birth-right. In Nai Talim we recognise unreservedly that children love to "do" things and that it is good that it is so. We, therefore, encourage children to develop their love of "doing" things and show them that the best way to "learn" things is to "do" things. Doing and learning thus become interchangeable items. And as the children come up step by step in Nai Talim they learn to do things in such a way as to learn more and more from doing things. Purposefulness and direction gradually and spontaneously enter into the field of learning through doing. What little experience of Basic Education we have had has shown beyond the shadow of a doubt that the best way to love work is to learn through work. When the spark of "learning" is drawn from the material of "doing" then it ignites the love of work in the mind of the boy and the girl. So if we would teach our children to approach work in the spirit of love, there is no other and better way than this, that we show them that knowledge lies buried in the heart of work. When we win that knowledge from the heart of work we win the soul of work. Then indeed shall we love work with all our heart and soul.

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The Travancore Government's Educational Policy

K. K. Kuruvila writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

It was about the year 1868 that the Travancore Government issued a communique encouraging private agencies to start schools and promising them grants-in-aid. Within two years 20 schools came into existence and today the number of Aided Primary Schools stand at 2,160 as against 883 Departmental Schools. Appendix I of the Education Reorganization Committee Report states that two-thirds of the pupils in the primary classes study in Private Schools. Of the total number of Primary Schools, 75 per cent are run by private agencies, of which 89 per cent belong to Christians. The others are distributed among the Hindus and Muslims. The Government now spend 19 lakhs for Primary Education of which ten and half lakhs are utilized for Government Primary Schools while only eight and half lakhs are for two-thirds of the Primary Schools of the State which are run by private-agencies.

Three decades ago Primary Education was made free in the State and this liberal policy has reached its culmination in the decision of the Government to make Primary Education not only free, but compulsory. Before arriving at this decision, it appointed the Education Reorganization Committee which after an exhaustive study of the problems for 15 months pre-

sented a unanimous report to Government in March, 1945. The public has received the report with approval. The report came for discussion in the Legislature and it emerged out of it with two important changes.

The Reform Committee made provision for the continuance of private schools recommending that 75 per cent of the maintenance grant be given to these schools. Next the question arose, if the Government could give 75 per cent of the cost of the primary education as grant, why not the Government take up the whole primary education under their private management. The Assembly has decided by 52 votes against 8 in favour of Government's direct management. Considering all circumstances, the Government have decided to do so on the basis of a ten-year programme. Under this system, the whole pay of the teachers have to be met by the Government. But this being an important duty, Government have resolved to strictly carry out the decision.' (The Dewan's speech as reported in the *Bharati*). The Reform Committee reported that 'religious teaching is an essential and integral part of education and that the absence of properly organized religious instruction as a part of every one's schooling leads to deficiency in personality and character which cannot afterwards be made good.' But the Legislature was against a grant being given to such schools. This was followed by a Press Communique, supporting the resolution of the Council.

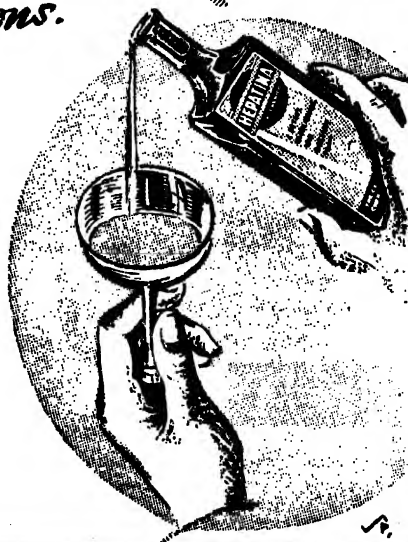
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The Appointment of Dr. Minobe to the Japanese Imperial Council

Washington, Feb. 2.—The most significant development in Japan following Emperor Hirohito's recent renunciation of his own divinity, was the appointment of Dr. Tatsukichi Minobe, Japan's greatest constitutional scholar and liberal, to the Japanese Imperial Council, the Emperor's highest consultative body and final authority in the interpretation of Japan's constitution.

Only ten years ago Dr. Minobe's books were publicly burned because he held to the theory that the Emperor ruled by constitutional rather than divine right. Dr. Minobe himself was arrested and charged with *Less Majesty* before Japanese military courts and although no legal action was taken, he was forced into retirement, where he lived until the Allied occupation.

Dr. Minobe's appointment was another important step in the religious-political emancipation of the Japanese people. The first step was an Allied decree abolishing state Shinto as a religion. The second was Hirohito's renunciation of his own divinity. Dr. Minobe's appointment to the Privy Council was important not only because it liberalized the tight little circle surrounding the Emperor, but because he will be able to wield considerable influence on the drafting of a new constitution now being prepared by the cabinet under Allied orders.

MARKED RESEMBLANCE TO PRUSSIAN CONSTITUTION

The present Japanese constitution, which dates from the Meiji restoration in the late nineteenth century, was drawn up under the guiding hand of the Prussian jurist Heinrich von Gneist, an ardent monarchist and a believer with Frederick the Great that a single dominant will must guide any state. The constitution that was promulgated bore a marked resemblance to Prussia's. Under it a bicameral legislature—called the Diet—was provided for. The upper house, or House of Peers, was made up of hereditary nobles or royal appointees, a few were elected by the wealthiest men in each district. The lower house was entirely elective, but only those who paid a certain amount of taxes could vote.

The Diet could originate legislation, levy taxes and petition the Emperor, but the Emperor's sanction was required for all laws. He could close the Diet and could dissolve the lower house. Only the Emperor could declare war, make peace and conclude treaties. He also had supreme command of the Army and Navy and appointed all civil and military officers as well as determined their salaries. In short, all rights of sovereignty were lodged in the Emperor.

But aside from being, theoretically at least, absolute ruler of Japan, the Emperor was also ruler by "divine" right. The Meiji lords resurrected the legend that the throne dated back to the mythical Emperor Jimmu, descendant of the Sun Goddess. The divine position of the Emperor became the central feature of state Shinto, the national religion of Japan. Both Emperor worship and state Shinto were expanded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a militarist-political device for establishing national morale capable of waging aggressive wars.

Dr. Minobe did not hold with the militarist point of view.

He expounded the western theory that "government rights" or sovereignty rest in the state, that a

monarch exercises these rights as an "organ" of the state and that the supreme authority of the state is civil power, not military.

For transferring the governing rights from the Emperor to the state and making the Emperor the organ of the state, Dr. Minobe was driven—under the leadership of the militarist Black Dragon Society—from all his offices, including a professorship at Tokyo Imperial University and his membership in the House of Peers. His books were burned in public demonstrations, he was attacked in the Diet, arrested for questioning, hauled into court for *Less Majesty* and was wounded in an attempt at assassination.

Today, the new constitution for Japan is being drafted by the Shidehara cabinet for discussion by the new Diet soon to be elected by the Japanese people. All drafts of the new constitution will pass through the hands of Dr. Minobe, who not only is a liberal constitutional expert but who is close enough to the throne to wield considerable influence. The appointment of Minobe to the Privy Council, coming as it did after the Emperor's declaration denying his own divinity, seems to students of Far Eastern affairs to be a clear indication that the new constitution for Japan—upon which a new Japan will be built—will follow along western democratic lines.—*USIS*.

U. S. Population Increases By Eight Million in Five Years

The total population of the United States, including the armed forces overseas, increased by almost eight million between April 1, 1940, and July 1, 1945, according to estimates released today by Director J. C. Capt. of the Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce.

The estimated total number of persons as of July 1, 1945, is 139,621,431, as compared with 131,669,275 at the last census in 1940.

Since July, the population has continued to increase and the provisional estimate of the total population as of October 1, 1945, is slightly over 140 million.

The population increase in five years after 1940 was almost nine-tenths as large as the increase during the preceding ten-year period. Chief cause of the accelerated rate of increase is the wartime rise in the birth rate. Although the birth rate has shown a tendency to decline somewhat since 1943, the level is still considerably higher than at any time between 1930 and 1940.

With the return of servicemen from overseas and rapid demobilization it is expected that the birth rate will continue at the current or higher rates for two or three more years. While the birth rate has been relatively high, in recent years the death rate has remained relatively low. Military mortality did not raise the general death rate very much.

In combination with the low death and high birth rates, an excess of immigration over emigration helped to swell the population still further.

Immigration figures for the period April 1, 1940, to July 1, 1945, disclosed in the estimates are as follows: Arrivals of immigrant aliens, 187,327; of non-immigrant aliens, 552,375; departure of emigrant aliens, 43,890; of non-emigrant aliens, 367,403.

The excess of arrivals over departures (net immigration) is: immigrant aliens, 143,437; non-immigrant aliens, 184,972.—*USIS*.

Chemicals of Petroleum

Under the above caption, Sir Frank E. Smith of Anglo-Iranian Coal Co., Ltd., delivered a lecture in The Royal Society of Arts. The introductory portion of his speech, as published in its *Journal*, emphasising the need for the establishment of an independent petroleum chemical industry in England, is given below :

My subject is "Chemicals from Petroleum." If such a subject had been chosen by a lecturer during the last war the topic would have been of academic rather than of industrial interest, for, in 1914, apart from carbon black, there were no chemicals manufactured from petroleum and there was no attempt to use it except for the production of light, heat and power.

Since 1914 there has been a greater change. Today, several hundreds of synthetic chemicals are being made from petroleum and their annual value amounts to several hundreds of millions of pounds. During the last few years a great synthetic rubber industry has arisen in America; the rate of production at the present time is over 800 thousand tons per annum, and about one-half of this is made from petroleum. Plastic materials based on petroleum are being used more and more every day, and some of them are producing minor industrial revolutions. Last, but not least, millions of tons of synthetic chemicals are made from petroleum or use in aviation spirit. Without these synthetic chemicals the air supremacy of which we are so justly proud could never have been achieved.

In 1914, the petroleum industry could not have been classified as a scientific industry, but during the last twenty years the industry has spent tens of millions of pounds on scientific research and development, and to-day the petroleum chemical industry ranks high in the efficiency of its processes. The research worker in petroleum, while naturally aiming at the improvement of processes and of petroleum products, also aims at the production of new compounds, new in the absolute sense of the word, inasmuch as they have not yet been made by Nature or by man.

Chemists know that any type of hydrocarbon, whether it comes from oil or coal, may be converted into numerous other types; it may be combined also with other elements, like oxygen and chlorine, and a number of radicals. There are hundreds of thousands of such possible combinations. The petroleum chemist's job is to find out the best conditions for the transformations to take place and to investigate the chemical

and physical properties of the products. He transforms the natural hydrocarbon molecules in petroleum into new, and often more useful, ones. Indeed, these lectures might well be called "New Molecules for Old Ones." A study of the transformations which take place gives a far better picture of the possibilities of the petroleum chemical industry than does a study of present products. Such transformations result in absolutely new substances being produced every year and, like Faraday's first induction machine, uses have to be found for them. When glycol was first synthesised no one wanted it. Today about three million pounds worth are made and sold every year.

PETROLEUM AND COAL

It is natural to ask why should not all the transformations be done with hydrocarbons from coal, for this country has plenty of coal and very little indigenous petroleum. My answer is that some of the transformations are better based on coal. In this country a very valuable coal chemical industry has been developed, and I hope most sincerely that it will expand. But facts must be faced; petroleum is cheaper than coal. It is more easy to handle and to process, and a very large number of organic chemicals can be manufactured from it more cheaply than from coal. Products like toluene and benzene can be produced from coal tar with comparative ease and in a reasonably pure state. On the other hand, coal is not a suitable raw material for the production of the alcohols or for the numerous products based on propylene.

However, the fact that this country has little indigenous petroleum does not prevent it having a large and progressive petroleum chemical industry. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has clearly indicated that, in his view, there is need for a petroleum chemical industry in this country. I agree, but such an industry must be based not only on petroleum but on brains and industrial enterprise. There should be no antagonism between a coal chemical industry and a petroleum chemical industry; it would be far better to build up a chemical industry based on both coal and petroleum, for in some cases the final products might be most cheaply synthesised by marrying a product of coal to one from petroleum. One of the most successful American chemical companies draws its raw materials from petroleum via petroleum gases and from coal via coke oven gas and calcium carbide. There is no exact parallel in this country, but the principle of choosing the best and cheapest raw materials is obviously the one that should be adopted.

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Theodore Dreiser, Ellen Glasgow and Charles Norris

A steady artistic and social purpose guided the work of three pioneering American writers whose careers ended in 1945. A full estimate of the accomplishments of Theodore Dreiser, Ellen Glasgow and Charles G. Norris will be the task of later critics; already it is clear that their documentation and criticism of the American scene represent an important contribution to the realistic fiction which is one of the major literary achievements of the first half of the twentieth century.

THEODORE DREISER

Theodore Dreiser, who died on December 28 at the age of 74, enunciated in 1917—eight years before the publication of *An American Tragedy*—the creed which was the foundation of his attitude toward life and art. In an essay published in *The Seven Arts*, he said: "A man, if he can, should question the things he sees—not some things, but everything—stand, as it were, in the center of this whirling storm of contradiction which we know as life, and ask of it its source and its import. Else, why a brain at all?"

Dreiser's passion to portray the truth as he saw it involved a lifelong rebellion against what he called the "bitter cruelties" of life and, in terms of the United States, against the "highly romantic state of self-deception" which he judged characteristic of the American people. This rebellion, expressed in a series of novels depicting the problems of the individual in conflict with conventional worldly standards, not only made Dreiser the center of recurring storms of public protest but also brought him recognition in middle life as one of the literary giants of the age. What Dreiser symbolized to other American writers whose basic

literary intention was, like his, to expose and thereby correct social hypocrisy, was expressed by Sinclair Lewis in his speech accepting the Nobel Prize for literature in 1930.


Dreiser, the youngest of 13 children in an impoverished family, grew up in the small Midwestern town of Warsaw, Indiana, and in the large industrial city of Chicago. After years of newspaper and magazine work, Dreiser wrote and published in 1900 his first novel, *Sister Carrie*. The publisher withdrew the work, fearing protests on the grounds of immorality. When it was issued again in 1907, it received more adverse criticism than praise. Recognition of Dreiser's talent came with the publication of *Jennie Gerhardt* in 1911.

His naturalistic portrayal of the sordid side of life brought most of his novels under the fire of those critics and social groups who found them opposed to accepted moral standards. Nevertheless, these first two novels and the trilogy on American life which followed—*The Financier*, *The Titan* and *The Genius*—brought him the highest admiration of many of the leading critics of the day.


An American Tragedy (1925), his greatest popular success, was an uncompromising indictment of society. In minute and labored detail, it told the life of a young man brought by hereditary weakness and slum background to the electric chair for the murder of the girl with whom he had an illicit love affair. Dreiser arraigned both the social forces which caused the tragedy and the stupidity of the law in judging the case.

ELLEN GLASGOW


Ellen Glasgow died on November 20, in the Richmond, Virginia, home where she had lived most of the 71 years of her life. From her pen, during the course of more than 40 years, issued a series of novels constituting a social history of Virginia from the year 1850 to



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the present. Almost single-handed, her readers say, Miss Glasgow rescued Southern fiction from the glamorous sentimentality with which it was saturated.

Born into the genteel tradition of the old South, Miss Glasgow was privately educated and concealed her labor of writing from her family and friends until publication of her first book. After the publication of *The Battle Ground* in 1902, she continued to inspire critical esteem, her most recent honor being the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1942. All of her later novels were popular successes, particularly her satiric comedy of manners, *They Stopped to Folly* (1929).

Miss Glasgow's endeavour to convey the truth of life in her work was conscious and coherent. What she wanted, she had said, was an interpretation of life.

Although Miss Glasgow's witty deflation of sentimental manners and her realistic record of the struggle between progress and reaction laid the groundwork for the more brutal later realists such as William Faulkner, she confessed that she was unable to stomach their "literary ruffianism." To such a critic as Malcolm Cowley of the *New Republic*, Miss Glasgow's decorum was a weakness, but nevertheless he acknowledges the integrity and solidness of execution of her work.

CHARLES NORRIS

In comparison with the work of Theodore Dreiser and Ellen Glasgow, that of Charles G. Norris, who died last summer, was relatively obscure. In his critical treatment of American life, however, his place among the realists is important. Born in Chicago in 1881, he went to the University of California and spent most of his later life on the West Coast. As younger brother of Frank Norris and husband of the popular novelist, Kathleen Norris, his influence reached out among younger writers.

Norris's novels—beginning with *Salt* in 1917 and continuing throughout the twenties and thirties with *Bread, Hands* and others—had the acknowledged purpose of making people think, treating from a social point of view such subjects as industrialism and marriage. Their faithful examination of life in the United States in the present century rounds out the story as told in its sharpest lights and shades by the fellow-craftsmen who completed their work in the same year.—*USIS*.

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পাঠে—মাহাজা, হেলা—কটক।

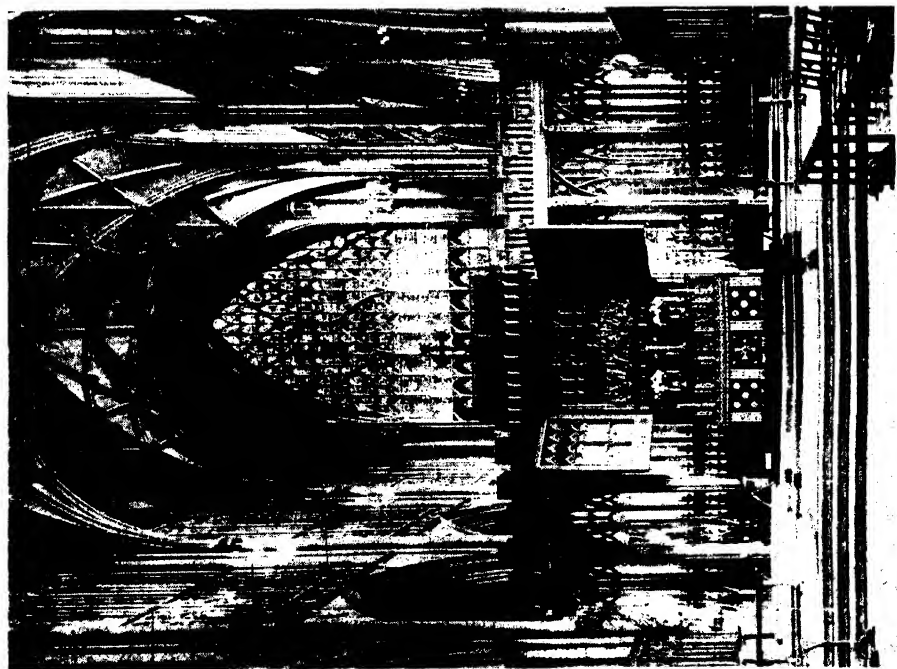
আমরা শক্তিবাত্মার আশ্রমে বর্ষাশ্রম ধর্ম প্রচার করিয়া আসিতেছি। অর্থ-বিবাসের বশবর্তী হইয়া ইহা করিতেছি না। সাধক মহাশয় স্বয়ংসিদ্ধ অমৃত্যুর দ্বারা 'মার' স্বরূপ প্রত্যক্ষ করিয়া তাঁহার নিকট মানবের মঙ্গল বিধানের জ্ঞান কাম্য প্রার্থনা জানাইয়া থাকেন। তিনি তীব্রজগতের কল্যাণ সাধনে সর্বদা তৎপর; তাই আমরা তাঁহার শিষ্যগোষ্ঠীভূত হইয়া সমস্ত নরনারীকে আত্মবীর্যের সম্ভানরূপে জগতের কল্যাণসাধনে ব্রতী হইতে আহ্বান করিতেছি। অতএব আশ্রমের বিশেষ অঙ্গুরোধে তাঁহার ৩ টাকার ঠাণা দিয়া অবিলম্বে 'সত্যান' গোষ্ঠীভূত হউন, কারণ অর্থ বিনা কোন কাজ সম্পন্ন হওয়া অসম্ভব, আমরা ইহার পথপ্রদর্শক হইব। আশ্রমের সম্পাদক একজন আছেন। তিনি কে?—পত্র-বিনিময়ে তিনিতে পারিবেন। প্রভুত্বের জ্ঞান হয় পরমার ডাকটিকিট প্রেরিতব্য। - সাধক

TO OUR ADVERTISERS

We herewith notify our constituents that the advertisement rates of *The Modern Review* will be increased as from April, 1946, the basic rate being Rs. 80/- per ordinary page. Our circulation has increased very substantially since 1944, and is still increasing fast. As the costs of production have likewise increased substantially in all directions, excepting a very slight reduction in the price of paper, our margins have been severely reduced by this increase in circulation.

We hope that our advertisers will extend their co-operation by accepting this justified increment. Please consult the new scale as stated on advertisement page 27. Existing contracts will run at old rates till the date of expiry of the contracted period.

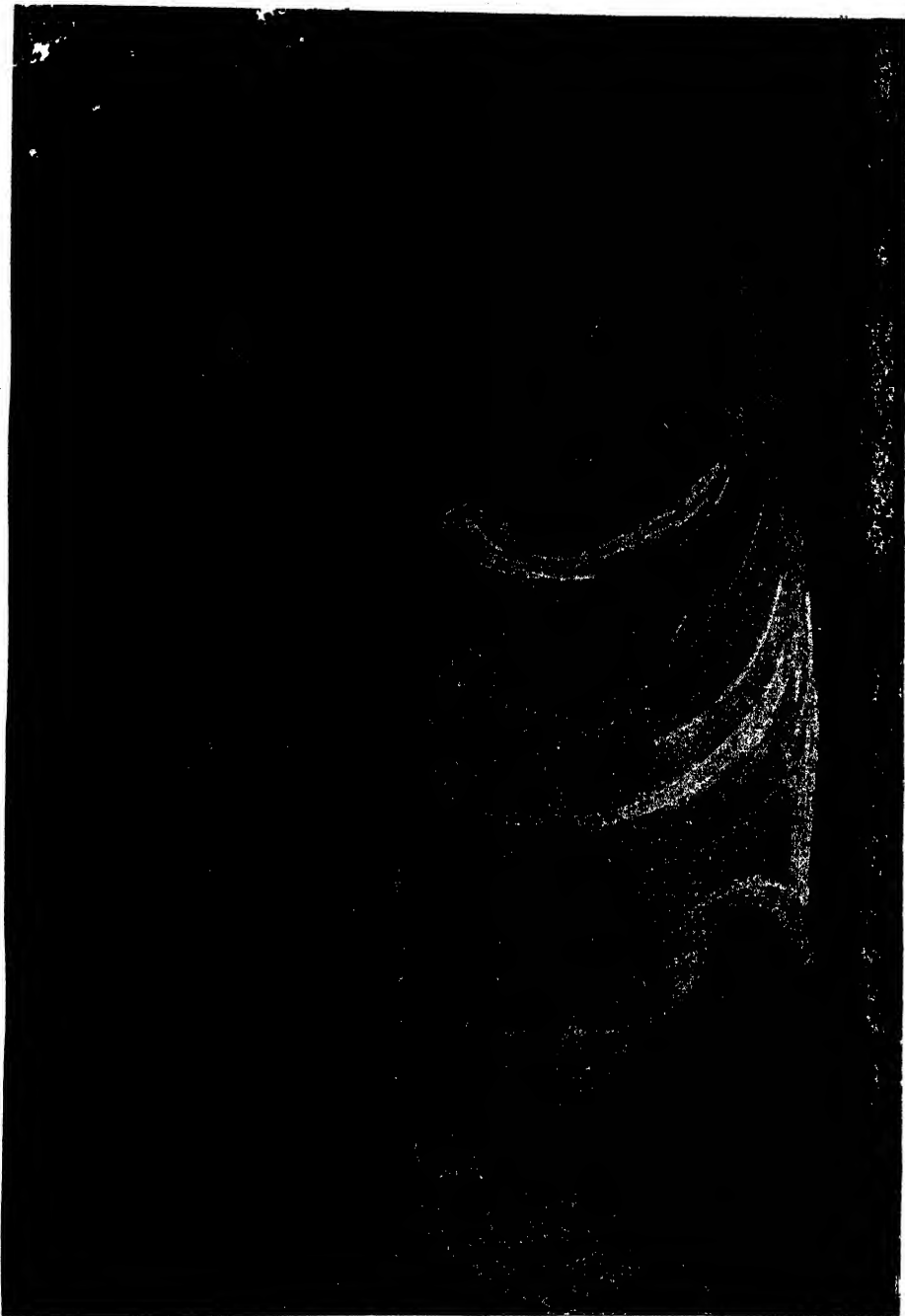
Advt. Manager, M. R.



York Minster. The High Altar and the great East Window--the largest glazed window in Britain. The original foundation of the Cathedral was laid in Roman times



Durham Cathedral. The great window in the background is called Joseph's Window, as the stained glass panels portray the life of the patriarch Joseph



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NOTES

The Coming Negotiations

With the arrival of the Cabinet delegation, the Congress is now face to face with the most vital problems that have ever come before it. It is to be hoped that our leaders have a full realisation of the difficulties ahead. They were caught unprepared for the fight in 42, and for whatever achievement that ensued out of the bitter struggle that followed, they have to thank the staunchness of the masses of nationalism and the initiative of the few that actively stepped into the breach. Now that the struggle is over for the time, they must not again lapse into complacency, for if ever they did need for wariness, deep deliberation, and steadfastness of purpose, it is now. This is no time for procrastination, but we feel we must again caution them against vacillation and hastiness of decision. Much has been left undecided in the past that left loopholes for disaster and the wobbling displayed by the leaders has been faced with intransigence from the reactionaries solely responsible for the aggressive spirit displayed by the main opponents of the Congress. Too little importance is being attached even to-day to the flood-tide of anti-nationalist propaganda being let loose by the Moslem League—as for instance from the All-India radio—and even the most eminent of our leaders are suffering from occasional lapses from caution when giving hasty speeches or interviews. This must stop from now onwards, if the leaders are to discharge faithfully the trust bequeathed to them by the country.

The Cabinet delegation has come fully equipped and fully prepared. They are experienced veterans in the matter of such international deliberation and they come with them highly trained specialists who are past masters in the science of diplomacy. The Congress has deliberated with them therefore on unfamiliar terrain and at the best with amateurish equipment. It is, therefore, vitally necessary that they do not rush into commitments or into agreements on undefined principles. Every false step taken will mean endless misery for the future generations of this country.

Liberty must be complete and without any reservations through which the forces of reaction may creep back into power. *The Congress must not flinch under any threats or prophecies of dire calamities.* In the past, our history shows through endless examples, compromise with the powers of Evil had led to greater and sadder disasters. Even if civil war, bloodshed and des-

truction be the consequences of standing staunchly and fearlessly on the cardinal principles of human rights, the Congress must do so. Pandering to the forces of reaction would not appease them or bring them to a state of sweet reasonableness as some of our leaders seem to think even now.

It is apparent to the whole world now, with the exception of the few that do not believe in what is visible with open eyes and pin their faith to the intangible products of day-dreams, that the Moslem League considers every fresh conciliatory move by the Congress as fresh evidence of Congress cowardice. The League is firmly of the opinion that the policy of bullying and black-mail that has paid such rich dividends to them in the past, is the one and only route to be followed in all parleys and negotiations. The only way, therefore, is to oppose Pakistan with unflinching determination, and at all costs, even as a temporary measure. Otherwise a cancer will be left to rot the flesh of Independent India. Concessions made to minorities must be clearly given as temporary concessions, and not as instalments of black-mail.

We have no desire to disturb any reasonable negotiations but we are firmly opposed to pandering to Fascism in any form. The world has just seen what that leads to. Let there be a settlement with the League by all means, but *the settlement aimed at must be just and equitable for all concerned*, and there should not be any bartering away of the birthrights of unborn generations just for the sake of an illusory peace. The Moslem League is clearly following the blue-prints of Fascism, the cardinal principle of which is to put no limit to demands on the rights of others.

The Native States must form a firm and integral part of Independent India with direct treaties with the future Government of India, in the formation of which they will participate. There should be no intermediaries. Independent India must be a firm well-integrated State with full sovereign powers. A weak centre will fail to hold any Federation or Confederation and will merely help in the Balkanisation of India. It must be realised by our leaders that any weakness displayed now will result in the bringing into being of a weak, knock-kneed craven in the comity of Nations. Bloodshed and devastation is preferable to being branded for perpetuity as the Sick Man of Asia. Concessions certainly, but it is only the strong that can give concessions, the weak give tribute to the bully.

Congress Food Policy

The Congress resolution on the food situation has been published. The 15 pt. food programme lays out its suggestions to the Government and the people to fight the food crisis.

The main suggestions are as follows: Everyone should try to grow food and help others to do so. Land lying waste should be brought under the plough. Preference should be given to food crops to money crops. Scarcity of water should be met by sinking wells and digging tanks. Supplies from abroad are welcome, but they must reach in time and must be equally distributed. Uneconomic expenditure on festive occasions should be stopped. The State must put all its resources for growing, preserving and transporting food. Exports of cereals and foodstuffs are to be absolutely prohibited. The nation should be prepared for sacrifice to relieve general distress and should try to make successful "any reasonable schemes of rationing and procurement and any measures for checking hoarding, black-marketing and corruption that may have to be taken on hand."

The suggestions are extremely wise and helpful and should be carefully considered by the public and the Government.

The resolution makes it clear in conclusion that "measures for meeting the serious situation cannot be fully successful unless power vests in the people." The Imperialist game to maintain complete control over the people's food in the name of keeping food above politics is now clearly discernible. During 1942, almost the entire carryover stocks in this country had been sent abroad to meet Imperial needs. Within the country, people's food was snatched away for meeting the needs of the allied armies stationed in India which brought every weapon of war with them except rations. While people in this country died for a morsel of food, extra rations and waste in the army continued. Food had to be kept out of politics, people's control over food through their real representatives was the last thing that was desired by Imperialist politicians who were in desperate need of our food. Some semblance of a "popular government" was required to give this exploitation a "popular" character and a careerist Ministry had to be propped up in Bengal to hide the drains as Bengal at that time was the main tap of drainage. It is really painful to find Lord Wavell following the same policy. He had ample time to find that the Imperial servants have failed to do anything towards an increase in food production in the past four years when food was being drained out. Officialdom had failed to take any timely precautions even when they were aware that shortage of food was bound to come in any year of insufficient rains as the carryover had all been lost. We are unable to believe that Lord Wavell had no idea about the future crisis with the Gregory Report and the Woodhead Report before him. It is really painful to find him still following the same wornout tactics of setting up Advisory Committees on Food with no power to control the Food Administration but with inherent responsibility to share the blame of his maladministration. After the Congress refused to join his Food Committee, the *Orient Press* reports that Sir Nasimuddin, the stooge par excellence of sinister Imperialist exploitation in Bengal, has been invited by Lord Wavell to sit on his Food Committee.

Indian food is no longer a regional subject, it is an all-India problem. The famine year of 1943 has clearly

demonstrated the need for a fully co-ordinated action among the provinces in the administration of food. Later years have still more emphasised this need; but nothing has as yet been done to set up any strong machinery to achieve this end and to counteract provincial rivalries in the matter of an equitable distribution of food. Section 135 of the Government of India Act provides that an Inter-provincial Council would be established when it is found that public interests would be better served by the establishment of a common machinery to deal with subjects in which some or all of the provinces have a common interest. The Government of India have done nothing to get such a council established, instead they permitted provinces to stop export of foodstuffs in clear violation of Section 297 of the Government of India Act.

The food game of the Government of India stands thoroughly exposed. The people are convinced today that food production will not increase, food waste will not cease and food exports will not stop till a fully responsible National Government comes into being at the Centre.

Food Wastage in Storage

The Food Secretary of the Government of India has stated in the Central Legislative Assembly that the annual losses in storage of foodgrains on account of insects, rodents and other causes were estimated at about three and a half million tons. He has also said that Government had appointed technical staff and were taking action to reduce losses in storage. The Woodhead Commission have in their Final Report expressed great concern for these heavy annual losses which could be prevented. They said that the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research had been trying to find means to combat this wastage but we do not as yet know how far our costly foreign and indigenous experts have succeeded. They have been slow in their deliberations and ought to have been in a position to throw at least some light on this problem by now.

The Food Secretary's statement does not clearly state the actual figures of losses in Government storage and that in private storage. It is well-known that losses in Government storage are much higher than when rice, paddy or wheat is left in private custody.

Insects and rodents are not wholly to blame for this terrible loss. The officials of the Government Food Department, specially those in charge of godowns and food inspection, must share their responsibility. We give below the characteristics of three types of godowns erected in Bengal for storing rice and paddy. The defective construction of the godowns is very largely responsible for the appalling waste in this province. The types are:

Lahore Type Sheds: Each 100 ft. x 40 ft. in floor area. Semi-circular roofing with corrugated sheets on wooden roof truss. Floor of cement concrete. Not perfectly damp-proof. No damp-proofing material used in floor. Roof truss made of weak bad quality wood. Roof leaking badly at all places because of bad design and the screw-shaped nails employed in fixing the C.I. sheets on to the roof truss. Rain water also getting inside from the lower edges of the C.I. sheets. Many of the sheds given over for storage of foodgrains immediately after construction, i.e., before the floor and the walls have been dried up. One of

such places is Asansol. No suitable platforms on floor erected for stacking bags of foodgrains.

Calcutta Type Sheds: Each 100 ft. \times 40 ft. in floor area. Brick walls. Steel frame work for roof truss. Slant roofing with C.I. sheets. Floor as in Lahore type sheds. Not damp-proof.

Nissen Type Sheds: Each 100 ft. \times 40 ft. in floor area. Semi-circular roofing with C.I. sheets over steel roof truss. Floor as in Lahore type sheds. Not damp-proof.

Will the Food Secretary explain whether the statements made here are true? Will he say if it is a fact that the Engineer-in-Charge, General Head Quarters, New Delhi, wrote to the Chief Engineer, Northern Command and Eastern Command and Director of Works, Southern and Central Command and No. 3 Hill Depot, Assam, stating that the Lahore type sheds served their purpose quite well for temporary use, but for permanent or prolonged use they should be inspected from time to time and properly maintained because time and pest were likely to decay the structure? Did he warn the officials that cheap and soft wood had been used in these structures which were likely to be wasted and cracked with time? Did the Food Department see that these instructions issued in November, 1943, had been carried out properly and efficiently?

Food Exports

An emphatic repudiation of the announcement made by Mr. B. R. Sen, Food Secretary of the Government of India, at the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held at Allahabad, to the effect that all exports of grains had ceased since August 1943, is given by Mr. M. L. Khemka, President of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Khemka says that the export list issued by the Calcutta Customs House shows that only during the months of July, August and September, 1945, one single non-Indian firm exported to foreign countries no less than 22,504 tons of rice from the port of Calcutta, and a closer examination of the export lists of the Calcutta port should disclose further exports of rice from Bengal.

The Food Secretary issued a statement to contradict Mr. Khemka in which he said that during the period April-November, 1945, the total export of rice from India was 42,860 tons including 42,302 tons exported to Ceylon.

In reply to this Mr. Khemka in course of another statement invited the attention of Mr. Sen to the daily list of exports issued by the Calcutta Customs House, wherefrom it will be found that during the period May-October, 1945, 61,797 tons 3 cwt. and 40 lbs. of rice valued at 2,46,98,467 rupees were exported from Calcutta Port alone. As regards export of rice to Colombo, it has been specifically mentioned in the December, 1945 list that only 11 tons and 7 cwt. were sent from Calcutta Port.

These figures represent only the exports of rice to foreign countries. The list shows other figures of export to Colombo and coastwise shipments.

Mr. Khemka has requested the Government of India to examine the real position and issue a full statement on the subject.

The export lists of Calcutta Customs and the records of exports in Government of India's abstract of overseas trade, cannot be taken as true accounts of rice exports from India. It is now alleged that export of rice and paddy from India has been made to foreign countries in vessels chartered by H.M.G.'s Ministry of Food. Their final destinations being not disclosed, they were kept as close secret and that these exports were not entered in Customs Registers. It is now for the members of the Central Legislature to elicit informations on this vital matter. Shipments in such vessels are alleged to have been made from Coconada, Masulipatam, Vizagapatam and Calcutta ports direct to foreign countries or to coastal ports like Colombo and Cochin. We do not know if there is any possibility of changing the destination of these chartered vessels when they arrive at Colombo. There is nothing which can prevent them to proceed to other ports with the cargo of rice intact. During 1945, such exports to Colombo seem to have been 33,775 tons and in January 1946 alone it appears as 3,000 tons. We have reason to believe that total exports from Bengal alone to foreign countries per chartered vessels in 1945 had been 39,775 tons. The mystery of these chartered vessels must be cleared up as early as possible. It must also be found out why these shipments are not entered in the Customs Registers, since when this practice of evasion began and who had ordered these secret shipments.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, Government of India, replying to a question in the Council of State on the 26th March stated that 21,024 tons and 3,125 tons of rice were exported from Calcutta in the third and fourth quarters of 1945 respectively and that the Export Trade Controller, Calcutta, had informed the Government of India that the figure 61,797 tons of rice stated (by Khemka) to have been exported from Calcutta during the period from May to October 1945 included 42,000 tons of rice shipped to Ceylon and 16,000 tons of rice to Mysore.

Mr. M. L. Khemka, in the course of his third statement, observes that from all accounts the information supplied to the Government of India is wrong. In this connection, Mr. Khemka points out that export from one port to another in India as also to Colombo are specifically mentioned as 'coastwise' and 'export to Colombo' respectively and as such the figures under export to foreign countries cannot include any coastwise shipment or to Colombo. Mr. Khemka has requested the Food Member to refer to the daily export lists issued by the Calcutta Customs House wherein it will be found that more than 61,000 tons of rice had been exported from Calcutta to foreign countries during the period from May to October 1945. Regarding the figures given in the Council of State, namely, 21,024 tons and 3,125 tons of rice said to be exported from Calcutta in the third and fourth quarters of 1945 respectively, Mr. Khemka points out that from 16th July to 17th September 1945, more than 30,000 tons of rice were exported to foreign countries from Calcutta port and from 1st October to 26th October more than 21,000 tons of rice were similarly exported. Mr. Khemka regrets to note that wrong figures should have been supplied to the Government of India although a very responsible officer of the Government of India came to the Chamber office and verified the figures from the Customs' export lists shown to the officer.

America and the Indian Food Problem

President Truman has sent a directive to the Secretaries of State, Agriculture, War, Navy and Labour, the War Shipping Administrator and the Director of the Office of Defence Transportation asking them to do everything possible to speed up the supply of wheat to the liberated areas. In his directive, the President said that the problem of supplying the needy peoples of the world with wheat rested mainly on the shoulders of the United States, Canada, Australia and Argentina. Estimated shipments through the first six months of 1946 will be at least five million tons short of requirements of the deficit areas. In view of this situation, the President recommended that each of the supplying countries accept its proportionate share of responsibility in meeting the urgent requirements of the liberated countries on an equitable basis.

The President's directive expresses much more concern for the peoples of Europe than those inhabiting Asia. The experience of the Indian Food Delegation at the Washington Food Board is not in the least encouraging for us. One of the primary reasons for Indian food crisis has been consumption of huge quantities in this country by the Allied forces and the large exports undertaken to meet British requirements. No World Food Board ever thought of consulting India when her slender food resources were dissipated, but now when India stands in desperate need for food, her first prayer was coolly turned down, on a second attempt, only a fraction of her immediate requirement has been met.

The National Committee for Indian Freedom in America has addressed a letter to Mr. Byrnes, Secretary of State, on this question. The following is an extract from it:

India has faith in America; not only in her humanitarian impulses, but in her sense of justice. America is bound to have increasing relationship with India. In case the feeling should grow in India that America has failed to do all in her power to back up the measures necessary to ward off famine in India, the cordial relationship between the two countries would suffer. To cover their own shortcomings, it is possible that the local authorities in India may try to shift the blame to other shoulders.

We request, Sir, that in view of the seriousness of the famine facing India and of its far-reaching consequences, and for the promotion of increasing goodwill between your country and ours, which is the chief purpose of the National Committee for India's freedom, you will recommend the following steps:

1. Ask your representatives in India for an immediate appraisal of the food situation there.
2. Recommend allotment of increased food imports for India through your representatives on the International Food Control Board.
3. Keep in service United States shipping in order to feed India's starving millions.
4. Offer all facilities to private agencies willing to help in the amelioration of famine conditions.

Writing in the *PM*, Winston Weisman has exposed how the British propaganda machinery in Britain has been set in motion to whitewash the sins of the Government of India. Here is the most significant passage together with the map that accompanied it:

Singh points out that 20 years ago a Royal Commission of Agriculture had made recommendation for the improvement of indigenous food production. It has been said that even if 50 per cent of the proposals had been put into effect India would not be reduced to her present circumstances.

"Even the Secretary for Agriculture in the Indian Government admitted in the New Delhi Central Legislative Assembly on February 4 that the Government had not done all that could have been done," Singh says.

Recently, delegates to the Central Assembly in India charged that the Government had failed to forestall the present food crisis by internal measures to assure a fair and equitable distribution of food among the various provinces at fair prices.

On the other hand, the British Information Service here says, the Government of India had instituted a price control system, established a program of rationing, and taken measures to stop hoarding and black market operations. The BIS admits the present situation is more critical than in 1943-1944 but feels the government is in a better position to meet it than during the war.

Rationing in cities of over 10,000 population has been functioning since 1944 with a basic ration of one pound of grain a day per adult, the BIS discloses. Because of food shortage this ration recently was put to 12 ounces. Sir S. V. Ramamurti, Food Adviser to the Governor of Madras, has warned that a further reduction to eight ounces may be ordered if immediate relief is not sent.

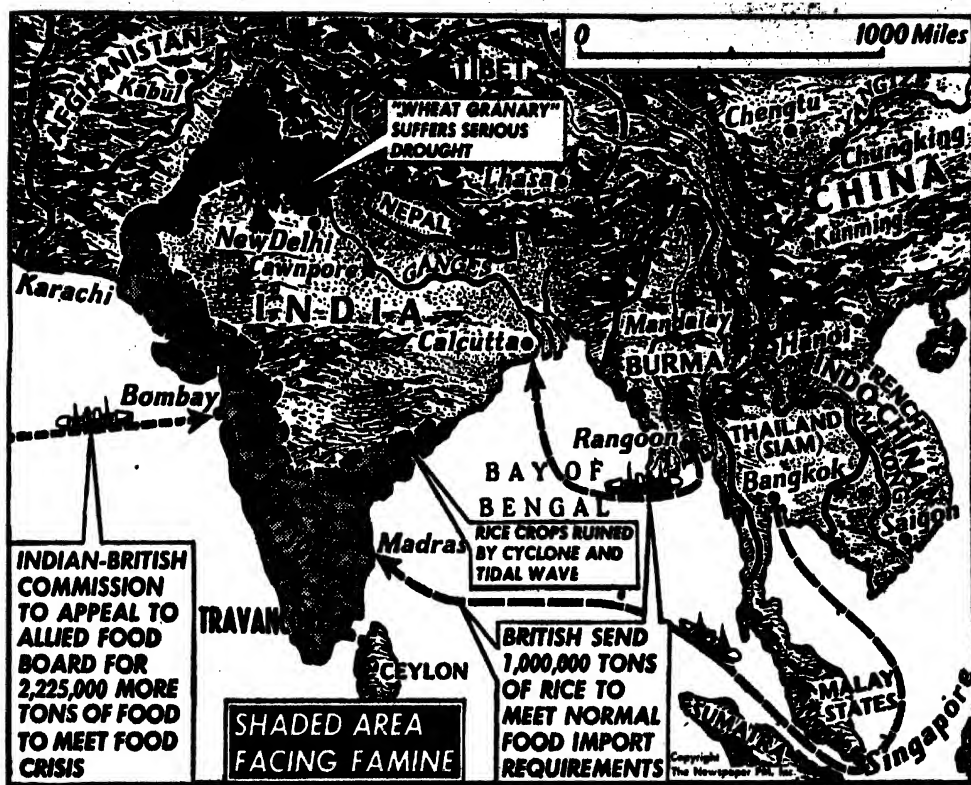
(By contrast Americans ate on the average 64 ounces of various kinds of food daily between 1937-1941, according to Bureau of Agricultural Economics statistics. Present consumption has not been estimated but it is said to be "higher than ever.")

According to the BIS, many aspects of the India Government's food program based on a long-range plan aimed at expanding production, consumption and providing the people with adequate purchasing power, already are in operation.

The BIS adds that educational facilities to teach better methods of cultivation, production and animal husbandry have been set up, inter-village communication for the promotion of co-operative marketing, credit and conservation of perishable foodstuffs improved and irrigation projects are under way.

But in the view of Singh virtually nothing has been done to tackle what in his opinion is the most important problem—a land reform program which would enable Indian farmers to gain a decent standard of living by providing land, low rents, interest charges and taxes which have kept the peasants in a continual state of impoverishment for centuries.

Not to speak of long-range plans, the short-term recommendations made by the Gregory Committee for an increase in food production would have gone a long way to alleviate the impending crisis, had the Government of India paid timely attention to them. They had two and a half years' time to implement them.



China's Advance Towards Democracy

A *Washington Post* editorial says that the recent developments in China show that she has "put her best foot forward in the direction of democracy and unity." The editorial said in part:

When, a generation ago, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen laid down his "three principles of the people," which is the political bible of present-day China, he held out to the Chinese people the promise that after a relatively brief period of "tutelage" under the leadership of the Kuomintang, a full-bodied democratic regime would be established in China. For a long time that promise must have seemed to many an empty mirage . . . Yet the democratic aspirations which Dr. Sun had expressed never died out in China, and now, 21 years after his death, they are on the way to fulfillment.

As a result of the Kuomintang-Communist truce and the labors of the Political Consultation Conference which took place in Chungking last month, the Chinese Government is about to wind up its one-party dictatorship. An all-China Government is to be set up in which members of the Communist Party, the Democratic League, the Youth Party, as well as the Kuomintang, are to be represented.

Chinese armies, both the armies of the Government and Communists, are to be drastically reduced, ultimately united under one rule, and divested of political authority. A democratic constitution is to be drawn up in the near future, to be followed by general elections. Wartime censorship and restrictions on civil liberties have been lifted.

China is the second country in Asia whose social system was entirely democratic. She was a land of plain living and high thinking. Her social structure even today is essentially democratic. The Imperialist aggression of Japan in China had disturbed her social life during the last half a century. With the defeat of Japan, it is only natural that China would once again settle down to her own natural democratic life. It often becomes difficult for Westerners to understand the social life of Asia. Through an ignorance of the fundamentals they say that "political democracy is more than a matter of constitutional forms; it is a way of life that has to be learnt by doing and the process of learning is slow and painful." India and China had a way of life which ensured full democracy within their social structure and developed friends all over Asia. It is the Western interferences with her social life and Imperialist aggressions that have pushed her off the natural track.

Police and Military Unrest

An Indian serving in the police or military forces had never been conspicuously patriotic in the past. Some were born and bred in a tradition of loyalty to British masters, others were thrust into the system by accident or dire necessity. Nor were the Indian forces disturbed by any agony of divided allegiance. But to-day they are faced with the problem of a choice, the choice between the king and the country, there being a complete divorce between legal authority and moral allegiance. The problem came to the fore in the case of the I. N. A. soldiers who wanted to sacrifice their allegiance to a foreign king for their country. Since then there have been a series of disturbances among the Indian police and military which unmistakably point to one significant development in our national consciousness. An individual case may be the result of exceptional circumstances. But a comprehensive view of the full series of such incidents will provide the right perspective.

In the first week of February about 600 members, including officers, of the R.I.A.F. camp on Marine Drive, Bombay, went on a hunger-strike as a protest against an insult by the camp commander arising out of the wearing by the men of civilian dress in the dining hall. The camp commander insolently remarked that Indian officers were not efficient and could not maintain discipline in the camp. The strike was called off after three days with the definite assurance from the Air Commodore Crasoeft for the redress of grievances.

The R.I.N. ratings' revolt is the most important event in the series. It was a protest against the hated pattern of racial discrimination in regard to food, pay, demobilization arrangements, and travelling facilities. The details of the happenings are well-known. Beginning with a demonstration by 3,000 strikers, they ended in a brisk exchange of shots causing dislocation and casualties. The original strike of H. M. S. "Talwar" of Bombay spread to the H. M. I. S. "Hindusthan" of Karachi. Firing continued for days; and the erstwhile loyal ratings fought with ammunition seized from the armoury.

Echoes of the ratings' revolt were felt throughout India. In Calcutta 500 naval ratings, and some R.I.A.F. airmen went on a protest strike against military atrocities in Bombay. A number of Delhi ratings refused duty and were arrested. Over one thousand R.I.A.F. men of Bombay declared a sympathetic strike, and R.I.A.F. strike was also reported from Madras and Ambala.

The entire situation came to normal only on the advice of Congress leaders like Sardar Patel. Vice-Admiral Godfrey's threat and Prime Minister Attlee's declaration were of no avail.

The R.I.A.F. hunger-strike in Rangoon of the same time deserves separate mention. About 150 members of the ground staff of the R.I.A.F. stationed in Rangoon went on hunger-strike from 23rd February. Their demands included equality of treatment with the British, better living conditions and speedy demobilization.

Men of the Royal Signal Corps and I.E.M.E. belonging to the Indian Army at Jubbulpore went on strike on February 27. The grievances were similar to those of the R.I.N. ratings. Though the leaders were arrested, more sepoys joined the strike on March 1.

After President Asad's statement advising the sepoys to resume work, the situation came back to normal.

The next incident to be reported was the "silent revolt" by a large number of Gurkha soldiers at the demobilisation centre at Dehra Dun. The incident was caused by the objectionable remarks made by Maj. J. E. Wilds and Sub. Anga Singh Bohra which the men resented. The whole regiment joined in a demonstration of protest.

The recent police unrest in Delhi began from a demand for higher pay. The hunger-strike of the 21st March was followed by the disturbances of the 22nd, when tear-gas was used on a procession of 100 policemen who shouted the slogans of "Jai Hind" and "Hindus and Muslims are Brothers." Normal duties were resumed next day.

The latest occurrence is the hunger-strike of 200 policemen at Gorakhpur who abstained from taking meals as a protest against the cut in their ration. This event completes our picture for the present.

But what do these events reveal? Is it any longer compatible with the myth of servile loyalty? The tradition of unquestioning allegiance to foreign masters has been broken by the nation-wide political unrest. A large section of Indian police and military forces seems to be in ferment; and these minor manifestations may be just the prelude to a violent explosion all over the country if the entire system is not radically changed. No change will be adequate until the supreme power is transferred to Indian hands. The awakening and unrest among the police and the military is a stern pointer for the authorities to the nature and extent of the tension that exists in India today.

The Military Raj

From the Government attitude to the happenings of the last few months it appears that the authority of maintaining law and order in the country has been transferred to the military forces. The transfer has not been preceded by any consideration whether the military is a safe factor to be trusted with absolute power. The result has been disastrous.

The story of military action in the recent disturbances is well-known. It has some significant findings too. Apart from the fact that firing was resorted to by the military in all the disturbances of the last few months, the nature of firing also makes significant revelations. The February disturbances in Calcutta provided some typical cases of military action. Troops went through the main streets firing indiscriminately. A boy and a girl standing on a second-floor balcony were shot dead by brutes in uniform supposed to be maintaining order in the city. The troops also entered houses forcibly and assaulted the inmates. Such atrocities apart, wounds were mostly received on the upper part of the bodies. This indicates that firing was opened with intent to kill.

Formerly a post-mortem examination followed the deaths caused by police or military firing. That practice has been abandoned in Bengal recently under orders of Governor Casey.

The Congress Working Committee in its Bombay resolution on recent disturbances has condemned mob excesses. But it has also been clearly stated that the military action in regard to popular demonstrations has been extremely unjust and unwise. "Any such action at the present moment," the resolution says, "instead of cowing down the populace has the effect of infuriating it." So the Committee has asked the Govern-

ment "to institute an enquiry into the military action taken in the various places and hopes that the enquiry will be open to public and will have on it representatives with judicial qualifications and enjoying public confidence." Unless a thorough investigation is made and proper action taken against unnecessary military atrocities during popular demonstrations, the grievances of the people may smoulder and has a risk of breaking out in wilder manifestations.

Need of An Effective National Defense Force for Independent India

Dr. Taraknath Das sends the following note :

If India is to stand on her own feet as an independent country she will need an *Effective National Defense Force*. In spite of the existence of the United Nations Organisation, all the great powers including the United States are maintaining tremendous armed forces. Soviet Russia of all nations, is determined to raise a defense force, most modern and effective to face any eventuality, combination of any group of Powers. In the United States steps are being taken to have compulsory military training for the youth. Britain as well as Turkey are forced to maintain a force of no less than a million men each. But the most interesting thing of all is the anxiety of the National Government of China in the matter of developing adequate national defense.

China has already made great progress in this matter ; it is evident from the fact that nearly 600,000 Chinese men have been trained by American officers and are equipped with modern armaments. Of this force, some thirty or more divisions are to get into Manchuria soon to occupy the country for China. It may also interest Indian leaders to know that several hundred American officers of various types are training Chinese officers who will lead the reorganised Chinese National Army. Large number of Chinese are being trained in the United States to become officers of Chinese national defense forces.

But this is not all. The United States government has decided to give China 271 small war-crafts (vessels) as a gesture of substantial friendship. The House of Representatives of the United States has already unanimously passed this measure and there is little doubt that the U. S. Senate will also approve it.

Both Indian nationalist leaders as well as British statesmen can learn something from American-Chinese co-operation in world affairs. China is a free and independent country. The United States wants its friendship and knows that a strong China is an asset to her and to the cause of world peace, and therefore the United States is supporting China not only diplomatically and economically but in all matters concerning national defense. We understand Britain, following the example of the United States, is ready to aid China in every way.

For the last 90 years, since the days of the so-called sepoy mutiny, British policy in India has been to keep the people of India disarmed and to deprive them of the legitimate opportunities for assuming responsibilities for national defense. Now it has become apparent to British statesmen in power that Britain is neither able to keep India under subjection by military force nor can she maintain her position in world politics without Indian friendship and active support. Therefore, to make Indo-British friendship effective, it is not only necessary

that Britain should be the first to recognise India's status as an independent nation, but she should adopt effective measures to aid Indians to develop an adequate defense force of all arms officered by Indians.

A strong India is the best-guarantee for her independence. A strong India can aid the Moslem States—Turkey, Persia and others—in the West as well as China in the East to protect them from any aggression. A free India will have to assume full responsibility for her own national defense and also bear her share to maintain world peace. India should develop best institutions for training officers who are to assume responsibilities for national defense. Britain should volunteer support in this matter.

The Bhonsla Military School

The Central Hindu Military Education Society organised by Dr. B. S. Moonje and the Bhonsla Military School, Nasik, has become the All-India seat of Physical and Military training. This is the only school of its kind so far among the Indian schools which had been able to secure a licence under the Arms Act for the use of real rifles and live cartridges for the training of boys in Musketry. Besides, riding and swimming are compulsory for every student. The school has been recognised by the University and the Education Department of Bombay. In short, the school aims at preparing young men and women physically fit, morally sound, mentally alert and to develop adequately qualities of character, leadership, personality and broadmindedness essential for national greatness.

The school is an all-India institution as boys come from almost all provinces. It has already provided to build Provincial Homes named after an historic and inspiring personage of the province concerned, such as the Rana Pratap Rajputana Home, The Guru Govind Punjab Home, The Pratapaditya Bengal Home, The Malharrao Holkar Malwa Home, The Scindhia Home for Central India and so on for Gujarat, Utikal, Andhra, Karnatak, Keral, Madras and Sind.

It is not an easy task to run a Military School entirely as a private enterprise. But having started it, it is the responsibility of all well-wishers of this institution and the cause which it is serving, to make it a success. The school has so far progressed with funds from the public and we believe that generous people will loosen their purse strings to see that this useful institution is well-established. Contributions may be sent to the Principal of the School at Ramabhumil, Nasik.

International Trade Organisation

The fundamental choice before the countries of the world today is whether they will struggle against each other for wealth and power, or work together for security and mutual advantage. The main cause of future war may be eliminated if the Nations of the world, including the defeated nations, work together in every field of common interest on the basis of full employment and an equal standard of living. The United Nations have created not only an Economic and Social Council but special bodies to deal with emergency relief, currency, international investment, civil aviation, labour, food and agriculture. A great drawback in these organisations is that, the defeated nations are not in it, and that a good deal of distinction

exists between the Imperialist and the subject nations among them. In the Hot Springs Conference it was the clear idea that Eastern Nations ought to remain content as suppliers of raw materials, leaving the wealth and a high standard of life to the industrial countries of the West.

The United States proposes the creation of an International Trade Organisation. To this end, it has been proposed that an International Conference on Trade and Employment should be called by the United Nations, to meet not later than the summer of 1946. Judging from the results of International Conferences held at Hot Springs, Rye, Bretton-Woods, etc., and the U.N.R.R.A., India will not feel much optimistic about the outcome of the proposed Independence Trade Conference. These conferences have been followed by the creation of one or other International Organisation to which India had to contribute very liberally with little or no corresponding benefit to her. The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations has been established but no sign of any improvement in our agricultural or food position in the immediate or near future is visible. An International Monetary Fund to facilitate adjustment in the balance of payment of member countries has also been established. India has contributed heavily to it but not for her benefit. Not only that this Organisation has refrained from putting any pressure on Britain for the payment of her sterling balances to India, the problem was not even allowed to be discussed. The UNRRA has taken disproportionately large contributions from the Indian resources but has done nothing to help India tide over the impending famine.

The governing principles for the proposed International Trade Organisation have been given as (i) that in all countries high and stable employment is a main condition for the attainment of satisfactory levels of living and (ii) that approximately full employment by the major industrial and trading nations, and its maintenance on a reasonably assured basis, are essential to the expansion of international trade on which the full prosperity of these and other nations depends, and (iii) that domestic programmes to expand employment should be consistent with realisation of the purposes of liberal international agreements and compatible with the economic wellbeing of other nations.

The principles sound well but they have in them sufficient loopholes for an evasion of the real spirit which permeates them. We apprehend that, like other International Organisations, this one also will be of dubious value not only to India but also to other Asiatic countries as well.

National Merchant Marine

With the transition from war to peace economy, and with the enormous political developments that are expected to affect our entire economic and industrial pattern, the problem of an adequate water transport is receiving wider attention. During the war we saw the paramount importance of a strong control of the Indian Ocean in the strategic life of India. As a matter of fact, a strong oceanic control is the most vital factor of India's defence, as the entire history of the Indian seas during the Hindu, Portuguese and British period of oceanic supremacy would show. The peninsular character of the country and the essential dependence of its trade on maritime traffic have always made the Indian Ocean a prime arbiter of our fortune.

If shipping was important during the war, it is still more so for a peace-time economy. At the present moment in particular, the problem of shipping, so far as India herself is concerned, is not so much of defence as of mercantile transport. In a recent speech at Patna, Mr. G. L. Mehta stressed the vital importance of an adequate merchant marine for India. "It is indispensable as an alternative and additional form of transport for the coastal trade of a country like India with its vast coastline and large maritime trade and it is invaluable for the promotion of overseas trade and commerce."

A huge amount of drain in the form of shipping freight has been the result of our continued dependence on foreign ships for our overseas trade. The total annual shipping earnings on account of Indian trade and passenger service, before the outbreak of World War II, were estimated to be Rs. 57 crores of which Indian Companies received about 7 crores. To-day, as Mr. Mehta has shown, Indian shipping is hardly 100,000 gross tons as against 14 million tons of British shipping and out of a world tonnage of over 75 millions. In other countries, coastal trade is almost a domestic preserve of the nationals of the country. The share of Indian shipping in coastal trade is hardly 20 per cent while it has practically no share in the overseas maritime trades.

An adequate and careful national policy for shipping should be evaluated immediately, if post-war development of industry and trade is to be materialised. Some hope is pinned on the policy committee on shipping which is now considering Indian shipping problems. We should also be vigilant to guard our interests in the international trade and shipping negotiations that would take place in the next few years. Elimination of Axis nations from world commerce has given the big powers greater opportunity to develop and expand their shipping trade. India may at least hope for the opportunities of a freer allocation of routes now that Japanese shipping has been eliminated. Much will depend on the policy of the Government which should no longer waste its time in evolving an adequate national shipping policy, and the policy must be soon implemented in practice by switching on the vast material resources, mobilised for war, to fight scarcity, maldistribution and the evils of industrial backwardness.

U. S.-Soviet Amity Essential to World Peace

The American News File reports that Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, former United States ambassador to Norway, was honoured at a banquet given by the American Society for Russian Relief as it launched a national campaign to equip the devastated hospitals of Russia. Joseph E. Davies, former U.S. ambassador to Russia, was chairman of the dinner and among the principal speakers were Secretary of Commerce, Henry Wallace and Senator Claude Pepper.

Referring to the election of Trygve Lie as Secretary-General of UNO, Secretary Wallace said :

I consider it highly significant that Trygve Lie has been named to a post equivalent to the first president of the world with the support of both the United States and Russia. It may well be that the Scandinavian countries will serve as a bridge between the United States and Russia. The Scandinavian countries have long approached democracy in a peculiarly individual way.

Wallace suggested "friendly competition" between the United States, Russia and Britain in the development of science, economic justice and freedom. He said that the Russians and British in some respects are ahead of the United States in science and economic justice and that the United States is ahead of Russia in its conceptions of freedom.

"I want to say most vigorously," Wallace added, "that for the next decade or two science is going to be all-important. The future belongs to nations that understand science, that understand economic justice and brotherhood, and that have great natural resources. As we look at the nations of the world which are destined to understand science most fully, and have natural resources and desires for economic justice and brotherhood, we see that Russia and the United States stand out."

Senator Pepper, who has recently returned from a tour of the Soviet Union, praised the relief work the Society is doing in Russia and said:

The war is not won in Europe or Asia, or even in America, and it will not be won until the last vestiges of fascism have been erased from enemy nations and from those so-called neutral nations which actually were panderers for Hitlerism or servants of Japanese imperialism.

Pepper told the guests of the warm reception he received from Russians as an American and declared:

One thing we must remember. As I have said elsewhere, we have absolutely nothing to fear from the Soviet Union as long as the Soviet Union has nothing to fear from us. . . . And the work done by the Society for Russian Relief is the best possible proof to the Russian people that they have nothing to fear from us—that in peace, as in war, we come of friendly intent and are holding out the hand of brotherhood. If we do our dual task well—the task of supplying the Soviet people with the medical supplies they need so badly and of supplying the American people with perception and with the true facts about our Russian neighbours—then there shall be peace in the world and atomic power shall be the greatest boon mankind has ever known. We must do our task well—and do it now, and keep on doing it—for the alternative to success is too frightening to consider.

U. S. and Fight for Freedom of Press

The American News File reports that freedom of the press is a freedom "for which we must wage a continuous fight," United States Assistant Secretary of State, William Benton, said in a broadcast from Washington titled "Freedom of the Press—World-wide."

The program was one of a series over NBC's "University of the Air," aimed at explaining United States foreign policy. Paul Porter, Federal Communications Commission chairman, also spoke.

Benton maintained that "it has always been important to seek a free flow of information among the peoples of the world," but since the first atomic bomb was dropped it has become a matter of paramount urgency. Freedom of the press is freedom of men's minds to seek the truth. Without that, he said, we cannot construct the defenses of peace in the minds of men and "can't hope for a secure peace."

Benton and Porter agreed that the cause of freedom of information internationally has not progressed

during the last 25 years. Porter added that freedom from censorship is a fundamental part of freedom of information.

When asked whether Russia does not in fact have "an entirely different idea of the role of a free press from ours," Benton said that the Russians "not only frankly admit but boast that their concept of freedom of the press is different from ours. They even deny that ours is freedom." He said Russian practice to the Americans "means state subsidies and state control, which are fundamentally opposed to our concept of an independent press, free to criticize the government."

When asked if he saw any hope of bringing the Soviet and United States viewpoints together, Benton expressed the hope that the "time will come when we shall get a free flow of news between Russia and the United States," but added that this development "will undoubtedly be a gradual process."

Benton said not only the State Department but Congress and the FCC as well as United States delegations to various United Nations conferences were doing something about furthering the cause of freedom of information. Benton said the State Department was attacking the problem on three fronts—the economic front, political front and what might be called the "operating front." Benton added that the "outstanding achievement on the economic front has been the Bermuda Telecommunications Conference."

Porter, who was vice-chairman of the American delegation at Bermuda, said the "Bermuda conference was significant because problems of high cost and bottlenecks in transmitting news and telegraph messages between the United States and the British Empire—a problem which has vexed newsmen and telegraph users for 25 years—was solved in ten days over the conference table in Bermuda."

Porter said the Bermuda conference "is only one step toward a rational world-wide communication system." Porter said the principles of information which the British accepted at Bermuda were adopted by the American republics at the Inter-American Radio Conference at Rio de Janeiro last autumn. He added that these arrangements paved the way for a world-wide acceptance of the same principle at an international communications conference which is expected to be held some time this year.

"The Bermuda conference," Porter continued, "succeeded beyond all expectations. But improvement of communications is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end—the real end being to bring the democratic nations of the earth closer together by making possible a freer exchange of ideas, more complete understanding and development of better commercial relations."

Turning to the political approach to freedom of information, Benton said the State Department "plans to do everything within its power along political or diplomatic lines to help breakdown artificial barriers to expansion of private American news agencies, magazines, motion pictures and other media of communication throughout the world. And, of course, we welcome information from abroad through the same channels."

Concerning freedom of the press within nations, Porter said only the people within the country can achieve it. "You can search history books and never find an example of freedom being handed to a people. They always have to demand it or fight for it themselves."

Benton agreed that as far as international provisions for press freedom were concerned that would be up to

the nations themselves, "but I think that free access to news sources, and freedom to transmit news from one country to another without discrimination might very well be included in appropriate agreements or treaties covering our relations with former enemy countries."

Concluding the broadcast Benton said he thought it safe to say that in the months to come "our government will play a leading role in the fight against restrictions on all sorts of international communications."

Freedom of press is one of the fundamentals of a free democratic world. Where a really popular government functions, that government must assure the ways and means for a full and fair reflection of popular opinion. This can best be done by the freedom of the press. A genuine people's government responsible to the people has nothing to fear from public criticism so long as it remains true to its ideals. Freedom of the press can only exist under such a system of administration. A government which has many things to conceal from popular view is the kind that advocates the suppression of the press. It is needless to mention or multiply instances.

Complete Cure for Cholera

The discovery of what is described as a complete cure for one of mankind's oldest and most deadly enemies, cholera, has been made by U.S. Navy epidemiologists in a controlled experiment held during the cholera epidemic in Calcutta on the spring of 1945 which took away a toll of 1,192 lives. This is a boon among the hell of legacies the war has left for us. Considering the importance of this unique discovery to our country, where people fall easy victims to the scourge of cholera both in the cities and in the villages, the report is reproduced in substance:

Begun as a protective measure for thousands of Americans stationed in India, China, Burma, Ceylon and the Philippines, where annually the disease rages in epidemics, the experiment has resulted in a new step forward for medical science. Where before there was only inoculation against this dread disease, and that not a sure-fire preventive, there is now tested knowledge that through the proper use of blood plasma, sulfadiazine, and saline solution, "no one need die of cholera."

Where previously 30 per cent to 80 per cent of all cholera victims died, 100 per cent recovery is assured through this new treatment. Dramatic description of the effects produced by this combination of plasma and drugs was first given shortly after the history-making Epidemiology Unit No. 50 first came to Calcutta in June, 1945.

The burning ghats, or funeral pyres, were then piled high with bodies of Hindus who had died of cholera. The American scientists became familiar with the sunken eyes, pinched noses, and anxious expressions of the victims. They learned to recognize the signs: shrunken "washerwoman" hands and feet, feeble rapid pulse, a fever, constant diarrhea and vomiting which leaves the body dehydrated, toxic absorption which causes muscular cramps and collapse.

While the majority of the cholera victims came from the poorer, less educated classes, it also strikes the homes of the richest. No respecter of class, age, sex, or race, the epidemic struck down 3,333 people in

Calcutta from January 1 through June 16, 1945. Of these 1,192 died. Only a few Americans, who were civilians, contracted the disease, and only one, an American Negro pianist died. Fifteen British military residents of the Grand Hotel in Calcutta were stricken and one died.

Hardly had this epidemic reached its peak when another broke out in Chungking, China. Comdr. Amberson radioed the procedure which his experimental unit had already determined to be highly successful to the Navy Surgeon-General, Vice-Admiral Ross T. McIntire, who gave this new medical news not only to the American medical units there, but also to their allies, the Chinese. A plane loaded with plasma, sulfadiazine, and saline solution went over the "Hump" to save the lives of hundreds.

Of the 400 cases in Calcutta selected by the Navy epidemiologists for their experiment, one group was treated with sulfaguanadine, one with sulfadiazine, one with penicillin, and one with sulfadiazine and penicillin combined.

In laboratory experiments it had been determined that these drugs worked against the cholera organism. But in humans, the onset of the disease was so sudden and severe, with circulation slowed down because of dehydration and loss of blood serum, that the valuable drugs could not be mobilized rapidly enough to make the battle an equal one. Because of the great concentration of red blood cells which would not circulate, gangrene set in the feet and hands of the victims.

Comdr. Amberson conceived the idea of using blood plasma to thin out the thick, jelly-like consistency of the cholera-infected blood, and help the patient's body perform its normal functions while the sulfadiazine got in its good work.

In summing up the results of the experiment, Comdr. Amberson says in his report:

"From results of the tests made by our Epidemiology Unit No. 50, we recommend:

"That sulfadiazine plus adequate quantities of salines and supportive therapy be accepted as the treatment in mild and uncomplicated cases of cholera.

"That this treatment be supplemented with penicillin in cases of moderate severity, especially where pneumonia is a complication.

"That plasma plus salines be administered in sufficient amounts to elicit a rapid clinical response in severe cases of shock or circulatory failure, and that this be continued long enough to mobilize the effect of the penicillin or sulfadiazine."

Only two of the cases treated had previously had cholera inoculations. In both the onset was sudden but the symptoms were mild, and both were discharged after three or four days' treatment. This led Comdr. Amberson to observe that "cholera vaccine is of value in lessening the severity and duration of illness. Death is almost certain without treatment. Chemotherapy and saline solution alone will lower the expected death rate, and with the additional use of plasma, the recovery of every cholera victim can be assured."

Restless India

The *Voice of India* of Washington publishes an article on "Restless India" by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. This contribution was written by Mrs. Pandit

at the request of the Foreign Policy Association of New York to be incorporated, together with a contribution from Lord Halifax presenting the British point of view, in Lawrence Rosinger's forthcoming book *Restless India* which the Association will publish. After Mrs. Pandit had written the piece, the Foreign Policy Association found it inexpedient to include it in the book. It has finally been published by the *Voice of India*.

Mrs. Pandit shows how, for the last fifty years or more, there has been a growing consciousness on the part of the people of India of the essential immorality of British rule over this country. She writes :

I think it is the simple truth to say, as a statement of fact, that the vast majority of Indian men and women, educated or otherwise, do not today have the slightest faith in the integrity or honour of British statesmen, be they Tory, Liberal, or Labourite. One may go farther and say that the vast majority of Indians of all kinds and communities are convinced that British policy in India rests and functions on a system of calculated hypocrisy—a sort of long-range stalling, plausible procrastination and self-righteous declarations of honesty of purpose. This technique of delay and denial is worked out by incessant and unending recapitulations of the differences, dissensions and social handicaps of the country, all magnified and distorted out of focus, to constitute an alibi of India's unpreparedness, or unfitness, as the case may be, for independence. To this end the natural divisions of racial or religious groups which must necessarily exist in a vast country, such as India, have been artificially erected into impassable and unbridgeable barriers, and the groups themselves made to look like perpetually warring factions insusceptible alike of national unity or political cohesion.

By a system of separate electorates, so called, which means franchise on a basis of religious beliefs, invented by the British Government, it has been sought to crystalize the Indian people into mutually exclusive watertight compartments of sect and community. Natural minorities exist in every country, and the whole trend and principle of modern civilized procedure has been to foster the coalescing of minority groups into the national organism. In India, however, constant wedges are driven to keep the minorities in political segregation, and they are used as so many pawns to deny the claim of Indian nationhood and to hamper the natural process of national solidarity which inevitably follow a growing national consciousness among all civilized peoples. By the same token every factionist, however insignificant or irresponsible, is boosted by British authorities into a position of fantastic importance and invested with a claim to leadership which is more fictitious than real.

All this, perhaps, is very effective imperial politics, but to the people of India the whole thing looks like a systematic and permanent Ulsterization of the country. In the light of such a policy, carried on for a generation, they cannot believe in the good faith of the British. The British demand for national unity and agreement on fundamentals, in the face of such facts, becomes a mockery and an insult.

So far as India is concerned, the sequel to her contribution of blood and treasure in the winning of

the first World War was the measure of Amritsar. After the second World War, within a few months of its end, there have been a number of Amritsars in different cities of India where even children have been massacred. All this is tending to alienate India from England, or rather the East from the West. Restless India is the symbol and key of Restless Asia. Without freedom India can have neither tranquillity nor progress and with a restless India seething at its heart, there can be no real peace in Asia.

Pakistan—A Negation

In a recent article, Mr. H. N. Brailsford has made a very trenchant analysis of the Indian political situation. In view of the enormous landslides that are expected to take place in the Indo-British relations in the near future, his study will be particularly significant at the moment.

Beginning with a study in contrast between Jinnah and Nehru, Mr. Brailsford brings out the essential absurdity of the demand for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah has not been able to make Pakistan a positive policy. "It remains in his hands, what it always was, a negation, a denial of Indian unity. It is an emotion rather than a policy, an expression of the fears and frustrations which Muslims feel, when they find the numbers and the economic power of the Hindus."

Mr. Brailsford discusses the impossible attitude of Jinnah who would neither enter any interim National Government nor take part in an all-Indian Constituent Assembly. However, the elections have weakened his strategical position. The lessons of Assam and the Frontier Province are obvious. Thus "the vision of a solid Muslim State, covering the whole north-west of India has vanished."

"A free decision on the merits of Pakistan," continues the writer, "is, in the present atmosphere of fanaticism, impossible. What is clear is that with the Frontier Province excluded, Pakistan is not a possible strategical unit. The defence of India could not, on those terms, be assured."

But the strategy of defence will not appeal to the champion of Pakistan; he has only learnt the strategy of dissension.

Brailsford on British Responsibility

Mr. Brailsford recognizes the full significance of our demand for independence. Referring to his interview with Pandit Nehru, he says :

When I tried to discover what Indians mean by that ambiguous word (independence) the answer was simple and straightforward. They do not wish to remain within the British Empire. The Dominion idea has for them no attractions. They are not a daughter nation, nor do they share our culture and our traditions. A dominion is for us a land which our kinsmen inhabit; for them it is a territory from which their emigrants are excluded.

This in short is really the Indian attitude. The Britishers must realize this standpoint, and the realization should be shown by the policy that the Cabinet Mission will adopt in regard to the Indian problem. How would they react to the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah? This would be a hard test of the tact, strength and integrity of the Ministers. Mr. Brailsford comments :

Muslims who, for obvious reasons, enjoyed official favour throughout the war, have not yet adjusted themselves to the fact that we do sincerely mean to hand over power. When they are brought to face that fact can they stubbornly refuse to compromise? History and Geography have willed that they must live with their Hindu neighbours. Even if they could get Pakistan, thirty millions of them would be left outside its borders. They will make this effort of accommodation when they realise that, in Mahatma Gandhi's language, we are going to quit India as a ruling power. The first question is simple. Are we ready to transfer power to a National Government even if Mr. Jinnah refused to join it?

Mr. Brailsford concludes :

Until a National Government is formed, India has no leadership which public opinion will trust and obey. So long as the moral and legal authority are divorced, there is no power that can shame the profiteers and overawe the anti-social forces. Only when responsibility visibly passes to a truly Indian Government in Delhi will the battle against hunger and disorder begin with a prospect of victory.

The most sinister aspect of the Indian Constitution has been a complete divorce of power and responsibility, of moral and legal authority.

Abuse of Telegraph Act Provisions

Mr. K. Punniiah, member of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, has released to the press the following letter he has written to the President of the Conference :

Press messages, inland and foreign, regarding the Indian naval ratings strike and the subsequent developments in the city booked at Karachi by two Indian news agencies and one foreign agency, as also by special correspondents of newspapers outside Sind, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, were held up by the Central Telegraph Office at the instructions of the Chief Secretary to the Government of Sind.

The action of the telegraph authorities is an unusual step inasmuch as these newspapers and agencies have been deprived of impartial and independent reports from their correspondents on whom they rely for such work.

Even if such action were found necessary under the provisions of the Telegraph Act the respective agencies and correspondents must have been informed sufficiently in time about the existence and enforcement of this restriction so that they could carry out their task in the best manner possible in the circumstances.

Actually, however, they were informed only after 48 hours after this official action that their messages had been stopped.

I consider the reason given out by the telegraphic authorities that 'no official confirmation is available in respect of these messages' is flimsy and most untenable as in all such cases official confirmation could not be had and the authorities concerned were found to be absolutely reluctant to help the correspondents in their work. This ridiculous aspect of the restriction becomes all the more glaring when you realise that the messages were stopped wholesale

although they contained both official and non-official information.

It appears that these restrictions did not affect *Reuters* and the *Associated Press of India* who carried their reports on the teleprinter line and, therefore, this action on the part of the authorities affected those agencies and correspondents who depend entirely on telegraphs for transmission of their messages.

The contradiction of the Sind Government that there was no censorship of these messages is utterly misleading and travesty of facts. Both by means of censorship and by recourse to provisions under the Telegraph Act, the authorities effectively stopped all these messages.

There was nothing in these messages to which the Chief Secretary to the Government should take serious objection which was not generally covered by the *Associated Press* and *Reuters*. His action placed the *A.P.* and *Reuters* at an advantage and ruled out the others and did not prevent the circulation of news through telephones to and from Karachi.

The Chief Secretary's action was uncalled for and prevented the newspapers served from Karachi by special correspondents and agencies (not on the teleprinter) from serving their papers for which they are engaged.

The internal press censorship is said officially to have been abolished. Surreptitious attempts to stifle unpalatable news items however continue as they did during the war years. Abuse of the provisions of the newsprint order and the Telegraph Act, in addition to open censorship, was quite common during the war. We have not forgotten the deliberate interference with telegraphic messages sent to America during Calcutta's August '42 blood-bath. Mr. Punniiah's letter was published on March 2, and no action seems to have been taken on it so far, i.e., till the end of the month. This proves that so long as British rule continues in this country, surreptitious censorship will remain a regular feature of their administration.

Bengal Government and Imperial Officers

The Government of Bengal is the El Dorado of the Imperial services. There are hosts of officers of 19 or 20 years of service who are either secretary to something or a Director-General of some department on a pay of Rs. 2,750 a month or more. But even then that is not the end. 'Section 93' Government seems to be absolutely convinced that in spite of the pretension of handing over political power to Indian hands a good number of high-salaried British officers must be appointed to man a multitude of special departments created without public sanction. British personnel retired from the services after full periods of service are recruited for "special work" which means that no Indian is suitable for those august posts.

In the Bengal Secretariat we have Dr. Jenkins, who retired after a full period of service as Director of Public Instruction, appointed as the head of the newly created "Method and Organisation" of the Chief Minister's Department, on a salary of about Rs. 3,000 per month. Again Mr. Bottomley is the newly appointed Chairman of the Public Services Commission. After a full period of service in the Education Department, he was appointed as Special officer on the salary of

Rs. 3,000 per month. This "special work" has apparently been finished at the tax payers' cost but to whose benefit we do not know. We next find him as the Chairman of the Public Services Commission.

The present Director-General of Enforcement has come to occupy this position after his retirement from the post of Inspector-General of Police. We do not know what he is enforcing, but we have had occasion to observe that bribe-takers and bribe-givers in high places are cleverly slipping out after having squandered crores and crores of the tax-payers' money. Famine, food, civil supply, rationing, etc., have provided a crop of high salaried posts and they are being assiduously filled by British personnel, mostly recruited from the retired people. Mr. O. M. Martin has been appointed Commissioner of post-war reconstruction in Bengal. The post for an Additional Chief Secretary has been created with the object of a rehabilitation of Bengal. We do not know what they have done all these years but we find destitutes dying in the city and more coming in to die.

Under the present system of Government run by a particular ruling caste in flagrant and contemptuous disregard of public opinion, appointment of Indians in these posts will solve no problem. In order to make these posts effective and of service to the people, we know we must wait for a people's government fully responsible to the people. In the meantime we find no sense in frittering away poor people's money on such high-salaried special posts.

The British in India

Speaking on the Finance Bill in the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Lawson, the British Group spokesman, referred to the position of his community in this country and disclaimed any intention to ask for "special concessions" and modestly said, "We shall only ask for those forms of protection which will protect everybody without sufficient voice in the legislatures or indeed those who have no voice at all." In view of the impending political change, the fear of losing the extra special concessions the British traders had so long been enjoying in India under the present constitution, is quite understandable. British interests in this country were secured in many ways. They had the grossly unjust and unilateral safeguards embodied in the constitution. Then they had the preposterously high representation in the local and Central Legislatures. Their number might have been 25 in Bengal in a house of 250, or 3 in Sind in a house of 60, but the constitution has been so carefully devised and seats in the Legislatures so carefully planned that with this apparently small number, the balance of power had on many occasions shifted on to their hands. This was not accidental, but intentional. The British Group have always been eager to seize this balance of power, and have never hesitated to stoop to use it deliberately against the interests of this country. The appointment of British Governors in India is a great advantage for them. We saw in Bengal, a British Governor abandoning all considerations of constitutional decency and decorum for securing the resignation of a progressive Premier who had sought to face the famine with the people at his back by the formation of an all-party Ministry, how he had installed a servile Ministry in its place, and how the British Group kept it going with aid of their vote. This gross unconstitutional act was supported solely in the interests of Great

Britain. The most horrible famine in the history of India was the result of the maladministration, inefficiency and corrupt practices that followed.

In the course of his speech, Mr. Lawson claimed that they were not ashamed of the part they had played in this country as traders and legislators. But the people of India think that they are not quitting India with a clear record behind them. As traders they have enjoyed extra-special concessions, safeguarded by the constitution and actively backed by the Government. They never came as fair competitors with Indian enterprises. A year ago, the Central Legislative Assembly passed a resolution demanding the repeal of the commercial safeguard clauses in the Government of India Act, but they still remain. Their record as legislators is equally doubtful even up to the present time. It was the three British votes that emboldened the Governor of Sind to hand over power to a minority party in the Legislature.

The British traders and officials in this country must realise that a political change is coming. They cannot expect to live here as a ruling caste. They can at the most expect to enjoy only that amount of extra advantage in this country which an Indian will enjoy in England under similar circumstances.

Famine in Bankura

The statement recently released to the Press by Mrs. R. Roy regarding conditions prevailing in certain parts of the District of Bankura discloses a very serious state of things. Owing to a failure of the monsoon, the early paddy crop had been seriously damaged, while transplantation for winter rice (paddy) was possible on a small area. Even on these lands, the out-turn has been badly affected by the drought which continued during the season of cultivation. A state of famine prevails in this area, although a perverted sense of official prestige has stood in the way of a straightforward declaration of famine. Mrs. Roy found able-bodied men and women working in Government test relief works for a bare pittance of about five annas a day, while many of those who were physically unable for this hard work or unused to it, were found to be living on a gruel of tamarind seeds and Mohua flowers. Official relief was found to be hopelessly inadequate, ordinarily limited to 2 per cent of the population, while the estimate made by Mrs. Roy after her local visit and discussions with the members of the un-official Relief Committee was that, in many places, not less than 10 to 15 per cent were on the verge of starvation and needed immediate relief.

Mrs. Roy visited a so-called industrial home for destitute people in the affected area and found that practically no work was being done here.

Although reports in the Calcutta press have been meagre, news of the very distressing conditions in the district has been appearing in the local newspaper, the *Bankura Darpan* and should have attracted the attention of the powers that be.

It is, therefore, to say the least, curious that no statement has yet been issued by Government, giving an account of the position in these areas and of the measures taken to deal with the situation and refuting the very serious charges of inaction and callous indifference on the part of the local officers of the Government. An account of the "flying" visit of the new Governor has been published with the usual flare of trumpet, but there is no magic in such visits. We have

waited and waited in vain, for an announcement of the results which have followed from this visit, how far the scope of gratuitous relief has been extended to those who need it, how far the wage scale in test works have been revised, and how far work of a suitable nature has been provided for those who are incapable or unused to earth-work on the public roads. Paddy-husking is an occupation, which in normal years, provides employment to a large number of women in the villages. The granaries of the cultivators are empty, but the Government holds the entire stock of surplus paddy, as a result of the paddy procurement policy which is being adopted. The public has, therefore, a right to know how much of the paddy stocks in the control of Government in this district has been made available to the starving women in the affected areas. From the experience of the work-house visited by Mrs. Roy, we may safely infer that the miserable plight of these unfortunate women has not yet attracted the notice of those who are entrusted with the organisation of relief.

One important issue emerges from the statements to which reference has been made above. Anybody with eyes to see and ears to hear must have realised by the first week of August, 1945, at the latest, that the situation would develop along these lines and that prompt and vigorous measures were called for and that the people in these areas, known to be chronically susceptible to crop-failure and famine, will have to be supported until the next early rice is harvested in November, 1946. And yet, with negligence and indifference which cannot too strongly be condemned, things were allowed to drift until a situation almost beyond control has been reached which had been described in lurid colours in the statement of Mrs. Roy. The least the new Governor of Bengal can do is to institute an enquiry into the conduct of the officials concerned. No false sense of official prestige should be allowed to stand in the way. Even if it is possible to prevent any actual loss of life, which from our personal experience of these areas we very much doubt, these officers must be held accountable for the widespread and intense suffering which with a little forethought and organisation might have been prevented by them.

Economic Sanctions Against the South African 'Herrenvolk'

The situation in South Africa has reached a climax as stated by Dr. N. B. Khare in the Council of State, the Government of India's proposals for an amicable settlement were turned down and repeated protests against the segregation policy ignored by the Union Government. As a retaliatory measure, the Government of India have at long last given notice of termination of the trade agreement with the South African Government.

Mr. Sorabji Rustomji, leader of the South African Delegation, said that though it was good that within 24 hours of the delegation's arrival in Delhi, the Government of India had taken action against South Africa, the delegation was not entirely satisfied.

Mr. Sorabji explained to the Press correspondents the significance of the imposition of economic sanctions so far as South Africa was concerned. During the war when there was scarcity, India exported large quantities of piecegoods but, at the same time, owing to restrictions on food-stuffs, India closed her export of rice and

other foodstuffs. Substitutes were found for these by South African Indians. Soon after the war piecegoods from England and America had already begun to come into South Africa.

Mr. Sorabji said :

It is not because we want to hit South Africa that we are asking for the enforcement of economic sanctions. By enforcing economic sanctions and withdrawing the High Commissioner, you lift the whole struggle from the inter-governmental plane to the international plane. Short of war, economic sanctions are the next best instrument to use.

The delegation sent a memorandum to the Viceroy and a deputation led by the Aga Khan waited on the Viceroy on March 12. The Congress Working Committee, meeting in Bombay on March 16, passed a resolution which states that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilisation of the West. It also asks the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation pending the convening of a round table conference between the two governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against Asiatic peoples.

Meanwhile the Union Government has received India's decision to break off trade relations with cold and callous determination. Though the precise terms of the Bill are still not fully known, much light has been thrown on it by the discussion of a United Party caucus. So far as we can gather from these reports, the Bill will be the most flagrant negation of democracy, providing, as it does for the representation of Indians in the Assembly by three Europeans and in the Senate by two Europeans.

F. M. Smuts, who used to wax eloquent on the evils of war and tyranny, is now perpetuating a shameless fascist tradition in South Africa. As Mr. J. H. Hofmeyer said in his address at the Witwatersrand University, Smuts and his government are today suffering from the disease of "herrenvolk" mentality. Racial prejudice has also expressed itself in the Union Government's decision to claim the incorporation into the Union of the former German territory of South-West Africa, so long administered as a League of Nations mandate. This is obviously designed to bye-pass the Soviet claim for full franchise at the U.N.O. for the natives of South-West Africa. We wonder how long this tyranny of prejudices will continue in a world of "four freedoms." Mr. Hofmeyer exhorted the University students to fight for the "fifth freedom"—freedom from prejudice.

The Indians in South and East Africa went there to clear the jungles, lay the railway lines, construct the roads and build the very towns from which they are being ousted today. It were Indians who had been called upon to shed their blood in the two World Wars to preserve the freedom of those treacherous Westerners who, now that the danger is past, are most shamelessly hastening to destroy whatever modest rights Indians had been enjoying there. Rights enjoyed by Indians in Africa were nobody's gift, they had to earn it through large sacrifices. The conspiracy to deprive a people of their rights to life and property earned with blood and sweat will remain the most shameful blot on Western civilisation. A free India will find the means of repaying

this treachery. Meanwhile we must be content with the tardy application of "economic sanctions."

The Malayan Union

The Commons debate on the Straits Settlements Bill has thrown a flood of light on the nature of British intentions in Malaya. Mr. Creech Jones, the Colonial Under-Secretary, tried in his long speech to dispel the grave misgivings of the Malayan people and the Chinese immigrants. In spite of his best efforts to draw a veil on the anti-democratic aims of the plan, its very language, as a Labour member complained, "reeked of patronage." The main provision of the plan is to set up a closer Malayan Union with the object of bringing together isolated units existing at the moment, and thereby unifying the administration. Mr. Creech Jones spoke eloquently on their careful consideration of the fundamental rights of the natives, and also assured the policy of full collaboration with local public opinion in working out the new plan. He pointed out the dangers of divided loyalties and multiplicity of authorities, and put forward the British plan of unification.

But these lofty professions cannot alter the character of the proposed union, which by its very principle is flagrantly anti-democratic. For one thing, one cannot reconcile the idea of an imposed constitution with the idea of four freedoms guaranteed for the peoples of the world. The only explanation seems to be that now that Malaya is once again within its imperialist fold, Britain does not like to bring in the uncomfortable issues of four freedoms. The days of the Atlantic Charter are over for the time being.

Coming to the nature of the scheme itself, we can hardly understand how administrative unity can be assured by setting up two different administrations, with Singapore as a separate colony. The prospects of the realization of a full self-government remain naively indefinite, and the separation of Singapore negatives whatever democratic possibilities a close union could create.

Establishment of a common Malayan citizenship with full franchise rights for the Indian residents is certainly a progressive move. But the provisions of the scheme are so vague about the constitution of the legislative bodies and settlement councils that we feel optimistic neither about the fate of the Indians in Malaya nor about the democratic possibilities of the Union itself.

India and Malaya

The life of Indians in Malaya continues to be distressing. In a recent article, Mr. P. Kodanda Rao discusses some of the vital problems regarding Indians in Malaya, and shows their abject economic misery consequent upon recent and late political changes.

The Indian population forms the third largest racial community in Malaya, the Chinese being the largest of all. The majority of this population are labourers engaged in rubber estates. When the Japanese made the desperate attempt of building a Burma-Siam Railway, about 85,000 Indian labourers were conscripted and carried to Siam. In building this "Death Railway," 50 per cent perished, and the rest were left in a precarious condition. After British re-occupation, the surviving mass returned to Malaya. The process of recovery in the shape of providing relief to the suffering

and debilitated labourers is too slow to cope with the total wreckage. Apart from labourers, there is another section of the Indian community which needs immediate and adequate relief. It is the lower middle class who are sinking into the rut of total destitution.

One of the main factors affecting the Indian community in Malaya is the policy of the Malaya Government towards the "collaborators" with the Japanese. The policy is to prosecute the political collaborators, although the British Governor in surrendering Malaya specifically asked the people to co-operate with the Japanese. In view of this significant fact, an enlightened policy of general amnesty as given to Burma should be followed in Malaya.

Thus both economically and politically, the Indians in Malaya are in a very pitiable situation, and it is our duty to lend all possible support to our brethren in that unfortunate land. Pandit Nehru's recent tour in Malaya will no doubt give some encouragement to the suffering and despondent Indian community. The Congress has arranged to send a Medical Mission to give all possible succour to the disheartened community. A free India could have offered more material help, and it is significant that the bureaucratic Indian Government is persistently trying to undo our efforts by delaying the travelling arrangements of the Mission.

British Imperialism in the Western and Middle Asia

The report of the India Independence Day celebration in Washington under the auspices of the National Committee for India's freedom has just reached us. The summary of the speech delivered by the celebrated American journalist who has intensively toured the Eastern countries is given here. Mr. Stone is the Washington correspondent of the weekly *Nation* and also of the New York daily newspaper *PM*. He has done some superb crusading in the domestic and foreign field and his recent articles on Palestine have been revealing to those unfamiliar with the subject and even to those familiar with it he has brought new facts and new slants, Mr. Stone said :

I have just come back from Palestine and the Middle East and seen with my own eyes much that India has experienced, the deadening hand of British imperialism, its alliance with the most reactionary native elements in the colonial countries, its encouragement of disunity ; in Egypt playing Moslem against Copt and in Palestine playing Arab against Jew as in India the British play the Moslem against the Hindu. I think I may say on behalf of the Jewish community in Palestine that it sees its future not as an outpost of the British but as a partner with the peoples of the East in a new era of freedom and development. I know that among the Jews, among the Arabs of Palestine, there is the deepest sympathy for India's aspirations and Palestinians and Indians have a new bond in common—they have both been betrayed by the British Labour Party.

We are accustomed to hearing the British say that they dare not keep the promise of the Balfour Declaration lest this inflame India. If they are so anxious about India, they have an easier, nearer and simpler way to conciliate India. They can set India free. I, myself, hardly think India will go up in flames if the British keep their promise of a Jewish

national home in Palestine. But the question I want to ask is why we never hear the reverse of this basic proposition of British propaganda. I wonder why we never hear the British Government say we must give freedom to India lest we inflame the Arab peoples in the Middle East. I wonder why we do not hear the British Government say we must stop shooting Moslems in Java for the same reason. I wonder why the British do not say that America must intervene to free India lest Ibn Saud would stop selling us oil and use it instead to lubricate his camels. Why do these British bugaboos never work in reverse? Is it because the British and their stooges only raise these slogans when they serve not the Arabs nor the Moslems or the Indians but the purposes of British imperialism?

I want to say a word tonight of India from the viewpoint of America. The freedom of India is of basic importance to the maintenance of world peace. India is a symbol and a sign to all the colonial and colored peoples. . . . Unless the aspirations of India, of the colonial and colored peoples are satisfied, their disaffection will provide the tinder for a new World War. When I speak of American intervention I do not mean that we shall intervene only to serve the tail on the kite of British imperialism. I mean that we must provide from our own experience of democracy at home and from our own experience of colonial people in the Philippines, a means of peacefully satisfying the aspirations of colonial and colored peoples. We must use our power to mediate not only between British and Russia but between the imperial powers and their subject peoples.

British Imperialism in East Asia

Mr. John M. Coffee also addressed the same gathering. He has been one of India's staunchest and earliest friends in the House of Representatives. In America, he has been like a pillar of strength to the cause of Indian freedom. Mr. Coffee explained how intelligent Americans had become familiar with the colonial powers and their activities, and particularly with Great Britain and her colonisation. They had found how during the war those subjugations continued in an unabated fashion. Today the whole of the orient is in ferment. Giving a vivid picture of the conditions in the Orient, Mr. Coffee said:

We know that out in Burma the people are seething with unrest because they are worried lest the continued subjugation of the Burmese go on though they had been promised for 35 years of at least dominion independence. Down in Thailand, the Siamese are now witnessing a spectacle at the end of World War II when they have read in the newspapers and heard over the radio and American OWI that the Four Freedom applied to the Orient and the Atlantic Charter had application to the Orient. They are amazed to discover that there is no such thing as freedom of press, freedom of speech, freedom of religious worship, that their customs, revenues, are not their own, that everything is funneled through the foreign occupants, in other words the British. They decree in Thailand today just what shall go on. When I recall how Burma became a part of the British empire, I am fearful of what is going to happen to Thailand if we stand meekly and obse-

quiously, if we continue to wag the tail of the British kite.

Down in Malaya, in the Strait Settlements, these peoples too are wondering whether the return of their former British masters will mean the resumption of the exploitation to which they were subjected in the rubber plantations.

Down in Indonesia, the vast and very wealthy section of the world owned by the richest woman in the world, the Queen of Holland and the Dutch overlords have decreed that they shall resume the former practices prevailing there, namely, to pay the Dutch, the settlers, that is, the Indonesians, the Javanese 15 cents a day as they were paid under their Dutch overlord occupation. Fifty-one million people living on the Island of Java have been struggling for independence for 40 years. Under Soekarno they began to see a light in the clearing. When the Japs came down into Indonesia they sensed the struggle of the peoples for independence, and the Jap overlords—the imperial forces—took advantage of that spirit. Many Indonesians were fooled by Japanese propaganda. But the point that I am trying to make is that the Japs sowed the seeds and spread the gospel of independence for the Oriental peoples and, to that extent, they fomented this spirit of rebellion among the Indonesians so that today, augmented and implemented and pushed on into great fever heat by the Japanese during the occupation, the peoples of all of the Orient outside of India where the Japanese occupied the section, have been spurred on to greater and more feverish activities for independence than ever before.

Why should Indian people be given their independence? Because they are entitled to their independence. Because for more than 180 years they have been under the yoke of a foreign invader who came in and stole the land from the Indian people, from whom it took the land through force, forgery and violence.

Like India, all the other countries in Asia and Africa, groaning under open and covert Imperial yoke, have an equal right to be free. The subject people of the world will judge America by her attitude towards the subject races. Unless the United States exhibit a willingness to demonstrate its devotion to democracy by positive and affirmative acts, these peoples are going to be sadly disillusioned. They see America recognise Argentina where Fascism flourishes under Col. Perron. They see that America recognises General Franco, loans him money and sells him planes, buys his goods, helps him directly and indirectly and, perhaps at the behest of British Imperialism, continues to maintain him as the dictator of Spain. High time for intervention has come.

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Manager, THE MODERN REVIEW.

WANTED—A FOREIGN POLICY FOR NATIONALIST INDIA

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

I

INDIAN Nationalists are asking for Indian freedom from alien domination and this is a very laudable ideal for all Indians who have any self-respect left in them. But attainment of this objective is dependent upon several forces to be utilised effectively; and one of them is—forces of world politics. To be clear, I wish to make the statement that no nation can ever grow and prosper in isolation and nations die in stagnation. Nations often lose their independence, due to isolation in world politics. *It is also a fact, which often does not receive adequate recognition from even students of world affairs, that a nation after losing its political independence to an alien power can never regain it, unless it can utilise the world political situation to its advantage or forming alliances which might be weightier than the forces of the enemy.* It is also true that a wrong calculation in international situation and forming an alliance with undesirable forces may cost a nation's freedom—the present condition of Japan is the best example. Thus for regaining Indian freedom, India will not only have to put her own house in order and Indian leaders will have to show their ability to act as statesmen and bring about national unity on the basis of a truly United India; and they will have to adopt a long-range foreign policy which will be to the advantage of Indian cause—Freedom of India, Freedom of Asia and World Freedom. In this connection I may mention that under peculiar circumstances, a nation may have to form different types of alliances and this is true about Nationalist India. Under the present world conditions and for the best interests of India, what might be the best foreign policy? I am raising this question for intelligent discussion of the vital issue at a time when momentous developments in international relations, affecting India's future are progressing very fast.

II

Marshal Stalin's speech delivered on February 9, 1946, is not merely an oration before a national election, but it is a document of historic importance. From its contents, it becomes clear that Soviet Russia is determined to develop her industrial power to the extent that she will be the strongest nation in the world. This industrial power will serve as the foundation of her military strength as well as national security and prosperity. This fact should be viewed and considered in relation to the existing and ever-increasing Anglo-Soviet rivalry in all parts of the world.

The following paragraph of Premier Stalin's speech should be carefully pondered by Indian statesmen who talk of making India a great Power:

"I have no doubt that if we render the necessary assistance to our scientists they will be able not only to overtake but also in the very near future to surpass the achievements of science outside the boundaries of our country. As far as plans for a longer period are concerned, the party [the political party in power in Russia] intends to organise a new mighty upsurge of a national economy, which will enable us to increase the level of our production; for instance, three-

fold as compared with the pre-war level. To achieve this we must endeavour to see that our industry produces fifty million tons of pig iron per year, sixty million tons of steel, five-hundred million tons of coal and sixty million tons of oil. Only under such conditions will our country be insured against any eventuality. Perhaps three new Five-year Plans will be required to achieve this, if not more. But it can be done and we must do it."

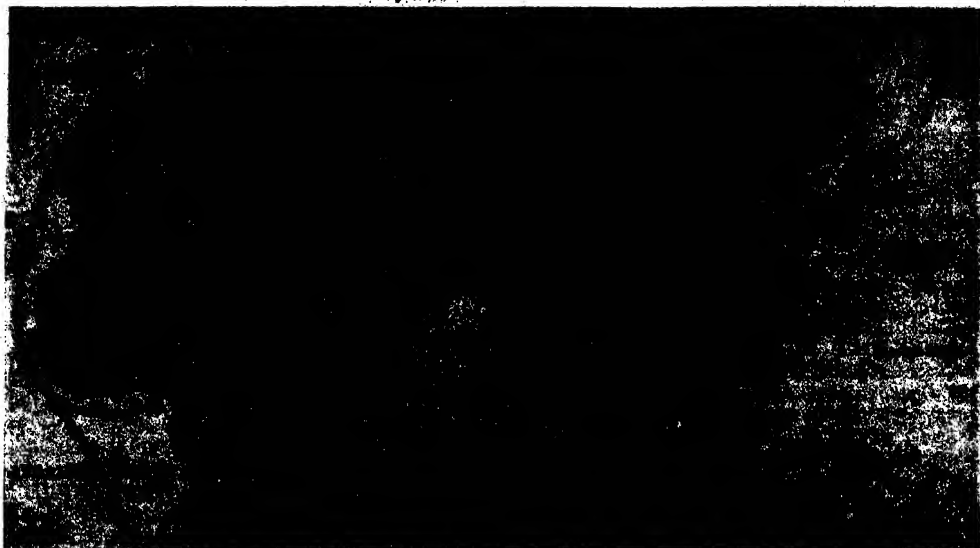
This means that Stalin, the most far-sighted statesman of Russia, is planning for a fifteen-years programme to meet all eventuality in international relations.

India has population and resources to develop. But due to short-sighted policy of the British Government, Indian science and industries have not been developed adequately. Today Indian industrialists and scientists, from all I learn from distance, are not fully alive to their own responsibilities towards developing India to be a great power from the standpoint of Russian standard as indicated by Stalin's speech quoted above.

One question that should be considered without sentimentalism by Indian statesmen is: What should be the position of India in a possible conflict between Great Britain and Soviet Russia? To make my position absolutely clear I wish to say that I do not suggest that this conflict is inevitable, but I assert that there are indications of conflicting interests between Soviet Russia and Britain in every direction, because Soviet Russia is trying to expand her influence and control the regions now under British domination. The map, indicating how Soviet Russia's determined efforts to expand in the Mediterranean regions and the Near East is threatening the "life-line" of the British Empire, will show that in any Anglo-Soviet Russian conflict, India will be a point of attack, as was the case in the last World War. India is the strategic centre of the world.

If an Anglo-Russian conflict occurs then Soviet Russia for her own defence will plan to attack India. Soviet Russia will act so that the source of power in India may not be available to Great Britain. This plan of attack on India by Russia is not a new idea (in international relations there are very few new ideas). As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, during the Napoleonic War, when Tsar Paul was an ally of Napoleon, the programme of attack on India through Turkey and Persia was put in operation. This old plan has been perfected and Soviet Russia is nearer to Indian borders today than any time in history.

Just as during the last World War II, Japan marched through Indo-China, Siam, Malaya and Burma and attacked North-Eastern India—Assam and Bengal, similarly in the war, which might develop from the existing Anglo-Russian rivalry, Soviet Russian forces would march through Iran, which is already under Soviet Russian grip, towards the Persian Gulf and Beluchistan and Sind. Another column of Soviet forces will march through Afghanistan, with a tacit consent of the rulers of this land, (as was the case of the march of Japanese forces through Siam where the Siamese presented only a token resistance) and attack the



[The diplomatic duel with Russia in the Middle East is the chief but not the only part of Britain's concern over her vital sea communications. The many factors involved include: (1) Tangier, on the Straits of Gibraltar, where Russia has gained a voice in multipower control; (2) Tripolitania, a part of Italy's colonial empire which Russia has asked as a Soviet trusteeship under the UNO; (3) Yugoslavia, an avenue of Russian penetration to the Adriatic; (4) Greece, traditionally friendly with Britain but now a point of dispute with Russia; (5) the Dardanelles, strategic link between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean which Russia wishes to control; (6) the Russo-Turkish border, where Moscow demands for changes are linked to the Soviet interest in the Dardanelles; (7) Iran, where Russia is interested in oil and in access to the Persian Gulf; (8) Egypt, where Britain has long had military rights which Egypt wants to terminate at once; (9) Palestine, where the immigration issue has stirred the Arab nations of the Middle East; (10) Eritrea, Italian colony where Russia has asked port facilities; (11) Afghanistan, where both Britain and Russia are striving to strengthen their relations; (12) India, where political strife and the question of India's future status pose a grave problem; (13) Malaya, a vital bastion which has been stirred by revolt.]

North-Western Frontier Province and the Punjab. It is also conceivable that Soviet Russia will control the Chinese province of Sinkiang, as she does Mongolia today, before any Anglo-Russian conflict breaks out and in that case she will also send her forces towards North-West India from that direction.

There are many indications that Soviet Russia is courting the co-operation of Pan-Islamic, Pan-Arab League. There is every reason to believe that Soviet Russia, to get the support of a part of the Moslem population of North-West India, will agree to partition of India as has been advocated by Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Soviet Russia will be willing to support partition of India with a Pakistan which will later on become a Soviet puppet state as Poland or Yugo-Slavia is in Europe or Mongolia in Asia now. Afghanistan, North-Western Frontier Province, the Punjab, and Sind, separated from India and under direct or indirect control of Soviet Russia, will be the most effective base for further expansion of Soviet Russia in India without much difficulty.

If such a situation develops, and I believe there is every possibility of such a development, not immediately but after a few years, what will be the position of Nationalist India? Menon, Asad, Nehru, and others will have to make the decision now; and upon this

decision should rest the foundation of future foreign policy of Nationalist India. Will Nationalists of India defend her borders, if she be attacked by Britain's enemies or will they join with Britain's enemies and fight her? If Indian nationalists decide to defend India from an attack by Soviet Russia, then there must be an Anglo-American-Indo-Chinese alliance. They should also see to it that Pan-Islamic bloc of powers may not make a common cause with Russia against India and her allies.

III

Some Indian politicians talk about a Revolution in India now. But the thing that should receive immediate attention of far-sighted Indian statesmen is to prepare for Indian National Defence against all eventualities. This task of developing an Indian army, no less powerful than the army of Soviet Russia, officered by Indians and to be equipped with modern arms produced in Indian factories for Indian defence, the task of developing an Indian navy which will be the mistress of the Indian Ocean and a suitable airforce, must be tackled with Anglo-American co-operation. May I say to those, who are showing their great enthusiasm of freeing India by rioting, that India will not be able to defend herself from a powerful mass attack by using the weapons of

"soda-water bottles and stones" and "strikes" and "turning over trolley cars" and "cutting telegraphic communications," as has been done in recent Calcutta and Bombay riots.

Indian statesmen should take lessons from Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in matters of internal and external policies. Marshal Chiang was willing to make concessions to Chinese Communists, so that they would be able to participate in the government of united China. *He has however not made any concession regarding divided allegiance—there will be only one national government and one national army in China. There must be a united nationalist government in co-operation with leaders of Moslem Indians but there cannot be and must not be any divided India in any form or shape.* Marshal Chiang has accepted American and British support to strengthen China's military, naval and air power and to develop her economic resources. India, at the present stage of international situation cannot be raised to a status of a great power by merely shouting slogans of "bringing about Revolution" and "face the Civil War."

IV

Freedom of a United India (Akhand Bharat)—establishment of Federated Republic of the United States of India—is the goal; and there cannot be a compromise on this issue. If India is to attain her goal and she will in course of time, without fighting Britain and without allying with Britain's enemies, then Anglo-American Powers will have to make an alliance with India, on the basis of pursuing such foreign policies,

foreign policies and economic policies, which must not conflict with genuine Indian interests. *Anglo-American Powers will have to aid India as their ally and must not treat her as a vassal.*

India holds the balance of power in world politics of today and tomorrow. Soviet Russia fully realises the importance of winning over India on her side. It seems that Anglo-American statesmen as yet do not give any evidence of understanding that there is urgent necessity of treating India as their equal in the true sense of the word and as an ally, at least in the same fashion as the United States and Britain have pledged and are acting towards Nationalist China.

To be fair with the difficulties of Indian nationalist leaders, it must be recognised that even if they decide to pursue a foreign policy of Anglo-American-Chinese-Indian alliance supported by free and independent Moslem states bordering India, it cannot be put in operation unless British statesmen take the first step towards actual recognition of Indian freedom. Thus the development of the future trends of foreign policies of Nationalist India will largely depend upon British statesmanship and world vision. India, nay no part of Asia, will meekly continue to surrender to the present status of colonial possessions of European powers. This fact must be recognised and British statesmanship, if not completely bankrupt, must devise means for the solution of Indo-British conflict and promote Indo-British alliance.

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GANDHI AND A. E.

A Study in Similarity

By PROF. MANOJ KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A.

In the domain of politics and spirit, Ireland and India are strong and permanent allies. The problems of India, struggling to break the foreign rule, under the inspiring and dynamic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, are not essentially different from the political problems of Ireland. Although separated from each other by a distance of several thousand miles, these two countries have much in common in the world of mind and matter. India, therefore, has reasons to be interested in Ireland. The co-operation between these two countries is a move in the right direction and is at the same time a need of the hour.

To those who are specially interested in this aspect of mutual co-operation, the striking similarities in the writings of two outstanding representatives of the thought-movements of both these countries—Gandhi and A. E. (George William Russell)—will not come as a matter of surprise. Like Gandhiji, Russell (A. E., the pen-name by which he was called) was the leader of his generation in politics, economics, and sociology. His wrath against oppression and injustice, his tenderness for the common people, his complete selflessness, his search for moral values and finally, his unflinching upholding of the good in man against evil and oppression and base living and base thinking, are all in the manner of Gandhiji. The life of such men makes beautiful the generation with which it coincides.

The building up of a civilisation is at once the noblest and most practical of all enterprises in which human faculties are exalted to their highest and beauties and majesties are manifested in the multitude as they are never by solitary man or by disunited peoples. In the highest civilisations the individual citizen is raised above himself and made part of a greater life, which we may term as the National Being. This, let it be said, is the type of civilisation that Mahatma Gandhi wishes to create for India. Civilisations are externalisations of the soul and character of races. Gandhian civilisation is based on the indigenous culture and is in the nature of an organic growth. It would aim at democracy and not at totalitarian control. Any policy of reconstruction that is to be of real value must aim at decentralisation. The old village-communities or Gram Panchayats, autonomous so far as their internal administration was concerned, and self-sufficient in regard to the basic necessities of life, must have to be revived, if real democracy is to prevail. The foundation of the future planning will be the village unit and the "economic reconstruction" will be from the bottom upwards, and not from the top downwards.¹

Thus, according to Gandhiji, the welfare of the National Being depends upon self-sufficiency and co-

operation. "Democracy," he writes, "can only survive—in fact, it can only be born, if the 'population' which rules is composed of individuals who are each ruling his or her own life." Gandhiji's contention is that the development and unfolding of human personality is only possible in an atmosphere of freedom, as was the case in India when the village-parliaments had their sway.

It would here be interesting to observe, that the programme formulated and given effect to by A.E. in Ireland is almost similar to the programme that Gandhiji has worked out for India. Gandhiji's emphasis on indigenous culture and methods finds its exact counterpart in the writings of A. E. If Ireland is to take her place in the comity of nations, it must once again "begin its imaginative reconstruction of a civilisation by first considering that type which, in the earlier civilisations of the world, has been slave, or servile, working either on land or at industry and must construct with reference to it. These workers must be the central figures and how their material, intellectual, and spiritual needs are met must be the test of value of the social order we evolve." In other words A. E.'s conception of a civilisation like Gandhiji's, must include, nay, must begin with the life of the humblest, the life of the average man or manual worker, for if we neglect them we build in sand. The national idealism which will not go out into the fields and deal with the fortunes of the working farmers is false idealism.

A. E.'s remedy was the same as Plunkett's except that he added the confident vision of an Irish countryside restored to health in rural communes, prefigured in Ireland's ancient history. If rural labour would organise itself into a conscious economic entity to supply without the agency of 'middlemen' the needs of urban civilisation, there would be constituted a rural better half to urban civilisation, a stable and enduring element in the national life, nearer to nature and to ancestral tradition. Economic independence would generate all the amenities of life, superior amenities, and the seductiveness of great cities would cease to depopulate the countryside. There would be what had never been in history, a rural civilisation. Thus writes A. E. :

"A rural commune in co-operative community ought to have, to a large extent, the character of a nation. It should manufacture for its members all things which it profitably can manufacture for them, employing its own workmen, carpenters, bootmakers, makers and menders of farming equipment, etc. . . . It should have its councils or village parliaments, where improvements and new ventures could be discussed. It would create the atmosphere in which national genius would emerge and find opportunities for its activity.² These national councils and meetings of national federation would finally become the real parliament of the nation ; for, wherever all the economic power is centred, there also is centred all the political power."

Moreover, such associations would have great economic advantages in that "they would be self-reliant and self-contained, and would be less subject to fluctuation in their prosperity brought about³ by national disasters and commercial crisis than the present un-

organised rural communities are."⁴ There can be no doubt that the ideas of rural society that A. E. held are similar to the views of Gandhiji in India.

The fundamental basis of Gandhiji's economic thought is a "change in the standard of values." In his view, the only criterion of good planning is whether it will help to transform the society to which it is applied into a just, peaceful, moral and progressive community of non-attached men and women. Man is the measure of all things ; he is much more valuable and important than machineries and material goods. Economic values can no longer be thought apart from human and cultural values of life, for life must be viewed completely and as a whole. The only true wealth is life. His conception of Khaddar economics, which is wholly different from the ordinary, is a case in point. He says :

"Khadi spirit means fellow-feeling with every human being on earth. It means a complete renunciation of everything that is likely to harm our fellow-creatures."

. . . Khadi represents human values, mill cloth represents mere metallic value."⁵

Economics here has been made a hand-maid of ethics.

This insistence on human values is also the essence of A. E.'s rural ideal. Statesmen in Ireland who have almost treated the rural problem "purely as an economic problem, as if agriculture was business only and not a life," have been sadly mistaken. A. E. would not accept their shortsightedness. To him "the problem is not only an economic problem. It is a human one. Man does not live by cash alone, but by every gift of fellowship and brotherly feeling society offers him. The final urgings of men and women are towards humanity. Their desires are for the perfecting of their own lives and as Whitman says, where the best men and women are there the great city stands, though it is only a village."

The bed-rock of Gandhian economic thought, is as everybody knows, non-violence. Violence, according to Gandhiji, is incompatible with true democracy and freedom and has, therefore, to be eschewed. Planning is only a means, and not an end in itself, and non-violence is practised not by the cowards, but by the brave. It can not be taught to a person who fears to die.

"Violence does not mean emancipation from fear, but discovering the means of combating the cause of fear. Non-violence, on the other hand, has no cause for fear. The votary of non-violence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear. He reckons not, if he should lose his land, his wealth, his life. He who has not overcome all fear can not practise Ahimsa to perfection"⁶ India's destiny lies along "the bloodless way of peace that comes from a simple and godly life."

Like Gandhiji, A. E. also wants to fortify the national being of Ireland by non-violence and non-resistance. He discourages the use of force and coercion and pleads for the abolition of militarist

² *Harizon*, 20-9-1940.

³ *The National Being*, p. 19.

⁴ *Imagination and Reality*, p. 112.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 113.

⁶ Quoted in S. N. Agarwal's *Gandhian Plan*, p. 29.

⁷ *The National Being*, pp. 43-44.

⁸ *Harizon*, Sept. 1, 1940.

practices. To create national solidarity by war, he says, is to "attain but a temporary and unreal unity, a gain like theirs who climb into the kingdom not by the straight gate, but over the wall like a robber. . . . The predominance in the body of militarist practice will finally drive out from the soul those unfathomable spiritual elements which are the body's last source of power in conflict, and it will in the end defeat its own object, which is power."⁹ A military organisation may strengthen the national being, but if it dominates it, it will impoverish its life. Physical forces and a military organisation are but feeble substitutes for spiritual forces. "Moral forces are really more powerful than physical forces. One Christ changed the spiritual life of Europe; one Buddha affected more myriads in Asia."¹⁰

There must be an orchestration of humanity ere it can echo divine melodies. The synchronous vibration of many minds in harmony brings about almost unconsciously a psychic unity, a coalescing of the sub-conscious being of many. It is that inner unity which constitutes the national being, as finally envisaged by Gandhiji and A. E.

In the self-sufficient village-parliaments of these two thinkers there is no place for any foreign culture. The very soul of the people bubbles forth in indigenous traditions and culture. In the opinion of Gandhiji, it would be injurious to India as a whole for her most promising sons and daughters to be brought up in western culture and thus become denationalised and torn from the people. Surely, it is a self-demonstrated proposition that the youth of a nation can not keep or establish a living contact with the masses unless their knowledge is received and assimilated through a medium understood by the people. So remarks Gandhiji:

"Among the many evils of foreign rule, this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the

youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has sapped the energy of the nation; it has shortened the lives of the pupils. It has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner, therefore, educated India shakes itself free from this hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it would be for them and the people."¹¹

The sentiment in the passage quoted above is present alike in A. E. In his writings, as also in the writings of Douglas Hyde, W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory and Standish O'Gray, the submerged river of national culture rises up again and assumed the form of a shining torrent. The part played by each of them in Ireland's Literary Renaissance is something more than a passing reference. Like Gandhiji in India, A. E. also realised that the greatest evil one nation could inflict on another was to cut off from it the story of the national soul. In a passage, devoted to an evaluation of the contributions of Standish O'Gray to Ireland, A. E. states his own ideas. He writes:

" . . . The harp strings quiver for the harp player alone and he who can utter his passion through the violin is silent before an unfamiliar instrument. That is why the Irish have rarely been stirred by English literature though it is one of the great literatures of the world. . . . The strings of our being vibrate most in ecstasy when the music evokes ancestral moods or embodies emotions akin to these."¹²

The sentiments expressed here are unmistakably the sentiments of Gandhiji. Possibly, great men think alike!

9 *The National Being*, p. 133.

10 *The National Being*, p. 153.

11 *To the Students*, p. 30.

12 *Imaginations and Reveries*, p. 14.

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SRI RAMAKRISHNA AND THE WORLD DILEMMA

By A WESTERNER

His life reads like the biggest of dream-dramas—and it is a true story, and of our time. It is breath-taking. Its essentially dramatic and dynamic qualities were what caught and held me when first the *Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* fell into my hands. Day and night, I could not lay it down.

The other day, I visited a tiny room in a modest house, in a back street in Calcutta. There, some fourteen years ago, an old professor finished correcting the last proofs of his life-work. The same night, he passed away. Mahendra Nath Gupta had given a priceless treasure to the world. Of his *Gospel of Ramakrishna*, Aldous Huxley has written that it is a book unique, as far as his knowledge goes, in the history of hagiography, for "no other saint had so able and indefatigable a Boswell." The picture which this Boswell—who modestly styles himself "M"—unconsciously makes of himself, is beautiful and true, like his record of his Master. We see the quiet, insistent, persuasive and adoring Bengali College Professor, sitting, as it were,

at Ramakrishna's elbow, and using the selfsame methods that he would take to draw out the more sensitive of the boys under his control—extracting, pearl by pearl, the wisdom from this splendid Child, this stupendous Being. What an entrancing picture it makes! "M", worshipping—yet steadily eliciting, in a friendly, respectful way; never losing sight of his aim, to make this sublime teacher reveal himself; and again, after Ramakrishna had passed away, whilst ever working at his wondrous diary, encouraging, questioning, and, in his mild fashion, pushing on the grief-stricken God-mad young Apostles, in whom lay the promise of greatness in maturity—which promise was in due course fulfilled; for each one of those boys later became a spiritual giant.

What, in the final analysis, does the modern world crave in religion? Not authority, as that word is generally interpreted; not mystery; not even a code of life, nor a theory. We primarily crave for direct experience—experience, not experiment—and for state-

ments about God based on that experience, which is direct knowledge. And they must be statements which do not leave out "the other fellow." At every stage in the life of Ramakrishna we discover evidence of this direct experience, direct knowledge and all-inclusiveness, and of the vitality which flows therefrom, and these are the things that make him pre-eminently a messenger to the modern world.

It is a trite saying that by modern "progress" all boundaries have been effaced, that those who work for and think in terms of boundaries are behind the times. We have in fact attained material universalism. But, at the height of our achievement, man's creations—atomic sciences, for instance, though these are but symptomatic of the general disease—threaten to annihilate him. At the height of this age of reason and advancement, we are confronted by a Horror of our own making; and we are suffering a great spiritual darkness. From this Horror we see little hope of deliverance. The most anxious questioning that has ever tortured our hearts now makes us ask, urgently, "Is there any way out?" The noblest minds of our day have already agreed that there is no way out, except by a universal upheaval, not alone in the political sense, but brought about by the spontaneous renewal and flow of spiritual dynamism in individuals. Man, in fact, has to become superman—or rather, less-than-human has to become human—or the race is doomed.

Ramakrishna was an evoker, a fashioner, of the superman. It is impossible adequately to describe Ramakrishna! He is not merely a subject for discussion. He is an experience. That is just the point where he meets the deepest craving of our modern age. To him, God was also this experience, and he continually imparted it to others. God became to him, successively, agony (in the years of searching), intoxication (in the ever-renewed shock of finding), bliss supreme (in the realisation of the All, which became with him, a daily, hourly occurrence). When he was dying, his words about that stupendous Cosmic life of his remind us of the Son of Man, Who hath not where to lay His head. "Alas! To whom shall I say—all this?" said Ramakrishna, "Who will understand me?" To which a disciple answered, "We pray that you may not go away and leave us behind." Sri Ramakrishna smiled: "A band of minstrels suddenly appears, dances and sings, and it departs in the same sudden manner. They come and they return, but none recognises them."

Many will say, "What is the practical application of all this to our immediate problems? Isn't it all rather mad?" "Mad! That's the thing," answers Ramakrishna. X—once said to me that one loses one's head by thinking too much of God. "What," said I, "can anyone ever become unconscious by thinking of consciousness? Through His consciousness one becomes conscious of everything; through His intelligence, the whole world appears intelligent." And Ramakrishna was not just weaving words. Bernard Shaw makes Joan of Arc (another enigma, unless we are prepared to scrap much of our thinking) exclaim, "We want a few mad people now. See where the sane ones have landed us!"

Writing of Ramakrishna's power of knowing, Romain Rolland hailed him as that "illiterate genius who knew all the pages of the Book of Life by heart." Rolland studied him deeply—even more deeply, I am told, after he had published his brilliant and sincere book on him, and came to the conclusion that "it is because Ramakrishna, more fully than any other man,

not only conceived but realised in himself the total unity of the river of God, open to all rivers and all streams, that I have given him my love; and I have drawn a little of his sacred water to slake the great thirst of the world." Agan: "With his victorious sign he marks a new era . . . the man . . . was the consummation of two thousand years of the spiritual life of three hundred millions of people" . . . and his inner life "embraced the whole multiplicity of men and Gods." That inner life of Ramakrishna's had become after his battle to the death for realisation "part of the very source of Energy, the divine Shakti (God as the Mother of the universe) of whom Vidyapati, the old poet of Mithila, and Ramprasad of Bengal sing . . . By listening to the message of his heart, he found his way to the inner Sea. And there he was wedded to it, thus bearing out the words of the Upanishads: 'I am more ancient than the radiant Gods, I am the first-born of the Being, I am the Artery of Immortality.'" It was Rolland's desire "to bring the sound of the beating of that artery to the ears of fever-stricken Europe, which has murdered sleep." (But now, I think Rolland would say, instead of Europe, the world.)

If Ramakrishna was without book-learning, yet the keenest minds of his day found in him an intellectual giant. As one attempts to study him, one realises that one is not even dealing with a superman, but with something which embodies all that we dream of (and more, beyond dreams) as "attainment." These are strong words, but they are not strong enough, for nobody has yet found words with which to present a satisfying picture of Ramakrishna. Lest he should belittle or misinterpret him, even Vivekananda, his mighty disciple, did not attempt his biography.

Enthroned in that slight, child-soft body which was Ramakrishna's when Bengal and Calcutta saw his advent (he was a Bengali village Brahmin) was something which can only be called the Key to Life itself. One is reminded of the words of Christ, who appeared to him, as did also the Prophet of Islam, in the temple garden of Dakshineswar (for did not Jesus also love gardens, and gardeners of men?): "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

Apart from the dire sufferings of vast populations here in India and elsewhere, which are directly attributable to political and other immediate causes, our civilisation is starved of life, vitality. We are depleted by our misplaced hankerings; bemused in a crazy world of heat and dust and uncertain paths; restless in mind, darkened in heart. Such men as Ramakrishna come to open up the dynamic stream, to renew our vital Being, starved as it is by falsehood and neglect.

Now-a-days, the world is ruled by Power. It is by arousing that which in itself is the Ruler of Power—the dynamic Being—that the modern dilemma will be solved. In Vedanta, that dynamic Being is called the Atman—the Spirit of man, the Eternal Witness. Someone has cleverly put it, "We shall conquer the atomic with the Atomic bomb!"

There are countless instances of Sri Ramakrishna's evocation of this dynamic Being—the human Spirit. He always taught that to be is important; to wrangle, and to apply violence in anything but the battle for the Spirit—a sad waste of life. He could argue, and split hairs most humorously with the cleverest, but with him this was always mere fun; he preferred the other method. Once, for instance, when he heard two disciples

hotly arguing about religion, he arose and gently approached them, singing in his beautiful melodious voice. He went up to Naren, one of the hot-headed youngsters, and touched the lad's chest. Naren became, in that moment, conscious and aware of his own divine Being—the super-self, the Atman. By Ramakrishna's mere touch, he was instantly transported or changed into that something for which we all yearn in varying degrees. Naren, on the instant, experienced that pervading cosmic Being. He went home to his mother. For a month, he lived "beside" himself—the witness of, and not the bound participator in, all his acts. That cosmic perception and realising were so strong upon him that his mind even coalesced with the common objects of life—he could feel no "difference" between himself and them. Yet he was not a Saint Francis of Assisi, who went through such experiences, but—at that time—just a brilliant, sceptical, self-opinionated College student. This episode is typical of Ramakrishna's way of dealing, not only with the Vivekananda-to-be, but with many others of lesser calibre.

He was immensely versatile. After he had reached his goal, God-consciousness, he evinced a command of himself which—whether we examine it from the viewpoint of the neurologist or of the psychologist—baffles explanation. He would descend from the sublimest heights of contemplation, to deal, very practically, with the most trivial affairs. He would delight his friends with songs and witticisms, and with his deliciously

comic, shrewd—but never unkind—comments on people and events, passing in a trice from such things to empty-rear communings, the sanctity of which, made palpable by his overwhelming presence, carried away all those who came near. He seemed to be inside every problem. He touched all who came to him upon the chord of their own being; to many, he opened the floodgates of Immortality. As one sees how that stream has descended upon his spiritual children, one feels that he was indeed of that Company of Saviours Who—as the Bhagavad Gita tells—when evil threatens to engulf humanity, come forth "for the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked, and for the establishment of Dharma (righteousness)." If it be true, as Christ said, that "by their fruits ye shall know them" then Ramakrishna is indeed of that blessed Band; for the men who wear his livery to-day are truly children of light. Of their noble, self-immolating labours for humanity in the Ramakrishna Mission, and in the less-known but not less potent Ramakrishna Maths and Ashrams, these lines of the Christian hymn might have been penned :

"To give, and give, and give again
What God has given thee;
To spend thyself, nor count the cost;
To serve right gloriously
The God Who made all worlds that are
And all that are to be."

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WAR, PRE-WAR AND POST-WAR

By Prof. PRIYADARANJAN RAY,

University College of Science, Calcutta

THE air is now thick and the ether agitated with talks of post-war planning both for the regeneration of the world at large as also for the individual countries. Different classes of people are now busy on this task with numerous committees set up for the purpose, and many are the paper schemes issued and placed before the public. These planners for the future may be divided mainly into five groups: viz., (a) the idealists and moralists including the leaders of religion, (b) the statesmen and politicians of the leading countries of the world, (c) the industrialists and capitalists, (d) political parties of distinct ideological labels, and lastly (e) the scientists.

Before dealing with the guiding principles, which inspire each of these groups, and discussing their relative values it will not be out of place to try answering some common sense queries. We cannot talk of any future which is not related to the present and the past. For all future is shaped by the present as the present was by the past. We should, therefore, have a dispassionate and clear conception of the present world condition as well as that of the war-time and pre-war-time period as its forerunner, before we can venture to make any suggestion for the future.

The war has ended. But the conditions of the world have grown all the more chaotic in all spheres of human activity—moral, social, economic and political—with little prospect of realisation of the four freedoms

so loudly proclaimed by the war-leaders. Like a great earthquake war has left only wrecks and ruins all around with a violent disturbance in the foundation of world equilibrium that will take years to subside. We have heard too much about the purpose of the war which has taken such a heavy toll of human lives, spilling oceans of blood irrespective of combatants, non-combatants, sex, age and health, besides causing material destruction and moral degradation on an unprecedented and colossal scale. To this one should also add the devastation and death caused by famine, scarcity and diseases stalking unhindered on many lands as an accompaniment or concomitant evils of war. Countless products of accumulated human energy and intellect have been crushed into dust or burnt into smoke without the slightest compunction, nay, with supercilious exultation. The war has obviously brought advantages to none, and both the victor and the vanquished now share more or less equally the enormous burden of loss, destruction and economic dislocation. All readymade formula or recipes for the remedy of world's ills in the form of oceanic charter or the scheme of co-prosperity sphere have vanished into thin air and all tall talks relating to a glorious picture of peace and heaven on earth with freedom from want, fear, exploitation and slavery, assured for all the people of all the nations, great and small, have been silenced by the clamour for power and clatter of newer armaments. For

a common man things have not improved in the least despite the United Nation's charter born at San Francisco after a long and prodigious labour in which the delegates of several nations and mandated nations with their big protectors participated with great display. This new baby for ensuring human right and human safety, as it is said, is born already with teeth in the form of its adjunct Security Council, in which it is provided that the big five powerfully armed like tigers to the teeth will look after the welfare of the lamblike harmless smaller nations. They are agreed to keep the peace of the world by brandishing their armed might. The arrangement might be perfect or imperfect, or even the only possible one under the present circumstances, but it has failed to appeal to the common mind. The people at large groaning under the dreadful effect and after-effect of an all-devastating war have shown little enthusiasm over it. For, one cannot entertain a great faith in the efficiency of an arrangement in which those who alone have the power to wage a large-scale global war are placed in charge of preventing wars. The mutual relation between the three great victorious powers with their feverish activity for security and strategic positions, security against whom nobody knows unless it be against one another, with their programme for conscription even after the war, and with their insane craze for progressively improved armament of devastatingly destructive power, based on the closely guarded secret of atomic energy offers little prospect for freedom from fear to the common man. These are the visible omens on the political horizon of the world, which can seldom inspire the common man with much hope and confidence for a better and peaceful future. With the disappearance of its rivals, Nazism and Fascism—Imperialism has grown stronger and has revealed itself in the hydra-headed capitalistic, democratic and volshievik forms. The events in Europe and Asia, particularly in Iran, Indonesia and Indo-China, cannot but lead to this irresistible conclusion. This spectacle of alternate urge to build and then to destroy what has been built, among the nations of the world, appears to the common man as frenzied 'whims of a doomed civilization. The war has more or less completely suppressed the man in his being and has pampered the animal or brute in him. The nauseating spectacle of mutual hatred and strifes among different parties and sections followed by murders and speedy sentences of death passed by party courts in many so-called liberated countries of Europe and Asia bears an ample testimony to this. Even prolonged scarcity, starvation and untold suffering have failed to unite them to work for a common cause and common welfare. Man has forgotten to recognise his own image in his fellowmen. Selfishness and untruth are reigning supreme everywhere. In a word, the war has brutalised the world. It is the vilest crime that can be committed against humanity.

The question now arises how to prevent war and what is the remedy for the evils of war. For this, we should first analyse the causes that lead to war between nations. As one of the eminent thinkers of the present age has said, "All roads to a better state of human society leading to peace, prosperity and freedom are blocked by war, threats of war and preparation for war." Though the principal causes of war are pretty well-known still it might be worthwhile to summarise them here for the purpose of our discussion. People generally regard that war results from the conflict of national interests; but it has been shown by many

renowned thinkers that this idea is rather erroneous and that war is not caused by the conflict of real national interest but what *appears* to be the national interest. Real causes of war are human will and human feeling; human beliefs, convictions and sentiments; human prejudices, passions and follies. These, when uncontrolled by the corrective influence of reason and judgment, lead to international conflicts on a wide scale in the form of war. In other words, the causes of war are more psychological than economic and political. A short discussion will make it clear.

In ancient days wars were waged for personal glory and desire for conquest; and the conquerors were hailed, admired and worshipped as heroes. Greed for wealth also supplied an additional stimulus. The names of Alexander the Great, Louis XIV and Napoleon at once occur to our mind in this connection.

Wars have also been made for the furtherance of religious creed. Wars for the spread of Mohammedan religion, conquest of Jerusalem (the Crusade) and the long series of religious wars in mediaeval Europe are illustrations on the point. But with the gradual rationalisation of human mind in Europe, due to the development of science, religious prejudices and fanaticism were brought under the discipline and control of human reason with the elimination of many savage practices like the burning of heretics, polygamy, slavery, duels, etc. In modern civilized countries people regard religion more as an individual and personal function than as an 'institutional, corporate and tribal product,' or as an embodiment of conventional and denominational observances made for them in fixed forms by others. Scientific education has succeeded in Europe and America to eradicate the evils of such second-hand or pseudo-religious life which is so pregnant with the 'spirit of politics and lust of dogmatic rule.' It is, however, a cruel irony of fate that at the present time in India, a country which was the cradle of some great religions of the world, produced some of the world's highest philosophy and was noted for its tolerance of religious faiths, all the barbarities and savagery of sectarian religious life of mediaeval Europe are dominating the mind of her masses and blackening the pages of her history. What is mostly needed as a remedy is the rationalisation and humanisation of Indian masses by the wide-spread diffusion of scientific education, so that designing persons will no longer be able to consolidate their power of exploitation and domination by misleading the public mind and fomenting fanatic religious sentiment.

As mentioned earlier, modern wars are generally attributed to the conflicts of national interests and to the necessity of national defences. But many competent authorities have demonstrated that in these days of scientific and industrial civilization with its highly complicated system of international credit, exchange, trade and business, wars and conquest can seldom add to the real national prosperity. A small section connected with war-industries and war-work, however, undoubtedly make unusually large profit during wartime, but when balanced against the enormous destruction of valuable young lives and national wealth involved in a modern war, as is apparent from the astronomical figures budgeted annually for war-expenses in the belligerent countries, this pales into insignificance. Widespread suffering, scarcity, starvation, disease and death, amidst plenty enjoyed by a few, are, therefore, the natural accompaniment and outcome of

war. The harrowing scenes of recent famine in Bengal, which appeared as a nightmare almost strangulating our very existence, coupled with its after-effects of disease and pestilence, offer a vivid illustration at hand. But the popular belief is that wars are fought for the protection of national interests, and that the armaments are multiplied and the territories of strategic military importance are annexed for the purpose of national self-defence. Every nation acting on these ideas naturally becomes suspicious of the others and this lands them ultimately into an explosive war. That such ideas are more or less fallacious has already been referred to. Acquisition of colonies and dependencies inhabited by industrially backward people can, however, provide a temporary advancement in national wealth to the possessor nation because of exploitation and industrial investment by the latter. But with the growth of national consciousness in the countries so occupied a spirit of rebellion and hatred against the ruling nation gradually gathers its force; this together with the envy of other powers not in such possession of colonies constitute a potential cause of war. The temporary gain by the possessor country, even if it continues for a generation or more, is more than offset by the devastation and destruction of wealth which accompanies the inevitable war. Several generations of hard work might not be enough to recoup the enormous loss of wealth and to remove the unemployment caused by a modern global war. The main cause of war in the modern age can thus be attributed to that psychological or sentimental attitude of human mind which expresses itself in the form of political or patriotic nationalism, a sentiment akin to religious fanaticism which once destroyed the peace and happiness of mediaeval Europe. This sentiment of patriotic nationalism may appear either as an idolatrous worship of a king or a dictator, or as an aggressive demonstration of glorified national vanity. This immensely popular sentiment of nationalism is fed and fomented by the dictators and designing men of power in every nation. National vanity and national pride belittle the achievement of others with the result that a competitive nationalism has been the order of the day. Competition between nations for supremacy is the principal cause of modern wars. Pursuit by a group of people of their own private interest in each nation, such as the manufacturers of armaments, who profit by war and preparations for war, is also not an insignificant contributing factor to this end. Powerful groups of industrialists, whose interests are promoted by economic imperialism, often represent their own interest as the interest of the nation as a whole and thus help to inflame the popular sentiment of patriotic nationalism which leads to war.

Another fruitful cause of war in modern days is the difference in social ideologies with their intolerant and fanatical dogmatism akin to religious fanaticism, national vanity or idolatrous worship of dictators. Human mind is cramped, human intelligence and reason clouded, and human vision is narrowed by such passionate sentimentalism. This breeds hatred and intolerance between the followers of different ideological creeds, which may end in class wars, civil wars, or even large-scale international conflagration with alliances of nations ranging behind one or the other brand of ideology. Such has been the antagonism between the Nazis cum Fascists cum Phalangists and Communists, or between Communists and Capitalists. The second

world war has also been described as a war between democracy and dictatorship.

A powerful predisposing cause of war is war itself. One might recall in this connection that during the first world war it was declared from the house-top that the allies were fighting to end all future wars. The armament race, and the very possession of an army, navy and strong air force are in themselves powerful stimulus for war in spite of the ostensible plea of self-defence by every nation for their ever-increasing military budget. This mad competition in elaborately armed self-defence logically and inevitably leads to war. But wars can never end war or bring permanent peace and harmony. In nine cases out of ten they are rather followed by a temporary truce with an unjust peace to be disturbed sooner or later by a fresh and more violent war of revenge. This is the history of the first world war and after-effects. At the treaty of Versailles, Germany was meted out a humiliating and inhuman peace with temporary military occupations of portions of German Reich and was charged with a burden of heavy war indemnities which she never paid. The result was the growth of a strong resentment and bitter hatred in Germany against the Allies with the consequent rise in power of Adolf Hitler. The preparation for the present global war of mass slaughter and unprecedented destruction then followed as a rule. Hitler is not an abnormal monstrous specimen of humanity, as regarded by some; but only a natural product of our modern age with its characteristic psychological make-up. Hence war, unless followed by a magnanimous peace and close co-operation between the victors and the vanquished on terms of absolute equality, is bound to be followed by one still more violent. Events of the period following the first world war, which is the pre-war period of the present global war, bear glowing testimony to this. The League of Nations failed to achieve its purpose as it was dominated more or less by the victors only and the nations began feverishly arming themselves once again in apprehension of aggression by others. This ended in the formation of rival groups of alliances like the Axis and the Allies, and all talks of peace and progress vanished into eternal vacuum with preparation for fresh war. There is thus every danger of history repeating itself this time as well, and unless there be a change in human psychology, or what is popularly known as change of heart and mind, this vicious cycle of alternate war and truce with preparation for a fresh war will continue *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseum* in this unhappy planet of ours. War will never end war unless human intellect and human mind are rationalised and humanised to a wider and truer vision of life and its interests. Peace can rest only on goodwill and trust but never on conflict of interests and mutual suspicion.

In the light of the above discussions we shall now proceed to examine the various schemes of post-war planning, enumerated in the beginning.

Man is an animal endowed with intellect and mind. His need is, therefore, two-fold, physical and mental. He craves for creature comforts as well as mental and intellectual bliss. He is thus a medley of mutually interacting physical and psychological urges. The standard of life that he strives after varies with the state and development of his mind or the nature of his psychological urges. These latter represent a complex combination of his ambition, vanity, lust for power,

wealth and fame, his convictions, sentiments and prejudices. It brings him into conflict with his fellowmen both as an individual and as a member of an organised group or nation. Our planning for the peace, happiness and higher standard of life for all men in the post-war world will, therefore, defeat its own purpose if it cannot provide means to reduce this conflict. For, as mentioned before, all human attempts to build up a better social order are frustrated by conflicts of what are believed to be national interests.

Leaders of religion, idealists and moralists think that irreligious habits of a mechanomorphic materialistic civilization with its methods of violence for the settlement of national disputes are at the root of our troubles. They, therefore, advocate a method of non-resistance or non-violent resistance for the post-war reconstruction of the world. It has, however, been argued that appeals to reason, magnanimity, sympathy and justice are no better than folly and idle dreams of sick-brained visionaries when one has to deal with human tigers and human crocodiles; non-violence or non-resistance of lambs will not protect them from the violence of wolves. But it can be contended that the comparison is fallacious; for wolves and lambs do not belong to the same species as all men do and they are not gifted with mind like men. It is also well-known that human mind, human will and human ideas can be changed and transformed by moral influences and proper education; and it is these human ideas that determine human act. In fact, application of all physical forces in human affairs involves some sort of reliance upon moral power. The officer of an army becomes absolutely powerless without the loyal obedience of the rank and file, obedience not out of any fear but from a sense of moral obligation and moral discipline. In physical force the officer is infinitely weaker than the body of men under his command. Nevertheless, as a practical proposition non-violence can seldom offer an immediate solution; for the nobility and strength of mind required for non-violent resistance in the face of strong provocation and persecution can only be possessed by very few, not even perhaps by one in ten thousands. Furthermore, non-violence on the part of the persecuted is not likely to transform the mind of the persecutor or aggressor under all circumstances. Human mind and human nature cannot be suddenly and miraculously transformed on a mass-scale. Mere religious sermons from the pulpit or mechanical acceptance of codified religious practices enjoining universal love have not been able to convert the followers of Buddha and Christ, the two greatest Princes of Peace and Love on earth, into non-violent nations eschewing war, exploitation, cruel repression and domination of others by physical force.

The leading statesmen and politicians of the world have presented us with many attractive charters of freedom for the uncharted future. Most of them advocate the organisation of a new League of Nations with an International Army or Police Force as exemplified in the Security Council of the United Nations Conference. In the first place a League of Nations to be really effective must include all the nations, small and big, on terms of absolute equality and without any distinction between the victors and the vanquished. But the application of sanction or force against any of its members is likely to lead to its dissolution as in the past. Similarly the formation of an International Army or Police Force is fraught with serious difficulties and troubles. No army will like to

fight against its own country. Besides, if this International Police misbehave, who will be there to police that police. The League can operate smoothly and successfully if only all its members agree, as was suggested by the Soviet representative in the last League, to abolish all armaments and to operate in an unarmed atmosphere, being convinced of the futility of arms as an instrument for the settlement of national disputes. For this, however, the mentality of the nations has to be changed. Leaders and statesmen cannot go against the wishes of their people. A leader must be led by public opinion, good or bad; otherwise he will cease to be a leader. Hence charters from politicians alone, so widely advertised, cannot give us peace, freedom and happiness.

We now turn to the planning by the industrialists and capitalists of every country. Their schemes are more or less limited being only concerned with their respective countries. They have not taken note of any possible change in social order after the war; and it is very difficult to reconcile capitalism with a better social order unless capitalism discards many of its characteristic features. Since the capitalists and industrialists have acquired untold wealth during war and as the war-boom is sure to be followed by a depression in peace time, they are naturally nervous and are anxious to advocate large-scale industrialisation of their country so as to create opportunities for the investment of their surplus wealth. But such competitive industrialisation, sooner or later, would lead to conflict between nations, which all want to avoid. In our own country, India, where 90 per cent of the people do not know what a full meal is and where millions annually die of starvation, diseases and pestilences, development of industries and intensive agriculture are urgently needed to ensure a human standard of living. Any industrial planning for India should be, therefore, on a sound socialistic basis, which will avoid unhealthy congestion in urban areas and neglect of the countryside where the peasants—the actual children of the Indian soil and producers of her food—live and work. The present-day social order in India is in need of a thorough overhaul and reform. Many have, therefore, suggested the state-ownership of Indian industries. This will make the State all powerful. But a powerful State and individual freedom can seldom go together. There is thus a risk of state-dictatorship, and unless the State is completely and unreservedly nationalised and democratised it may degenerate into a replica of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. Nor, such state-ownership is likely to remove the national conflicts resulting from industrial competition, tariff barrier, favoured-nation treatment, need of foreign markets, etc. But the greatest handicap to the planning for a better social order in India is India's dependency which makes the interest of the people often differ from that of the State. In any case, provision for a higher standard of living for Indian masses must constitute the principal plank for any scheme of our post-war planning. This alone can help us in solving the most formidable and vexed problem of increasing population. For, it is an established fact that the birth-rate in a country declines with the rise of its standard of living and with provision of increased opportunities for creative employments demanding intellectual skill.

Next we come to the planning by parties with different political creeds like democracy, socialism, communism, etc. Their schemes aim at a better social order but run the risk of foundering on

the submerged rocks of competitive nationalism, so fruitful of war and preparation for war. For the spirit and sentiment of patriotic nationalism are as strong in socialistic and communistic States as in any other. Nay, these different politico-social ideologies or creeds themselves often serve as contributory causes of war. Since, like the different corporate religious creeds, they are also dominated by a spirit of dogmatic rule.

Finally, we shall discuss the scheme of the scientists in which we are directly interested. A considerable section of this group of planners in most countries are strongly in favour of intensive industrialisation for national regeneration after the war. The difficulties and dangers associated with such unrestricted schemes have already been mentioned above. Science is characterised by scrupulous regard for truth; by its freedom from dogmatism, passions and prejudices; by its dislike for unreasoned and untested faiths; and by its spirit of enquiry and continuous progress. It recognises no artificial barrier between man and man, and no distinction between caste, creed or colour. Science is, therefore, rightly regarded as international. There is, therefore, every reason to expect that science would show us the right way to peace and freedom for mankind by its rationalising influence upon human mind and human ideas. A scheme of broad-based scientific education should, therefore, form the basis of all our future planning. It will help to develop a clear thinking unfettered by all extraneous influences; to liberate our reason and judgment from the bondage of all artificial and instinctive sentimentalities, and in a word to enable us to observe the facts as they are. There must be immutable laws in human affairs as those discovered by science in the physical world; and it is only by the inductive method of science and with the scientific attitude of mind that we shall be able to discover those laws controlling human affairs. Our supreme good must lie in adjusting our life in accordance with those laws. We have seen that the human sentiment of patriotic nationalism, human desire for national supremacy, and human ideas about national interest are the most powerful and potential cause of war; these constitute the greatest barrier to human progress and human freedom. A dispassionate analysis has also shown that such ideas are erroneous and fallacious; such desires and sentiments are illusive and misleading. In a stable and well-ordered society all co-operate to abide by certain agreed laws; this preserves the integrity of the society and safeguards the interest of one and all. Society would disintegrate if every individual member would try to serve his own interest at the cost of his neighbours; and the result would have been only chaos and disorder with the interest of every one in jeopardy. In the case of a body of nations we fail to grasp this simple truth and cannot agree to co-operate. In order, therefore, to rationalise and transform the human ideas, to awaken his reason, judgment and sense of moral values, and thus to substitute the competitive nationalism in human affairs by co-operative internationalism, which alone can safeguard the interest of each and all nations, education of the mass mind in every country on broad-based scientific methods is the only solution. Political freedom has no value unless based on intellectual freedom or liberty. Individuals of a free and powerful State might be no better than slaves, as it was in Germany, if they have only to accept the decrees of dictators in servile acquiescence. Planning a system of education for the intellectual liberty and

rationalisation of mass-mind in the post-war world is of fundamental importance. This should be specially borne in mind in our unfortunate country which, apart from foreign domination and exploitation, is being torn asunder by communal bitterness and communal jealousy. Unless we shake off this communal obsession and co-operate, according to some agreed moral assumptions for our mutual benefit, no plan of industrialisation, socialisation or political emancipation can have any realistic significance. We shall only continue to persist in our folly of attaching higher values to the dross than to the metal, that is, preferring the fortunes of our particular parties and the vindication of our economic doctrines or religious creeds to real political and intellectual freedom.

In this scheme of education for intellectual freedom, all interference from the State or any other outside body should be rigorously excluded; for we have seen that the education controlled or regimented by the State authorities can do immense mischief, as the controlling body will naturally try to give a shape to the mass-mind which will help perpetuation of their own power under all circumstances. What is needed is a free and unfettered development of human mind capable of clear judgment. All corporate and sectarian religious dogmas or practices should be tabooed from such a scheme; moral and ethical principles should be incorporated only on a universal basis; and teaching of science is to be made compulsory from the primary stage. Science must be taught so as to enlighten and illuminate the mass mind and not merely to dazzle it with its miracles and spectacular effect. It must supply pabulum for man's moral and spiritual uplift in addition to mere creature comforts, luxuries and material wealth resulting from its applications. The cultural and philosophical aspect of science would be as much stressed upon in its teaching as its mechanical and material side. Such a scheme for India might be brought into full working order within a period not exceeding ten years. India can not afford to wait for forty years to educate her masses as some authorities have suggested. An increase of literacy for the Indian masses at the rate of ten per cent per annum is not a very extraordinary progress and should not offer any insurmountable difficulty if we do not fritter away our resources in bricks and mortars or other non-essential paraphernalia including the elaborate measures for inspection, control and counter-control. Planners for post-war scientific and industrial researches in India should give their first consideration to a scheme of mass education on a scientific basis, if they want to see their scientific activities acceptable to, and utilized for, the masses in general and not for the vested interests alone.

Similarly, co-operation in international affairs safeguarding the interests of all nations can be a practical proposition only when the mass-mind in every country is freed from the passions and prejudices of competitive and patriotic nationalism, which is at the root of all national conflicts and all our ills in the modern world. The misappropriation and the prostitution of the results of scientific researches for organising co-operative mass-slaughter have been possible because of the exploitation by the national leaders and dictators of the passions and prejudices of human mind; or it might be otherwise stated that the leaders have been so led by the passions, follies and fallacies of the mass-mind regarding national interest. Leaders and politicians, who depend for their position and career in life upon people's votes

rapidly gathered in the heat of an election campaign, cannot ignore public passions ; on the other hand, they gain approbation and receive ovations by inflaming them. So, any scheme of better social and international order will be of little avail unless backed by public opinion and the mass-mind. The will of the people has to be transformed in the first place from the direction of competitive nationalism with national supremacy and national glory as goal to that of co-operative super-nationalism with international harmony and peace safeguarding the individual national interests and freedom as the objective. For this we require a comprehensive scheme of mass education on the most liberal and scientific basis as adumbrated above. Here lies the special work of the scientists, the need of which is most acute in India today. The rationalisation of the mass mind of India is no less important than its industrialisation for India's regeneration and India's freedom—political, intellectual and moral.

The materialisation of such a scheme of education and industrialisation in India within a period of ten to fifteen years will not present any difficulty which could not be overcome by the willing, intelligent and enthusiastic co-operation of the people under the guidance of selfless and devoted leaders at the helm of a truly national government. A national government alone can guard against the risk of all these post-war planning schemes degenerating into planning for posts, as well as counteract the formation of a body of highly paid bureaucrats running a show for their own interest and glory cut off from all contact with the people at large. In fact, some of the plans for industrial and scientific researches in the country, which are already before us, give grounds for such suspicions ; as salaries for officers advocated in these plans may suit a highly industrialised and rich country like England with an average income of Rs. 6 per head per day as against pice six prevailing in India. This may at most raise the standard of living for a few who are already fortunate but will not touch that of the many whom we profess to serve. It is feeling sympathy and spirit of service alone which can make for efficiency and success ; whereas high salaries in an atmosphere of scarcity, suffering

and starvation become a potent cause of demoralisation at the top besides corruption and discontent at the bottom. Such schemes for scientific researches closely resemble those for industrial regeneration on a capitalistic basis and are, therefore, liable to imbibe all the evils of the latter. We should adopt the standard of salaries prevailing in countries like Japan and Russia in this regard, if we really mean business and service.

Before closing this article, a few words about the constitution of a national government may not be out of place here. By national government I do not necessarily mean a mere representative government with members of its executive drawn from all communities and sects. Such a body may not often pull together harmoniously for a common cause if they cannot see beyond their own narrow sectarian or communal interests. There lies the danger of their quarreling over the dross while allowing the metal to slip away from their grasp. The success or otherwise of a national government will depend upon the selection of its personnel. What is needed for India today is a government composed entirely of Indians of proved ability and impeccable character, men who are not lured by position, power or pelf, whose visions have not been clouded and narrowed by communal sentiments and prejudices, whose minds are not obsessed with any fixed ideological creed and its code, but who are inspired only with the spirit of service and sacrifice. There is no dearth of such men in India today with a long record of service and sacrifice for the country behind them. Such men alone, irrespective of their party or communal affiliation, if allowed to run the Government will be able to do real good to the country and lead it on from its present fallen condition to the path of peace, prosperity and progress. Such a government may appear outwardly as an autocratic one. But India in its present condition is in need of such a benevolent autocracy. For, to build a democratic or a socialistic State some amount of culture, tolerance, mutual consideration and accommodation is necessary, which is unfortunately lacking today in modern India in spite of its past glory. The breakdown of the recent Simla Conference serves as a pointer to this direction.

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HISTORY OF BENGAL'S SHIFTING BOUNDARY AND POPULATION

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

BENGAL has a chequered history of its boundary shifting and changing from ancient times. The earliest boundary of Bengal so far fixed has been given by Prof. H. C. Ray Choudhury in the *History of Bengal*.¹ He says that from the fourth century A.D. onwards, the epigraphic records assignable to distinct chronological periods enable us to trace with a good deal of precision the chief political and geographical divisions and administrative units of Bengal. But although the units are known, the exact boundaries of some of them have not yet been defined with certainty. The difficulty is increased by the fact that even wellknown divisions like Gaur, Vanga and Rarh varied in size in different ages and periods. The more important divisions were, Gaur, Vanga, Samatata, Harikela, Chandradvipa, Vangala, Pundra and Varendri,

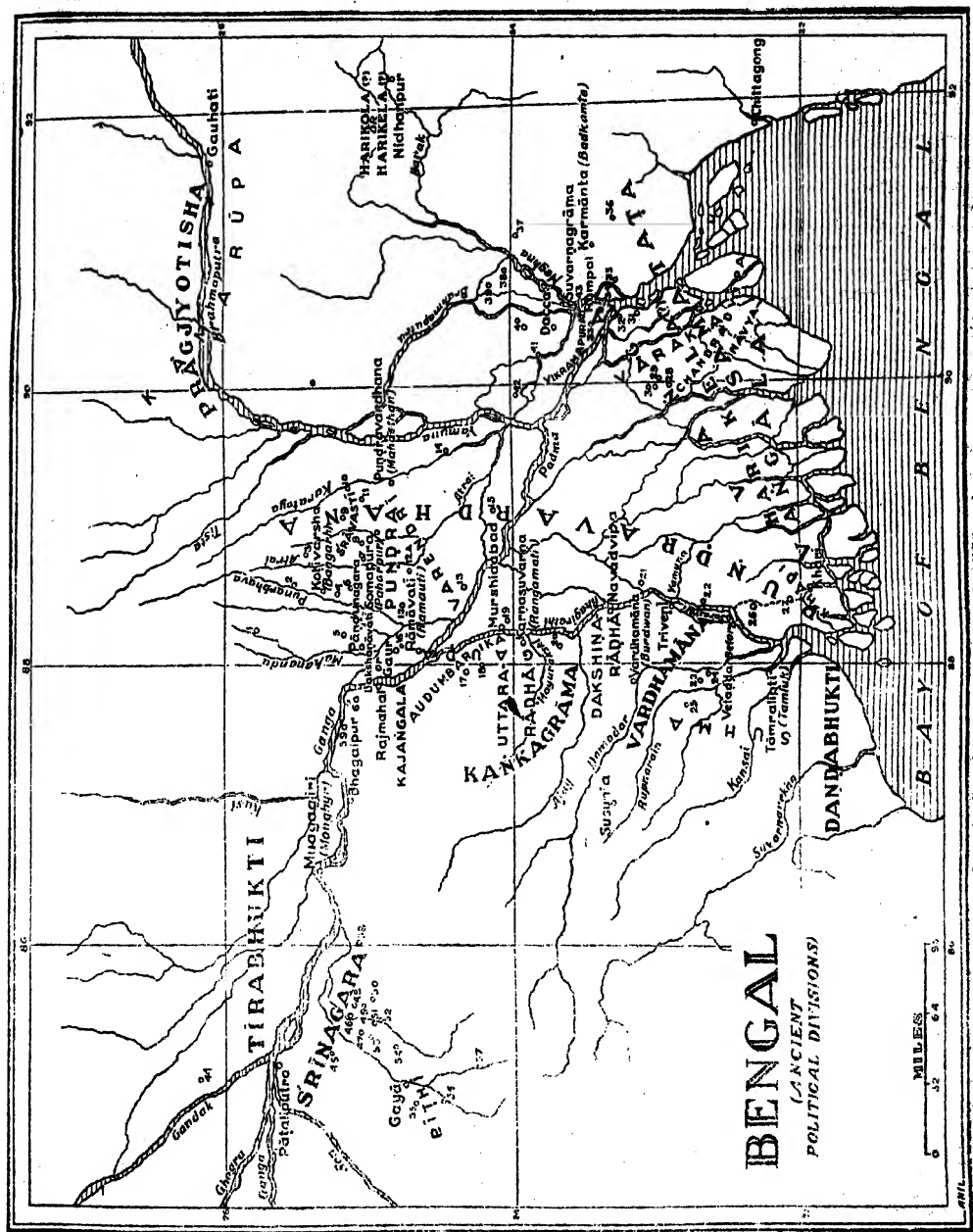
Rarh and Tamralipta. The *bhuktis* or divisions of Bengal proper were split up for administrative purposes into *vishayas* or *sub-divisions*.²

Inscriptions of the Gupta age disclose the existence of the two well-known *bhuktis*, Pundravardhana and Vardhamana, and an unnamed *bhukti* which included Suvarnavithi and Navyavakasika. The first two of these, along with the following five are known from the Pala and Sena records to have formed part of the Bengal Empire :

1. Tira-bhukti.
2. Srinagara-bhukti.
3. Kankagrama-bhukti.
4. Danda-bhukti.
5. Pragjyotisha-bhukti.

¹ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Ed. by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, p. 12 et. seq.

² *Ibid*, p. 24 et seq.



Of these *Tira-bhukti* (Tirhut in North Bihar), *Srinagara-bhukti* or *Magadha-bhukti* (in South Bihar) and *Pragjyotisha-bhukti* (in Assam) lay beyond the limits of Bengal proper. In the time of Lakshmana Sena, the northern part of *Vardhamana-bhukti*, together perhaps with some adjacent tracts, was constituted into a separate administrative division called *Kankagrama-bhukti*.³

The map giving the ancient divisions of Bengal, reproduced from the *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, shows that a large part of present-day Eastern Bihar was included within the boundary of Bengal proper. *Vardhamana-bhukti* embraced the valley of the Damodar river and at times it stretched from the river Mor in the north to the river *Suvarnarekha* in the south.⁴ The copper-plate grants of the reign of *Sasanka* discovered in Midnapore proves that a large portion of modern Orissa also formed part of Bengal proper. The fact that the eastern districts of modern Bihar together with the north-eastern districts of modern Orissa formed part of Bengal proper can now be traced as far back as the Gupta period in the fourth century A.D.

BOUNDARY OF BENGAL AT THE TIME OF MUSLIM INVASION

At the time of the invasion of Bengal by *Bakhtiyar Khalji* in 1198 A.D., Bengal consisted of five divisions:⁵

- (1) *Rarh*, the tract south of the Ganges.
- (2) *Bagdi*, the deltaic tract of the Ganges.
- (3) *Vanga*, the tract to the east and beyond the delta.
- (4) *Varendri*, the tract to the north of the *Padma* and between *Mahananda* and *Karutoya* rivers.
- (5) *Mithila*, the country west of the *Mahananda*.

BOUNDARY OF BENGAL UNDER INDEPENDENT KINGS

The Muslim period of the history of Bengal may be divided into five parts:

- (1) The 'Initial period' or the reigns of Governors of *Lakhnauti* appointed by the Delhi sovereign, from the conquest of *Bakhtiyar Khalji*, 1198 to 1338 A.D.
- (2) The period of the independent kings, from 1338 to 1538.
- (3) The period of the kings of *Sher Shah's* family and their Afghan successors, 1538 to 1576.
- (4) The Mughal period, 1576 to 1740.
- (5) The Nawabi period, from the accession of *Alivardi* in 1740 to the transfer of Bengal to the East India Company.

Bakhtiyar Khalji did not conquer the whole of Bengal, he merely took possession of the south-eastern parts of *Mithila*, *Varendri*, the northern portions of *Rarh* and the north-western tract of *Bagdi*. This is the conquered territory which has been described by *Minhaj-i-Siraj* in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* and called the country of *Lakhnauti*. Distinct from the country of *Lakhnauti* is the country of *Banga*⁶ and in this part the descendants of the Sena kings reigned till 1260 A.D., when *Minhaj* wrote his history. *Sunnargaon* appears to have remained independent well after the first century of Muslim rule.

In Muslim historical literature, it is first mentioned in the *Tarikh-i-Barani* as the residence during *Balban's* reign, of an independent *Rai*; but under *Tughlak Shah* (1323 A.D.), *Sunnargaon* and *Satgaon*, which likewise appears for the first time, are the seats of Muslim governors, the term *Bengalah* being now applied to the united provinces of *Lakhnauti*, *Sunnargaon* and *Satgaon*. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* mentions the following places as being on the frontiers of Bengal:

Kamrup,
Jagannath (Puri),
and a few places in *Assam* and *Tibet*.

Blochmann says that *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* by *Afi*, *Tarikh-i-Barani* and the *Travels of Ibn Battuta* yield but little additional information. The meagre information supplied by the *Tabaqat-i-Nizami* and *Firishtah* throws no further light on the geography of Bengal but leaves the impression that during the reign of the independent Muslim kings (1338-1538) the extent of Bengal was the same as we find it in 1582, the year in which *Todarmall* prepared his rent roll. From a study of inscriptions, *Blochmann* mentions the following places of Bengal:

Iqlim Muazzamabad (Eastern *Mymensingh*),
Thanah Laur (North-western *Sylhet*),
Sarhat, in western *Birbhum* now in the *Santal Pargana*.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, we have the works and maps of Portuguese historians, notably the classical *Da Asia* by *Joao de Barros* (died 1570), and the graphic descriptions of *Caesar Frederick* (1570) and *Ralph Fitch* (1583-1591). The *Haft Iqlim* of *Amin Razi*, composed in 1594 is informative but *Blochmann* doubts whether he visited Bengal or merely wrote down what he had heard at *Agra*. The map of Upper India by *William and John Blaeu*, in their work *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* published from *Amsterdam* (1645-1650) is highly important and is given as *Blaev's* map. It is based upon the Dutch and Portuguese charts that existed at the time and upon the description of European travellers. As far as Bengal is concerned, it is a reprint of *De Barros's* map and represents the knowledge which European geographers had of Bengal about 1540. In point of accuracy, it is much inferior to *Van den Broucke's* map of 1660 but still it is of great interest. From the map it is obvious that early geographers made mistakes in the situation of some countries as we find in the placing of the central provinces then called *Gondawana* and mentioned in the map as *Kandwana*, to the north of Bengal. But the placing of *Orissa*, *Bengal*, *Assam* and *Burma* lead us to think that this area was intensively studied and the map in respect of these provinces is fairly nearer the truth. Natural boundary of Bengal was taken to have been bounded by the hills of *Chota Nagpur* on the west right up to the foot of the *Himalayas* on the north extending to the east through the *Garo*, *Lushai* and *Arakan* hills. Place names in the map, their directions and approximate distances confirm this view.

BOUNDARY OF BENGAL UNDER MUGHAL RULE

In *Akbar's* rent-roll, the following nineteen *Sarkars* are mentioned as composing the kingdom of Bengal proper:⁷

³ *Ibid*, pp. 23-24.

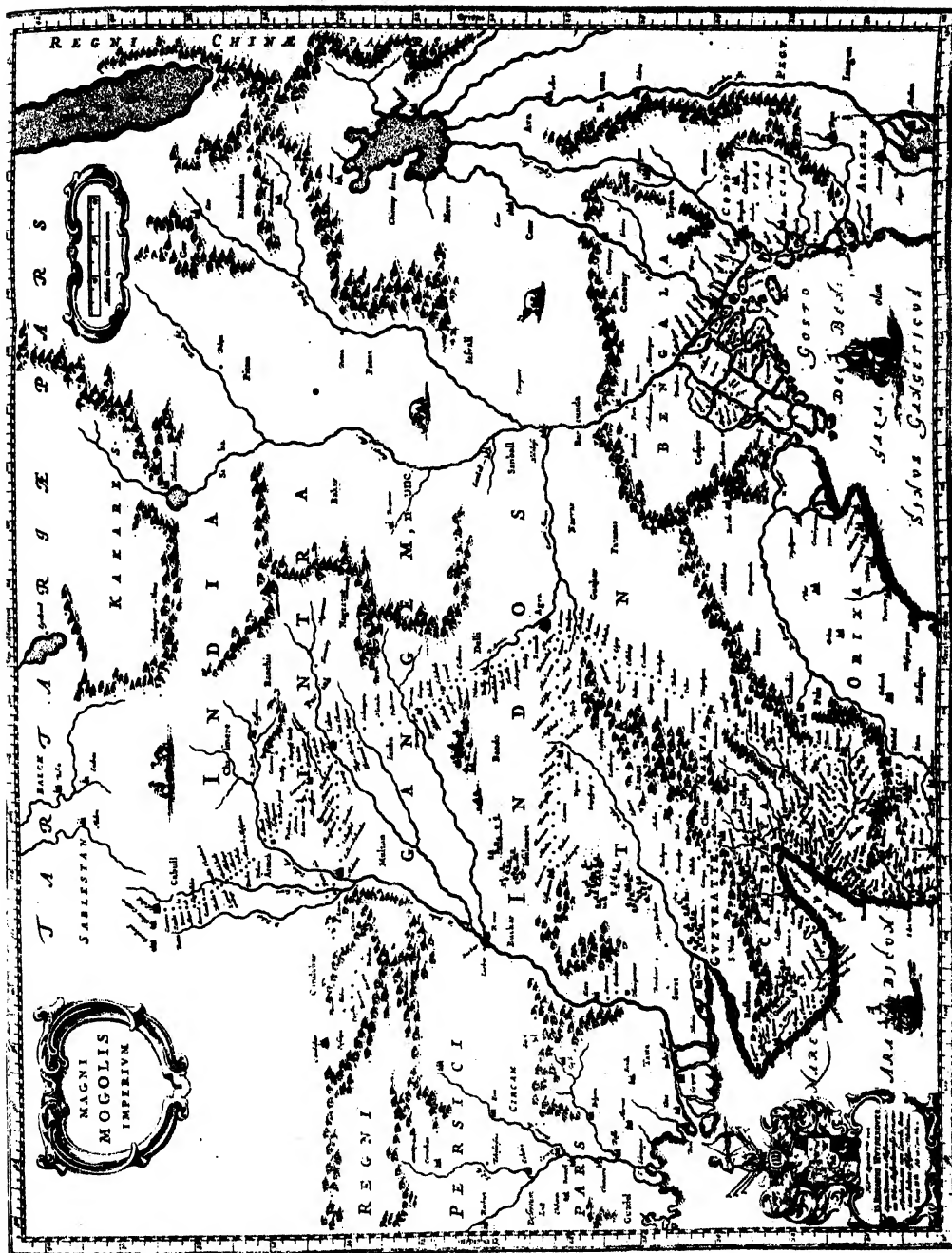
⁴ *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁵ *Blochmann*, *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 211.

⁶ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty's translation, p. 267.

⁷ *Blochmann*, *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 214.

⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 130.



Sarkars North and East of the Ganges—

1. Lakhnauti or Jennatabad, extending from Teliagarhi (near Colgong), including a few mahals now belonging to modern Bhagalpur and Purneah districts and the whole of Maldah district.
2. Purneah, comprising a great portion of modern Purneah district as far as the Mahananda.
3. Tajpur, extending over eastern Purneah, east of the Mahananda and western Dinajpur.
4. Panjrah, north-east of the town of Dinajpur, comprising a large part of Dinajpur district.
5. Ghoraghat, comprising portions of Dinajpur, Rangpur and Bogra districts.
6. Barbakabad, comprising portions of Maldah, Dinajpur and large portions of Rajshahi and Bogra.
7. Babusa, comprising portions of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Mymensingh and reaching a little beyond the town of Dacca in the south.
8. Silhat, modern Sylhet.
9. Sunargaon, extending to both sides of the Meghna and the Brahmaputra, including portions of western Tipperah, eastern Dacca, Mymensingh and Noakhali.
10. Chatgam, modern Chittagong.

Sarkars in the Delta of the Ganges—

11. Satgaon, comprising south-western Murshidabad, western Nadiya and a large portion of 24 Parganas extending to the Kabadak river and in the south of Hatiagarh below Diamond Harbour. To this Sarkar belonged the mahal Kalkattah (Calcutta).
12. Mahmudabad, comprising north-eastern Nadia, North-eastern Jessore and western Faridpur.
13. Khalifatabad, comprising southern Jessore and western Backerganje, South-eastern Jessore or Rasulpur was included in this Sarkar.
14. Fathabad, comprising a small portion of Jessore, a large part of Faridpur, northern Backerganje, a portion of Dacca district and the islands of Dakshin Shabazpur and Sandvip.
15. Bakla or Bogla, south-east of the preceding Sarkar, comprising portions of Backerganje and Dacca districts.

Sarkar South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirathi—

16. Udner or Tandah, comprising the greater part of Murshidabad district with portions of Birbhum.
17. Sharifabad, south of the preceding Sarkar, comprising remaining portions of Birbhum and a large portion of Burdwan district including the town of Burdwan.
18. Sulaimanabad, comprising a few southern parganas in the modern districts of Nadia, Burdwan and the whole north of the Hooghly district.
19. Madaran, extending in a semi-circle from Nagor in western Birbhum over Ranigunje along the Damodar to above Burdwan, and from there over Khandaghoah, Jahanabad, Chandrakona (western part of Hooghly district) to Mandalghat at the mouth of the Rupnarain river.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Orissa, consisting of five Sarkars, is included in the Subah of Bengal. Thus the Subah of Bengal is described as consisting of twenty-four Sarkars, i.e., nineteen for Bengal proper and five for Orissa.

These nineteen Sarkars made up Bengal proper in the famous rent-roll.

rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahangir. Under Shah Jahan, the boundaries of Bengal were extended on the south-west, Midnapore and Hiji having been annexed and on the east and north-east by the conquests of Tipperah and Koch Hajo. When Prince Shuja was made Governor of Bengal, he made, about 1658 A.D., a new rent-roll (which showed thirty-four Sarkars). Shuja's rent-roll remained in force till 1722, an addition having been made after the re-conquest of Chittagong and conquest of Assam during Aurangzeb's reign. In that year Murshid Quli Khan prepared his *Kamil Jama Tumari* or perfect rent-roll in which Bengal was divided into thirty-four Sarkars, forming thirteen *chaklas* and sub-divided into 1660 pargannas.

FRONTIER OF BENGAL UNDER MUSLIM KINGS

Abul Fazi estimates the breadth of Bengal from Teliagarhi to Chatgaon at four hundred Kos. From north to south the longest line was from Koch Bihar to Chittua in Sarkar Medinipur. In the north-west, the frontier of Bengal extended but little beyond the Kosi River, but under some of the early Muslim governors and independent kings, Bengal included Upper Bihar, north of the Ganges as far as the district of Saran. Ilyas Shah founded Hajipur, opposite Patna, on the Gandak. Sikandar Shah's coins have been found far-west of the Kosi. Southern Bihar formed part of Bengal till (about 1330) Muhammad Tughlak annexed it to Delhi. Since 1397, the whole of Bihar belonged to the kingdom of Jaunpur under Pathan kings. It is not clear how far these Pathan kings depended on Hussain Shah of Bengal whom inscriptions represent firmly established in Munghyr in 1497 while other inscriptions would lead us to conclude that the whole of Upper Bihar and the western portions of southern Bihar belonged to him in 1502-3.⁹ Again, we read in the Bengal history the cession of Bihar, Tirhut and Saran by Hossain Shah and their re-conquest by his son Nasrat Shah. Nasrat Shah seems to have passed beyond the Gandak. A mosque near Sikandarpur, on the right bank of the river, in the Azimgarh district, was built during his reign.

Teliagarhi, near Colgong on the Ganges, was the entrance or key pass to Bengal. In Todar Mall's rent-roll, the following Mahals are mentioned along this portion of the western frontier of Bengal—Ag Mahall (Rajmahal), Kankjol, Molesar in Sarkar Tandah; Bharkundah, Akbarshahi, Katangah in Sharifabad (Birbhum); Nagor, Sainbhum, Shergarh (Raniganje), Champanagari (north-west of the town of Burdwan), Madaran (Jahanabad and Chandrakona, west of Hooghly), Chittua (District Midnapore) and Mandalghat at the mouth of the Rupnarain, all belonging to Sarkar Madaran.

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9 Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 222.

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⁹ Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 222.

¹⁰ Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 223.

The western boundary has been drawn by Blochmann, as a line passing from Teligarhi along the Ganges to the south of Rajmahal when it again turned westward to north-western Birbhum passing along the boundary of modern Santal Parganas to the confluence of the Barakar and the Damodar, from where it went along the left bank of the Damodar to the neighbourhood of the town of Burdwan. From here the frontier took again a westerly direction and passed along the north-western and western boundaries of the modern Hooghly and Howrah districts down to Mandalghat where the Rupnarain flows into the Hooghly river. This territory excludes the whole of the Santal Parganas, from the south of Colgong to the Barakar, Pachet and the territory of the Rajahs of Bishnupur, from the boundary of Bengal under Muslim Rulers.

The Santal Parganas and the Rajahs of Bishnupur had maintained their independence for a very long-time but this should not lead us to think that Santal Parganas and Bankura were beyond the geographical limits of Bengal. The Rajahs of Bishnupur were known as Ghatwals because they guarded the frontier passes on the west of Bengal. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* records that, until 1855, the southern and western portions of the Santal Parganas belonged to Birbhum.

The following list of jungly and hilly frontier districts have been given by Blochmann¹¹:

- Birbhum.
- Sainbhum (along the left bank of the Ajai, in Birbhum district).
- Sikharbhum or Shergarh (Raniganj Mahal).
- Gopibhum (along the right bank of the Ajai).
- Ramanbhum (in northern Midnapore).
- Manbhum (in Chota Nagpur).
- Baralibhum (" ")
- Dhalbhum (" ")
- Singhbhum (" ")
- Tunbhum (in southern Purulia).
- Malbhum (the frontier of Burdwan and Midnapur districts).

Bhanjibhum (with the town of Midnapore).

The frontier line drawn by Blochmann excludes Midnapore district as well. This district had a shifting boundary. It was included within the original boundary of Bengal down to the fifteenth century A.D. Midnapore and Hijli (south-east of Midnapore and then known as a separate district) belonged to the Hindu kingdom of Orissa till 1567 when Sulaiman, King of Bengal and his General Kalapahar defeated Mukunda Deb, its last Gajpati king. Even after Afghan conquest, Midnapore and Hijli formed part of the province of Orissa. When Man Singh, Akbar's General, had finally annexed Bengal to the Delhi Empire, Midnapore and Hijli formed part of Orissa. It was for this reason that these two districts appear together in Todarmall's rent-roll as one of the five Sarkars of the province of Orissa. Subsequently, Orissa had separate Governors. Under Prince Shuja their power was gradually lessened and the portion from Mandalghat to Balasore, including Midnapore and Hijli, was separated from Orissa and finally attached to Bengal.

SOUTHERN FRONTIER

It is easier to define the southern frontier which is bounded by the Bay of Bengal. The southern frontier of

the Muslim kings was up to the northern outskirts of the Sundarban, which extended generally speaking in the same manner almost as it now does, from Hatiagarh, south of Diamond Harbour to Bagerhat in southern Jessore and to the Haringhata, i.e., along the southern mahals of Sarkar Satgon and Khalifatabad. On the south-east, Tipperah, Noakhali and Chittagong districts were contested grounds, of which the Rajahs of Tipperah and Arakan were, at least before the seventh century, oftener masters than the Muslim kings. It was only after the transfer of the capital from Rajmahal to Dacca that the south-east frontier of Bengal extended to the Feni river, which was the Imperial frontier till the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, when Chittagong was permanently conquered and annexed to subah Bangalah. Dakshin Shahazpur and Sandwip, at the mouth of the Meghna were included in Sarkar Faizhabad.

EASTERN FRONTIER

The eastern frontier of Bengal under Muslim rule extended from Sonargaon and the Meghna northward and then passed to the east including the district of Silhat (Sylhet). In Shah Jahan's reign, the line extended from Feni river instead of Meghna and passed over southern and western Tipperah. The boundary passed along the southern slopes of Jaintia, Khasi and Garo Hills to mahal Sherpur in Mymensingh district to the right bank of the Brahmaputra near Chilmari and from these along the river to mahal Bhitbarband, which formed the north-east frontier. The Sarkars that lay along the boundary were Sunnargaon, Bazuha, Silhat and Ghoraghat.

Silhat, modern Sylhet, was conquered in 1384 A.D. North-western Sylhet had the name of Laur. Laur, as mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* consisted of Partabgarh, Panchkhand, Bunyachong, Bajua, Jaintia, Haveli Silhat, Satrakhandal, Laur and Harinagar. The author of *Haft Iqim* repeatedly calls Silhat as Srihat and it explains why Sylhat has been mentioned as Sirote in Blaeu's map. Its position on the Surma has, however, been correctly shown.

NORTHERN FRONTIER

From Bhitbarband, near the bend of the Brahmaputra and in later times from Gaubati, the frontier under Muslim kings passed along the southern portions of Koch Bihar to Mahal Patgram (west of Koch Bihar) which is mentioned by Mughal historians as the frontier town in the extreme north and from there along the foot of the hills and forests of Sikkim and Nepal to the northern portions of Purneah district. The Rajahs of Northern Bengal were powerful enough to preserve their independence in spite of the numerous invasions from the time of Bakhtiyar Khalji during Muslim rule. Debkot, near Dinapore was looked upon as the most important military station towards the north. Koch Bihar was conquered by Mir Jumla but it regained its independence soon after.

BOUNDARY OF BENGAL UNDER EARLY BRITISH RULE

The extent of the Province under the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal was stated in the First Administration Report as follows¹²:

¹¹ Blochmann, *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, p. 234.

¹² Buckland, *Bengal Under Lieutenant Governors*, Vol. 1, p. 8.

	Area about
Bihar	42,000 Sq. miles
Bengal	85,500 " "
Orissa	7,900 " "
Orissa Tributary Mahals	15,500 " "
Chota Nagpur and the Tributary States on the S.-W. Frontier	62,000 " "
Assam	27,500 " "
Arracan	14,000 " "
Total area	253,000 Sq. miles

Arracan was soon transferred to the Chief Commissionership of Burma. Assam continued to form part of Bengal until the year 1874.

In 1881, Bengal included the following divisions and districts :

Divisions	Districts
Dacca	Dacca, Faridpur, Backergunje, Mymensingh.
Chittagong	Chittagong, Noakhali, Tipperah, Chittagong Hill Tracts.
Patna	Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saran, Champaran.
Bhagalpur	Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Purneah, Maldah, Santal Parganas.
Burdwan	Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhum, Midnapore, Hooghly, Howrah.
Presidency	24-Parganas, Calcutta and Suburbs, Nadia, Jessore, Khulna, Murshidabad.
Rajshahi	Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna, Darjeeling Jalpaiguri.
Orissa	Puri, Balasore, Angul, Banki.
Chota Nagpur	Hasaribagh, Lohardaga, Singhbhum, Manbhum.

In 1901, the same boundary was maintained. In the Census Report of that year, Risley and Gait described the "Natural Division of Bengal" as follows :

1. West Bengal Burdwan Division.
2. Central Bengal Presidency Division excluding Khulna.
3. North Bengal Rajshahi Division, Maldah, Cooch Bihar and Sikkim.
4. East Bengal Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, Khulna and Hill Tipperah.
5. North Bihar Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran, Saran, Bhagalpur, Purnea.
6. South Bihar Patna, Gaya, Shahabad, Monghyr.
7. Orissa Orissa Division, excluding Angul.
8. Chota Nagpur Plateau Chota Nagpur Division, Santal Parganas, Angul and the Tributary States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur.

BENGAL UNDER PARTITION

In 1905, Bengal was partitioned and a new Province called Eastern Bengal and Assam was created by the transfer of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions to Assam. Maldah was given to the new Province in lieu of Darjeeling.

Some change was effected on the western border

of Bengal, as well. Five Hindi-speaking States on the border of Chota Nagpur were transferred to the Central Province in exchange for the district of Sambalpur and five feudatory States whose vernacular was Oriya.

THE PRESENT BOUNDARY AND THE DISPUTED DISTRICTS

After the annulment of partition in 1912, the boundary of Bengal assumed its present form. The Bengali-speaking districts which formed part of her western front were cut out and transferred to newly created province of Bihar and Orissa. On April 1, 1912, Bihar with Chota Nagpur and Orissa was made into a separate province.

Singhbhum, Manbhum and Purnea have been separated from Bengal. We have earlier seen that the district of Purnea did form part of Bengal proper. During the Muslim rule, Manbhum was regarded as part of the *Jharkhand* or 'forest tract' which was the name given in *Akbarnama* to the whole region from Birbhum and Panchet to Ratanpur in the Central Provinces and from Rhotasgarh in South Bihar to the frontier of Orissa. In the *Badshahnama*, the zemindar of Panchet is shown as a commander of horse under Shah Jahan and his zemindary was subject to a fixed peshkash. The territory comprised in the present district of Manbhum was acquired by the British with the grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765. Up to 1805, the estates contained in it were attached some to Birbhum and some to Midnapore; but in that year they were formed with a few others into a separate district called the Jungle Mahals. It was created under Regulation XVIII of 1805 and consisted of fifteen Parganas or Mahals from Birbhum district, three from Burdwan and five from Midnapore (including Manbhum and Barabhum). In 1832, Ganga Narayan, a claimant to the Barabhum estate, in this district, rose in rebellion but was driven to Singhbhum where he died. As a result of this conflict, a change of administration was decided upon. Under Regulation XIII of 1833, the Jungle Mahal was broken up; the estates of Senpahari, Shergarh and B'shnupur were transferred to Burdwan, while the remainder, with the estate of Dhalbhum, detached at the same time from Midnapore, were formed into the present district of Manbhum. The district of Manbhum has been reduced to its present area by further transfers of minor importance in 1871 and 1879. When the district was first constituted, the civil station was fixed at Manbazar, but it was transferred to Purulia in 1838.

The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* says, Dhalbhum was originally part of Midnapore; when the district of Jungle Mahals was broken up it was included in the newly formed district of Manbhum. It was transferred to Singhbhum in 1846. In 1876 some forty-five outlying villages were again made over to Midnapore but an area of 1188 sq. miles have been retained in the present district of Singhbhum. Until the formation of Santal Parganas as a district in 1855, the northern half of it formed part of Bhagalpur while the southern and western portions belonged to Birbhum.

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION

Anything like a modern census of India or Bengal has not come down to us from our ancestors. Under the Hindu Administration it is found that a record of the number of households in each village and the number

and description of residents therein were carefully maintained and integrated for the whole Empire through the Revenue Department. A graphic account of the method of maintaining such records are found in Kautilya's Arthashastra, but the records themselves are apparently lost.

But during the Muslim rule, no such record seems to have been maintained. Ashraf writes :¹³

"No systematic record was ever kept by the government of the population of the kingdom. It is reported that when Sultan Mohammad Tughluk decided to give relief to the people of Delhi, he ordered the judicial functionaries to compile census registers of the various quarters of the capital city. The results of even this solitary attempt are unknown."

Moreland is of the opinion that the population of the Northern Indian plains from Multan to Monghyr must have been well over thirty millions and probably little less than forty millions, about the year 1605. His estimate for the whole of India about this time is a total population of 100 millions. In arriving at these figures, Moreland accepted as his basis of calculation, the strength of the armies and the density of cultivation. Relying on the fact that "the main lines of the Indian system of agriculture have persisted during the last three centuries and consequently the area placed under crops is a rough index to the number of the rural population", Moreland comes to the conclusion that "the western Gangetic plain was as full of people in Akbar's time as it is today (1920), and consequently was very densely populated when judged by the European standard of the sixteenth century, while on the other hand the eastern Gangetic plain as far as the confines of Bengal was not, as it now is, a congested area, but supported a population of about one-fifth of the present density."¹⁴ Bengal, north-western plains, Gujarat and southern India, specially Vijayanagar, were "thickly, or very thickly, populated when judged by contemporary European standards."¹⁵ Many of the European travellers tell the same story. M. de Faria y Sousa writes :

"The heathens say that God granted these particular prerogatives or blessings to five kingdoms—to that of Bengala, infinite number of foot : to Orixia, elephants : to Bismagar, people skilled in sword and buckler : to Delhi, abundance of towns and to Cou, innumerable horses."¹⁶

Barbosa estimated the population of 'Gouro' (Gaur) the principal city of Bengal, at 200,000.¹⁷ Considering the fact that Bengal did not live in towns, the population of Gaur can be taken as a good index of the thickness of population of the province.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, some systematic attempts seem to have been made for ascertaining the population of Bengal. An inquiry was instituted in 1789 and conducted chiefly by calling upon the collectors of districts for their opinions on the population of their respective jurisdictions, furnished

grounds for estimating 22 millions in Bengal and Bihar. Colebrooke estimated 25 millions about 1790.¹⁸ Sir William Jones arrived at a figure of 24 millions for Bengal and Bihar.¹⁹ Colebrooke's calculation included Bengal, Bihar and Benares, and Jones' calculation included Bengal, Bihar, Orissa with Ghasipur, Benares, Jaunpur and part of Mirzapore. In 1814, the result of two investigations, one by Bayley and the other by Buchanan, revealed a population of 30 millions. Francis Buchanan had arrived at his results by ascertaining the number of ploughs and taking five persons as dependant on one plough. Adam, writing on vernacular education in 1835, placed the population at 35 millions on the basis of some very imperfect official returns called for by Lord Wellesley in 1801. Thornton's Gazetteer of 1858 gives an estimate of 40 millions for the British territory of Bengal without the native states and Darjeeling and the Dooars. 42.5 millions was the figure officially accepted up to 1872. The Census of 1872 came as a surprise, it disclosed a population of over 62 millions or about 24 millions more than the population of the United States as it then stood.

GROWTH OF MUSLIM POPULATION

Arrival of the Muslims in Bengal can be definitely traced back to 1198 A.D., the invasion of Bakhtiyar Khalji. The exact number of the army he brought is not definitely known, but we know this much that after his conquest of Lakhnawati, he got an army ready which contained 10,000 horse, and invaded Tibet. This expedition was a disastrous failure. Bakhtiyar Khalji succeeded in escaping with only one hundred troopers. From excessive humiliation he fell ill and at length died. How many of these troopers and infantry were Muslims who came with Bakhtiyar Khalji and how many of them were people of Bengal recruited here, are not known.

Instances of forcible conversion into Islam recorded in a contemporary history of Bengal, the *Riadus Salatin*, are only two. Peculiarly enough, in both the cases, the conversions were made by Hindus converted into Islam. One of them was Sultan Jalaluddin, son of Raja Ganesh and the other Murshid Quli Khan, who was a Brahmin by birth. Although records of conversion were not made by Muslim chroniclers, there is little doubt that extensive conversions were taking place. In the *Riadus Salatin*, Raja Ganesh, whose rule lasted only seven years, (1407-1414 A.D.), has been described as an infidel who "attempted to destroy and extirpate Mahomedans."

BASIC RACIAL UNITY OF HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

Definite accounts of the Muslim population of Bengal are found only since the mutiny. Writing about this time, Nolan gives the following description of Indian Mussalmans :²⁰

The Mahomedans of India differ very much from their brethren in Western and Northern Asia, as well as from those in Europe and Africa. Everywhere else, except so far as sectarian differences divide, the features of Mahomedan faith and character possess a clear identity; in India they are so modified by caste, and by the heathenism which holds so

13 J A S B L, Vol. I, No. 2, 1935, p. 336.

14 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 21.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

16 M. de Faria y Sousa, *The Portuguese Asia*, Stevenson's translation, Vol. I, p. 415.

17 Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Mackay's Society, Vol. II, p. 246 (Appendix).

18 Colebrooke, *Handbook of Bengal*, p. 9.

19 Jones, *Al Siyafiah*, preface.

20 E. H. Nolan, *History of the British Empire in India and the East*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57.

tenaciously its position, that Indo-Muhammadanism has a distinctive character. The various inroads of the prophet's followers were followed by extensive efforts at proselytism; force, guile and gold, were all freely used to bring over the heathen to Islam; and all were so far successful that multitudes joined, bearing into their new circle of religious fellowship the love, and, as far as possible, the practice of their old superstitions. The result has been that while the Mohammedan and heathen populations hate one another, and the monotheism of the followers of the prophet is rigid and uncompromising, they yet adopt castes and customs that are Brahminical, and which give to the social life of the Indo-Muhammadans peculiarities of character very dissimilar from those of their fellow disciples elsewhere. . . . Whatever their general character the Mohammedans of India have lost, they retain the fierce intolerance which they everywhere else exhibit, and the desire to attain power as a religious duty, by means no matter how repulsive and sanguinary. Tyrants everywhere, they are in India as despotic as the genius of their creed might be supposed to make them, and their history on every stage exhibits them.

This special characteristics of the Indo-Muslims, with reference to this province, have been observed and recorded in the Census Reports of Bengal since 1872 down to the Report of 1931. In his Report for 1872, Beverley stated that the Bengali Muslims, except a very few, were racially of Hindu origin and mostly converts from the depressed classes.

The basic unity of the social relations of Bengali Hindus and Muslims has been described by A. E. Porter in his Census Report for Bengal, 1931. He has cited them as instances of tolerance of Hindu practices by the Muslim, but the real ethnic reason will be clear with reference to the statements made by Nolan and Beverley mentioned above. Porter says: "22

Muslims used to take part in the famous Janmastami procession at Dacca and even at the present time instances are reported in other parts of the province of specific Hindu practices followed by the Muslims. The use of combined Hindu and Muslim names is not unusual in more than one part of Bengal. In Jessore it is reported that the Muslims revere the *Tulsi* plant and *bel* tree and observes the festivals of Jamai Sasthi and Bhratriditiya. In Bogra in some areas the Muslims observe the Hindu period of ceremonial uncleanness (*asauch*) on the death of parents and at its conclusion shave the head and beard, the women wear the vermilion mark of Hindu wives and the worship of Durga is frequent. It is even reported that there the *navanna* ceremony is universal and that Muslims from great distances travel to the shrine of Gopinath at Gopinathpur to offer fruit and milk and to bathe in a well for the cure of their ailments, while at Mahasthan, Muslims as well as Hindus mark their iron safes with vermilion on the Dasara day and perform the Satyapir *puja* with offerings of *sinni*. In Jalpaiguri Muslims propitiate the goddess Buri by flinging offerings of rice or fruits (*naivedya*) into the stream. The Buri *puja* is also observed by Muslims in Rangpur particularly during a spell of continuous misfortune or on undertaking any litigation. In Pabna, Manasa or

Bisahari is often worshipped by them and they contribute towards the Kali *puja* particularly in time of epidemics whilst the worship of Sitala, the goddess of small-pox, is almost universal and professing specialists of the disease, calling themselves *Kaviraj*, though Muslim, will admit to taking fees for the express purpose of propitiating the goddess.

THE PROBLEM OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

The most peculiar feature of depressed classes in Bengal is its existence in both the communities, Hindus and Muslims alike. In the Census Report of 1901, Risley says:

"Just as in the traditional Hindu system men of the higher groups could marry women of the lower while the converse process was vigorously condemned, so within the higher ranks of the Muhammadan, a Saiad will marry a Shekh's daughter but will not give his daughter in return, and inter-marriage between the upper circle of *soi-disant* foreigners and the main body of Indian Muhammadans is generally reprobated, except in parts of the country where the aristocratic element is small and must arrange its marriages as best it can. Even there, however, it is only under the stress of great poverty that a member of the *Ashraf* or 'noble' class will give his daughter to one of the *Ajlaf* or 'low people' as converts of indigenous origin are called in Bengal. . . . Speaking generally it may be said that the social cadre of the higher ranks of Muhammadans is based on hypergamy with a tendency in the direction of endogamy, while the lower functional groups are strictly endogamous, are organised on the model of regular castes with councils and officers which enforce the observance of caste rules by the time-honoured sanction of boycotting."²³

According to Gait,²⁴ the Bengal Muhammadans recognise two main social divisions, (1) *Ashraf* or *Sharif* and (2) *Ajlaf* which in Bengali has been corrupted into *Altrap*. The first, which means 'noble' includes all undoubted descendants of foreigners and converts from the higher castes of Hindus. All other Muhammadans, including the functional groups and all converts of lower rank, are collectively known by the contemptuous term *Ajlaf*, 'wretches' or 'mean people.' This category includes the various classes of converts who are known as *Nao Muslim* in Bihar and *Nasya* in North Bengal, but who in East Bengal, where their numbers are greatest, have usually succeeded in establishing their claim to be called *Sheikh*. . . Like the higher Hindu castes, the *Ashraf* consider it degrading to accept menial service or to handle the plough. The traditional occupation of the *Saiads* is the priesthood.

In some places, a third class, called *Arzal* or 'lowest of all' is added. It consists of the very lowest castes, such as *Halalkhor*, *Lalbeghi*, *Abdal*, and *Bediya*, with whom no other Muhammadan would associate and who are forbidden to enter the mosque or to use the public burial ground.

Obviously for political reasons, we find a growing tendency to classify Muslims as Muslims only, generally discarding their classification into different castes or sub-castes. In the case of the Hindu, this division and

22. *Census of India, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 343.*

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 343-44.

24. *Census Report, Bengal and Sikkim, Vol. V, Part I, p. 590.*

sub-division is steadily growing. But the existence of castes among the Muslims, which, like the Hindu, prohibited inter-marriage and imposed indignities on the lower castes is admitted. Porter, in his Census Report for 1931, says :²⁴

The only current word which can be used to describe the groups actually existing amongst Muslims is *jati* with its associations connoting the whole Hindu caste system and a gradation of religious privilege . . . The exclusiveness of the existing distinctions was actually emphasised by the group now shown as 'Mumin' who in a representation which reads very much like a memorial from one of the 'depressed' classes of Hindus set forth the indignities imposed on them by the more elevated social groups owing to their lowly status in the society. The frivolity of the religious argument (i.e., the claim that from the standpoint of religion they were one) was exposed when a *Mullah* in one district was urging it but abruptly desisted upon the district census officer's shrewd suggestion that he would cancel the entries in the caste column of the schedule if the *Mullah* would on his part issue a *fatwa* encouraging inter-marriage between *Sayyads* and *Jolahas* (*Mumins*).

Porter has classified 19 sub-castes like *Badiyas* of *Bogra*, *Bajadars* of *Jessore*, *Dai* of *Dacca*, *Punjra* of *Maldah*, etc., whom other Muslims "refuse to acknowledge" socially.

The problem of defining depressed classes came up for consideration at a meeting of the superintendents of Census operations in January, 1931. As a result of these discussions, the Census Commissioner defined the depressed classes as "castes contact with whom entails purification on the part of the high caste Hindus." Social backwardness was not the test as it would have made the recognition of a depressed class among the Muslims as imperative. The unworkability of this arbitrary definition was realised by intelligent observers at the very moment of its enunciation. Porter, the Census Superintendent of Bengal for 1931, gives the most challenging verdict :²⁵

As an administrative problem demanding the cognisance of the Government, social and religious disabilities are unsatisfactory as a test of the classes to be included whilst the extent to which depressed classes are denied participation in the advantages and conveniences maintained by the administration is so small as to be negligible. For the administration, in fact, the problem of the depressed classes in Bengal practically does not exist, gave in so far as special measures are necessary to improve their economic condition and standard of education. The prominence which it acquires is largely due to the questions raised in comparatively recent years as regards separate representation in the legislatures for members of these classes. For Bengal at least, therefore, the attempt to treat any social usage or any civic disability as a clear criterion by which to distinguish the depressed classes is bound to fail and some other distinction must be sought.

RATE OF GROWTH IN HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

The rate of growth among the Hindu and Muslim

population has been different for different areas in Bengal. The following percentages of Muslim population in a few typical districts will illustrate how erratic the rate of the variation has been :

	1881	1931	Result
Birbhum	20.5	26.7	Increase
24-Parganas	37.9	35.8	Decrease
Rajshahi	78.42	75.79	"
Rangpur	60.99	70.79	Increase
Jalpaiguri	35.85	23.9	Decrease
Dinajpur	52.55	50.51	"
Mymensingh	66.79	76.56	Increase
Tipperrah	66.33	75.78	"

An interesting sidelight is thrown by Nolan²⁶ who gives the proportion of Hindu to the Muslim population in Buckergunge as it stood in 1852 as five to two. It has now been more than reversed, the present proportion being one to five.

The total rate of increase of Muslims for the period 1881-1931 has been 51.2 per cent, while that for Hindus for the same period has been 22.9 per cent. Percentages of Muslim population in the different divisions are as follows :

	Muslim per cent	Hindu per cent
Chittagong Division	73.68	22.65
Dacca Division	70.93	28.55
Rajshahi Division	62.24	34.89
Presidency Division	47.20	51.24
Burdwan Division	14.14	82.85

The accompanying map gives an idea of the relative proportion of the two communities for all the districts.

The Muslims form a fairly solid block of more than 50 per cent of the population in an area running throughout the whole of Bengal from the districts of Murshidabad, Maldah and Dinajpur on the north-west to Bakarganj, Noakhali and Chittagong on the south-east. The increases in their number are the most marked in Rangpur, Maldah, Pubna and Bogra districts. In the 24-Parganas, Khulna and Rajshahi they have decreased since 1881. The most striking increases have been in East Bengal.

A. E. Porter and P. J. Griffiths have tried to fit Raymond Pearl's Logistic Curve to the census population of Bengal but their results have been unsatisfactory. By applying the Logistic Curve to Hindu and Muslim population, they suggested a population of between 53 and 53.25 millions in 1941. The actual increase has however been much higher. This vitiates their claim that "the Muslim and Hindu equations imply that the point at which the rate of increase ceased to be successively greater than in previous decades was passed in about 1896 by the Muslims and 1812 by the Hindus who are now approaching a stationary population."²⁷ According to their calculation, the maximum population of Bengal will be 74 millions and it will be attained in 2063 A.D.

THE BOUNDARY OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

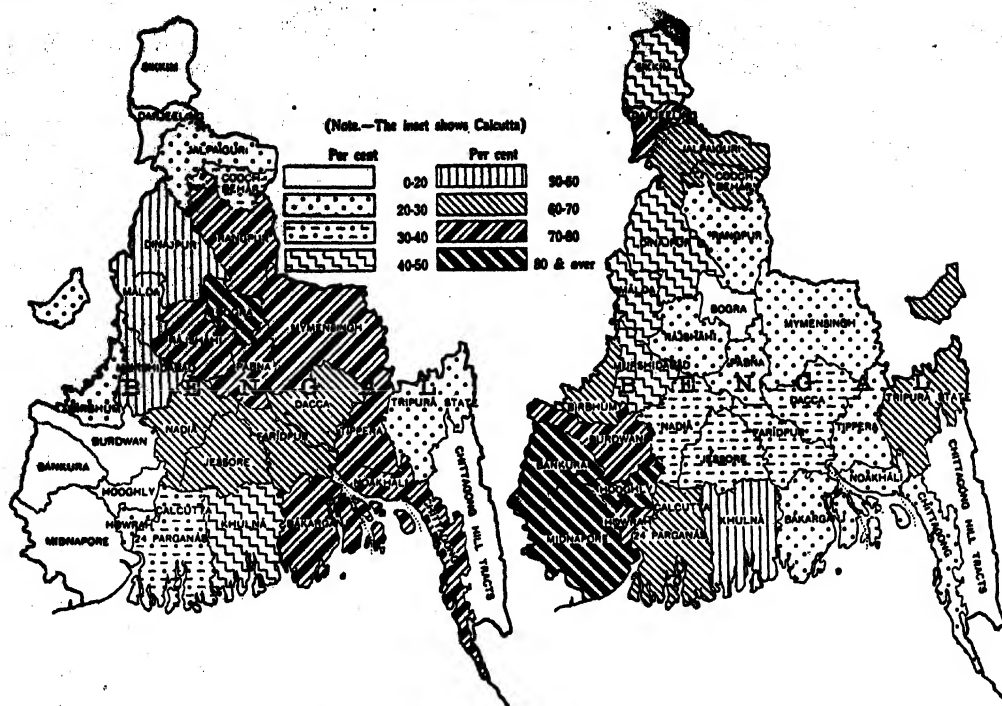
The Census Report for 1931, gives the number of people speaking Bengali as mother-tongue in Bengal as 922.6 per thousand. The number speaking Hindustani as mother-tongue is less than 4 per cent. Its greatest

²⁴ Census Report, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 423.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 497.

²⁶ Nolan, *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²⁷ Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 41.



Numbers of Muslims (left) and Hindus (right) per 100 of population

prevalence in any division is in the Presidency Division where no more than 77 in every 1000 use it. During the two decades 1911-31, the Hindustani-speaking people decreased considerably and there was an increase in the number of those who speak Bengali.

The boundary of the Bengali language has been described by Risley in the following way :—

"North of the Ganges, the western boundary of Bengali may be taken as the River Mahananda in the east of the district of Purnea. South of the Ganges it reaches up to the foot of the Chota Nagpur plateaux. It covers the greater part of the district of Midnapur and the tract of Singhbhum which is known as Dhalbhum. To the east, it runs a short way up the Assam Valley, taking in about half the district of Goalpara and in Surma Valley, it covers the whole of Sylhet and Cachar.

"The lines of perpendicular cleavage drawn for dividing the language into dialects, affect only the colloquial form of Bengali. . . In western Bengal, the language has been affected by the neighbouring Bihari and we, also in the same locality, find some broken forms of speech employed by the Hill tribes. The principal of these is the Mal Paharia of the Santal Parganas and Birbhum which has hitherto been thought to be a Dravidian language. In Purnea the Bengali used is much mixed with the adjoining Maithili and Bihari, and the Kaithi character of Bihar is even used for recording the Bengali language."

The vernacular of the Purneah district is the western dialect of Bengali known as the *Rarhi Boli*. It is also known as *Khotta Bangala*.

Rakhaldas Banerjee, in his *Origin of the Bengali Script*, has shown that in the north-east, the Bengali alphabet was adopted in Assam. In many of the inscriptions of the kings of Assam, Bengali characters have been exclusively used. In the south, the Bengali script was used throughout Orissa. The modern cursive Oriya script was developed out of the Bengali after the fourteenth century A.D. like the modern Assamese.

The language position of the four disputed districts is given as follows. The figures are taken from the Census of 1891 when they were within the administrative boundary of Bengal and were free from any political bias. Since 1921, systematic attempts to increase the number of Hindi-speaking people and to put down the Bengali-speaking have been noticed.

	Purneah	Santal Parganah	Singhbhum	Manbhum
Bengali	108,794	212,452	77,943	830,878
Hindi	17,38,506	702,796	13,588	108,781
Santali	..	583,120	32,292	100,047
Kol	..	7,244	194,296	13,463
Oriya	..	..	94,451	..
Total	18,46,297	15,88,003	453,775	10,58,238

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing data, we can come to the following broad conclusions :

(1) That the natural and historical boundary of Bengal includes the districts of Purnea, Santal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum on the west, and Sylhet on the east.

(2) That the linguistic boundary of Bengal includes this whole tract plus Goalpara and Cachar districts.

(3) That Hindus and Muslims of Bengal belong to the same racial stock; their social structure, including the caste system and social behaviour, and culture are basically the same.

(4) That the mothertongue of 82.2 per cent of the people of Bengal is Bengali showing that Hindus and Muslims of this province belong to the same linguistic stock.

(5) That although the religions of the two communities are different, the religious observances of both of them are basically the same.

The rate of increase among the Muslim population is not uniform, it differs widely both in number and direction in different areas of the province. A study of the age groups for the two communities reveal that the Hindu population is neither decaying nor stationary, the number of adult Hindu population is steady and definite. The Muslim birth-rate is higher but the death-rate is also higher thus leaving a lesser proportion of survivals.

Bengal can, therefore, rightfully claim that as the racial, linguistic and cultural affinities of her people, in spite of their religions being different, are the same, she must remain united. Her claim to a return of Purnea, Santal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum as also the inclusion of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara within her borders is rightful and just.

—:O:—

B. BISSOONDOYAL GOES TO JAIL

By S. BALGOBIN, *Mauritius*

THE great ceremony (*Mahayajna*) held at Gandhi Maidan, Pouce Street, Port Louis, Mauritius, on the 12th of December, 1943, was too much for Mauritius. Laws were at once made to place restrictions in the Hindu meetings and processions which had, by that time, become far too frequent and popular to be "tolerated."

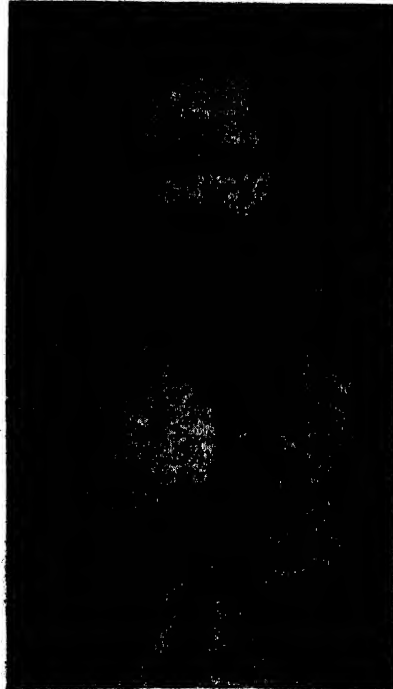
A series of prosecution directed against the central figure of the meetings, began. The newly-made law which meant the end of freedom of worship so far as Hindus went, required of the organisers a permit issued by the Commissioner of Police. Mr. B. Bissoondoyal took the position that in the case of religious meetings no permit was necessary. Cross-examined by him, a police witness stated that Christian priests were holding their meetings without any permission. The public saw that it was passing strange how the authorities had overlooked the fact that Christians had been sinning against the law. No doubt was left in the minds of justice-loving Mauritians as to the meaning of the anti-Hindu move. Hindu Mauritius had not so far proved so fertile a field for Christian missionary activities. Hence this manoeuvre to dragoon Hindus into obedience.

The attention arresting cases won for the accused the sympathy of countless Hindu and non-Hindu Mauritians coming from all the nine districts of the island. At the end of every sitting, he would be caught in the throngs that would raise the cry, "Pandit Vishnu-dayal Ki Jai!"

Impartial barristers were full of praise for our missionary. His command of English, Hindi, and French, his original way of putting things, his eloquence held some magistrates and the public spell-bound. But in spite of the able defence put up, he went to jail thrice in 1944.

The third time he was found guilty of having held an "illegal procession." Police witnesses knew that main roads had not been used, that the "procession" lasted for not more than ten minutes. A similar "procession" had been held earlier by the accused but it had not

been found advisable to prosecute him. This time the letter of the law mattered much more than the spirit.



The heavily bearded prisoner
B. Bissoondoyal

The prosecution gave the show away. This is how it happened. The charge was not serious. To make up for

the lack of gravity, a totally irrelevant matter was introduced. The words our missionary was supposed (by witnesses having more brawn than brain) to have uttered when the procession was long over, were considered

wearing this. British tolerance is known throughout the world and sometimes is the subject of criticism; but there are limits even to the toleration of an Englishman, and when I see the fields unweeded, in some places the cane uncut, when I hear of men sitting down for a whole day and doing no work because some convicted person is enjoying a hunger strike in a jail, then I say to myself that the public of this island must wake up to the reality of the dangers which threaten not so much the island as themselves."

The naked truth is that the accusation levelled at Mr. B. Bissoondoyal did not hold water. On being interviewed by a press representative, the then Superintendent of Prisons said that the missionary was not on strike. Nobody else was.

The cause of so much irritation was that the 28th of November, 1944, became a milestone in the history of Indians in Mauritius. It marked the beginning of *Satyagraha*. The even-tempered public had caught the spirit of Mahatma's *Satyagraha*. Hindus suffered on that day. They went without food and directed their thoughts to the Lord Almighty.



Reception at Creve Coeur

relevant to the case. Curiously enough, the judgment was based largely on those words! Mr. B. Bissoondoyal was flung into gaol for twelve months. What is more astounding still, it was not a sentence of simple imprisonment that was pronounced.

The imprisonment made Lajpat Rai's *Young India* intelligible to his Mauritian readers. They say that they understand now how it came about that the young boys who "had flaunted rebel colours in mere sport" were tried and sentenced to death.

Mr. B. Bissoondoyal went to gaol on the 3rd of November, 1944. He had not been there more than twenty-five days, when the public had disquieting news about him. Hindus resolved to devote the whole day to prayer. They had already sent more than 10,000 letters of protest to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The country was in a melting pot. Hindus found unity in sorrow. The hot-tempered Governor was out of all patience. At a meeting of the Legislative Council, he made the following irresponsible statement:

"From my place in this Council I make an appeal and I issue a warning. The appeal is to those numerous good fellows who are following after false philosophies, who are endangering the future of themselves, their wives, their children.

"The warning is this: That my patience is



The "Om" flag has been hoisted at a meeting. Mr. B. Bissoondoyal is on his way back to his gaddi

Two independent editors upheld our dignity. Dr. Millien wrote in his paper *L'Oeuvre*, that it was unbecoming on the part of His Excellency the Governor to use the words he had used. Mr. Naudeer similarly retorted in his old daily *The New Era*.

Mauritius Hindus stood up bravely to difficult conditions. They did not shrink their duty. A missionary held a procession in December and was accordingly prosecuted. The barrister who appeared for him did not mince matters. He said that Mr. B. Bissoondoyal had

been persecuted and not prosecuted. Mr. Jules Koenig—so he is called—has made a name for his independent spirit. The Magistrate could not be left unimpressed. He pointed out in his historic judgment that :

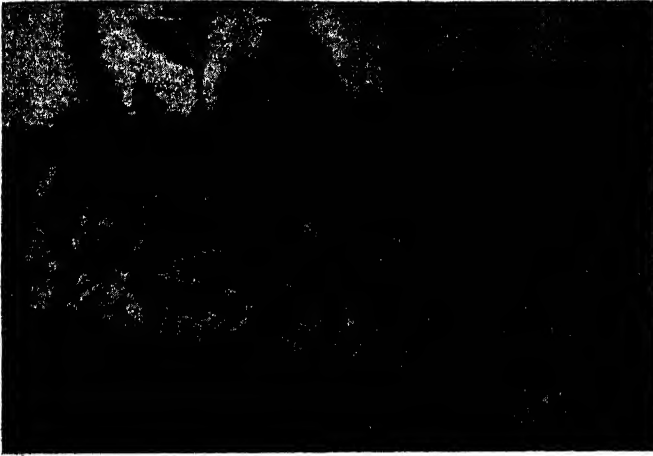
"After the procession the accused addressed the meeting and *inter alia* stated that Bissoondoyal was

turned to Spandarmath's epic fast. The tenacity of purpose shown by those ordinary missionaries led them to victory. They had to be served food in utensils fit for use.

Had not Mr. B. Bissoondoyal and other Hindu missionaries been set to prison they would not have

seen with their own eyes that the discrimination against Hindus was a feature of the Prisons Department too. What they saw added point to the contention that Hindus were the helots of the country. Hindus had a separate kitchen; they were allowed to go to their temple to worship their God. As one might expect, that temple is much inferior to the Christian Chapel that greeted Mr. B. Bissoondoyal's eyes when he found himself within the precincts of the Central Prisons. It is thus that another illustration of the anti-Hindu policy was drawn from a Government institution. Hindus had been arguing in huge petitions that they were not being properly treated. The state of affairs in the prisons fortified that argument.

At last, the laws floated away like cloud wreaths on the hori-



Reception at Mare D'Albert

an innocent man who had been thrown into jail, that he (the accused) was ready to forfeit his liberty, nay, if need be, his life, in what he believed a just cause. Now I have no doubt in my mind that had not the accused talked in that strain, he would not have been prosecuted, in spite of his breach of the law.

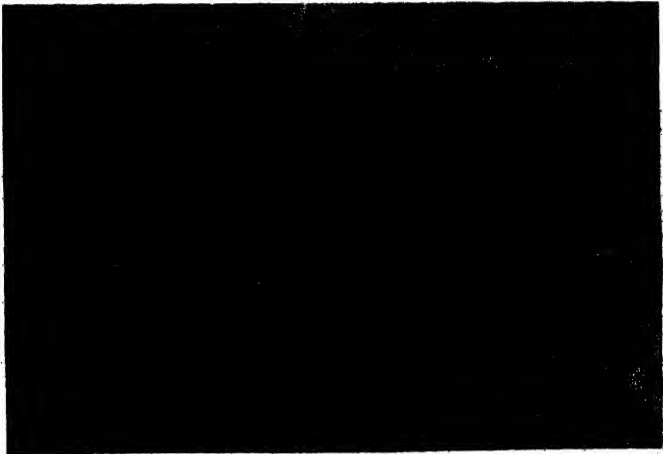
"This case should be a lesson to the authorities: there should be no kow-towing to anybody with regard to such cases. If the authorities are determined that the law should not be *lettre morte* they should prosecute in each and every case that there is a contravention of the statute irrespective of creed or religious denomination. The courts will take good care to inflict nominal penalties in all deserving cases. Picking and choosing between offenders is neither a safe nor a reasonable policy."

Hindus were not to be daunted. On the 15th of April, 1945, some six missionaries held meetings and processions. It needs no argument to show that they subsequently met Mr. B. Bissoondoyal in the Port Louis Central Prisons. One of them fasted for fourteen days and another for ten. The minds of educated Indians

Reception at Mare D'Albert

son. There were, of course, some people who saw in the untimely abolition of the laws the operation of a cause that was altogether different from the real one. They said that because the laws had been made to meet the exigencies of the war, they were abolished. But they have yet to explain why the abolition came before the end of the war.

Something more was achieved. One Captain Bell



who had been spending seventeen years in Bengal and other parts of India, had an interview with the mighty prisoner. He then left for England. Some two months later, the people of Mauritius heard with some satisfaction that their country was on the eve of having a new constitution.



Dr. J. M. Cure, M.B., B.S. (Lond.)

Ever since 1885 leaders of all shades of opinion have been trying to get a new constitution. Dr. Cure, the founder of the Labour Party, is prominent among those who may be said to have obtained a measure of success. Be it said to the credit of the new movement that it was the last straw that broke the camel's back.

The question of Indian representation is now much to the fore. The idea foremost in the Governor's mind all the time is the desirability of seeing a Mauritian who has undergone twelve months' penal servitude debarred from the right of standing for an election. Every trick that Government ingenuity can devise is being employed to favour those who have not lost their taste for British titles.

Mr. B. Bissoondoyal's imprisonment is one of the most important events in all Mauritian history. Our missionary is the first eminent Mauritian who has gone to jail. His arrest is the talk of the country to this day. Military and police had a competition as to which could best strike terror. The population could, on that memorable day, be easily led to believe that Mauritius was on the point of being attacked. The armoured cars that adorned the streets of Port Louis only excited Mr. B. Bissoondoyal's smile.

Mr. B. Bissoondoyal's countrymen are holding big receptions in his honour. He was released on the 18th of July. A loud speaker has been placed at his disposal on at least a dozen of occasions since that day. There are universal rejoicings. Mauritians are convinced that their children will live in the brilliance lit by the flames of the missionary's sufferings.

Bernardin de Saint Pierre, Darwin, Mark Twain and others have been bewitched by the picturesque scenery of the island of Mauritius. The inclemency of weather is for other shores. The Mauritian can roam wherever he likes without any fear of being attacked by ferocious lions and tigers. Mauritius can lay claim to the distinction of being a country,

"Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

—:O:—

SIR UPENDRANATH BRAHMACHARI

Br X

SIR UPENDRANATH BRAHMACHARI was born on 7th June, 1875, in Jamalpur, E. I. Ry. (Dt. Monghyr), where his father, the late Dr. Nilmoney Brahmachari spent the whole of his official career in the Medical Service of the Railway. Sir Upendranath took his B.A. degree from the Hooghly College in 1893 where he was awarded the Thwyates Medal for standing first in Honours in Mathematics. For some time he could not make up his mind whether he should go up for higher studies in mathematics, chemistry, or medicine. This thought continued for some time in his mind, even after entering upon his medical studies. Finally when he decided to study medicine with higher chemistry, he left Mathematics with a sigh. The combination of the knowledge of higher chemistry with medicine no doubt helped him in his future researches. During the course of his studies in the first year, he took his Master's Degree in Chemistry in 1894 from the Presidency College, Calcutta, in the first class, obtaining the University Medal. He passed the M.B. examination in 1898 standing first in Medicine and Surgery for which he obtained the Goodeve and McLeod's Medals. He passed the M.D. examination in 1902 and obtained the Ph.D. degree in Physiology in 1940 by his researches on *Haemolysis*.

Sir Upendranath entered the Provincial Medical Service in 1898. His versatile knowledge and intelligence attracted the attention of the professors of the Medical

College of Bengal. For a short time he worked under Sir Gerald Bomford who regarded him as a living dictionary of medicine. He was so much impressed with young Brahmachari's capacity for research and assiduity in the discharge of his duties that he very soon got him appointed as Teacher of Pathology and Materia Medica in the Dacca Medical School. In Dacca he did researches with Sir Neil Campbell, Superintendent of the Medical School. Subsequently, he was appointed as a Lecturer in Medicine in the Campbell Medical School, Calcutta. He was elevated to this coveted post within a short period after entering into service. This post he occupied for nearly twenty years. He carried on most of his researches in kala-azar in the Campbell Medical School and it was here that he made his monumental discovery of *Urea Stibamine*. He retired from the Government Service in 1927 as a Physician in the Medical College Hospital of Bengal. He was for some time financed for his researches by the Indian Research Fund Association. It is creditable to him that all his researches after his retirement from service were carried on with his own private means without any financial aid from outside. Since retiring he had been carrying on researches in diseases such as, kala-azar, malaria, the chemistry and pharmacology of quinoline compounds, and other subjects.

Sir Upendranath has won for himself an international

reputation as a research worker. Early in his official career, he discovered in 1901 the prevalence of *quartan fever* in Bengal which was considered in those days to be extremely rare in India.

In the course of his researches in kala-azar he discovered *colloidal antimony* and showed its therapeutic value in the treatment of the disease. He was the first to use successfully antimony in a state of fine subdivision intravenously and of sodium antimonyl tartrate in the treatment of kala-azar. His subsequent researches in connection with the chemotherapy of antimonial compounds in kala-azar which formed the basis of all subsequent modern treatment of the disease are well-known.

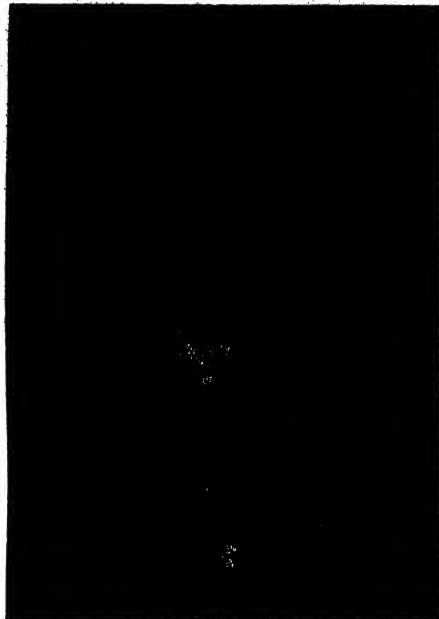
In the course of his researches he drew attention to the remarkable undiscovered skin manifestation of the infection with *Leishmania Donovanii* which was named by him *dermal leishmanoid*, a new tropical disease and which had been previously mistaken for leprosy.

Early in 1921 Sir Upendranath discovered an urea antimony compound for the treatment of kala-azar. Its introduction and his other researches on antimonial compounds opened up a new vista in the treatment of the disease by means of therapeutic organic antimonials, just as the discovery of salvarsan led to the introduction of organic arsenicals in the treatment of spirochaetal diseases. This urea compound was named *Urea Stibamine* which is the most outstanding discovery in recent times and which stands today pre-eminent in the treatment of a campaign against kala-azar and has deprived the disease of its terrors. Speaking on *Urea Stibamine* (1929), Sir Upendranath observed as follows in his Presidential Address at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal:

"I recall with joy that memorable night in the Calcutta Campbell Hospital at Sealdah where after a very hard day's work I found at about 10 o'clock in a little room with a smoky dimly burning lantern that the results of my experiments were up to my expectations. But I did not know then that Providence had put into my hands a wondrous thing and that this little thing would save the lives of millions of my fellowmen. I shall never forget that room where *Urea Stibamine* was discovered. The room where I had to labour for months without a gas point or a water tap and where I had to remain contented with an old kerosene lamp for my work at night, the room still remains but the signs of a laboratory in it have completely disappeared. To me it will ever remain a place of pilgrimage where the first light of *Urea Stibamine* dawned upon my mind. To-day *Urea Stibamine* stands pre-eminent in the treatment of kala-azar in India and as a powerful prophylactic against the disease and it is a matter of supreme satisfaction to me that the treatment evolved out of my research has removed the terrors of this distressing disease. It may be hoped that before long the disease will be completely banished from India and other parts of the world where it occurs—that will be the happiest and proudest day of my life if it falls to my lot to see it."

The Kala-azar Commission, India, used throughout the seven years of their existence, *Urea Stibamine* only, in the routine treatment of kala-azar. According to them the acute fulminating type characteristic of the peak period of an epidemic responded to treatment with *Urea Stibamine* extraordinarily promptly and with

an almost dramatic cessation of fever, diminution in size of the spleen and return to normal condition of health. It may be expected that similar beneficial results will be obtained in other epidemics of the disease.



Dr. Sir Upendranath Brahmachari

The use of *Urea Stibamine* in an experimental scale was started by the Government of Assam from 1925. The results were so encouraging that it began to be used on a mass scale from 1928. For some time experiments with *Neostibosan* were conducted side by side with *Urea Stibamine*. The use of *Neostibosan* was subsequently discontinued. The Director of Public Health, Assam in his Annual Report for 1923, summarised the saving of lives by the use of *Urea Stibamine* as follows:

"*Urea Stibamine* was our mainstay in the treatment of kala-azar. Since 1933, when reliable figures for the disease first became available to the end of the year under report, no less than 3,28,591 persons have been brought under treatment. It is no exaggeration to say that approximately 8.25 lacs of valuable lives have been saved to the Province

Sir John Kerr, once Governor of Assam, in his farewell address to the Assam Legislative Council referring to the value of *Urea Stibamine* stated that,

"The progress in the campaign against kala-azar in Assam has been phenomenally rapid and if it continues at the present rate there is an excellent prospect of the dread scourge being brought under complete control in a few years."

Such a great service to humanity, as the stamping out of kala-azar resulting in the saving of millions of lives, have ultimately been recognised all over the world.

HEALTH IN A U. S. CITY

A SERUM AND VACCINE FARM

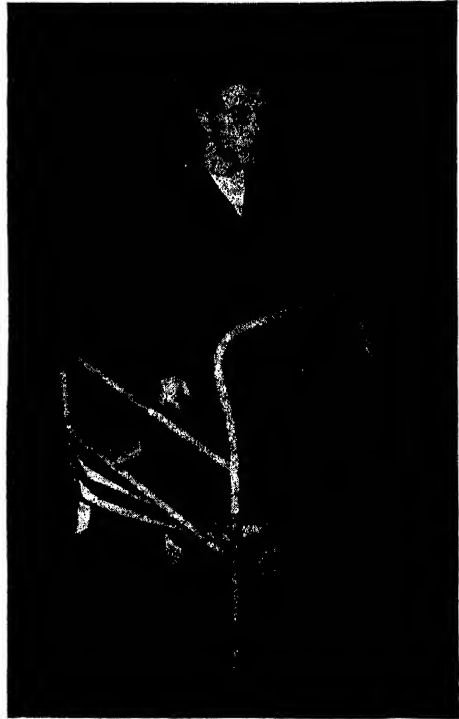
In a typical year the New York Health Department distributes more than 700,000 items of vaccines and serums to immunize the city's millions against disease, and cure the sick. This is one of the chief factors in producing the very low mortality rate of New York City among the great metropolises of the world.

the antibodies were designed to triumph over in the body of the animal.

Among the most important products of the serum farm are smallpox vaccine, tetanus antitoxin, diphtheria antitoxin, rabies vaccine, typhoid fever vaccine and typing serums for streptococcal infections. Distribution is carried out mainly through 450 drug stores scattered



A tray of small bottles containing smallpox vaccine is being removed by a bacteriologist from a refrigerator



A convalescing U.S. soldier uses a Comper Walker to help him regain his equilibrium

The bulk of the city's output of vaccines and serums is produced at a farm maintained by the municipal government at Otisville, in the southern part of New York State. Consisting of 200 acres, the farm is staffed with biologists, veterinaries, laboratory technicians, farmers and labourers for the maintenance of several thousand mice, rats and rabbits, a few hundred guinea pigs, a herd of sheep and from 50 to 100 horses.

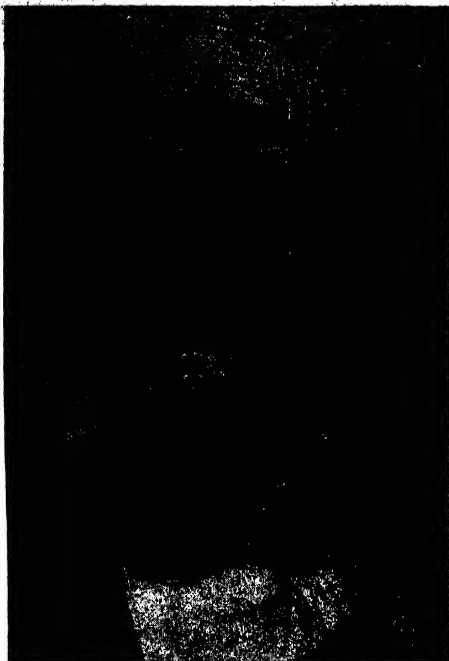
These animals are used for testing preventive agents and in themselves constitute a factory for making serums and vaccines. In general the principles of manufacture is that an animal is inoculated with germs of a disease prevalent among human beings. Then the animal's blood begins to manufacture what are known as "antibodies" to fight off the disease. Some blood of the animal then is drawn off and the antibodies it contains are applied to human beings threatened with the disease,

over the city, designated as Board of Health stations by the municipality's medical authorities. Other agencies of distribution are Child Health stations for public school children. A nominal charge is made for the preparations but they are free if the patient is not in a position to pay. The law in New York is that no child may attend public school without having been vaccinated against smallpox.

One of the most dramatic demonstration of the results of this wide distribution of health guarding fluids is shown by figures on diphtheria. In 1914, before general distribution of preventive agents had fairly begun, the number of cases of diphtheria in New York City was 17,129. In 1942, the figure had dropped to 392. Similarly, the number of deaths dropped from 1,491 in 1914 to seven in 1942—seven in a city of seven and a half millions.



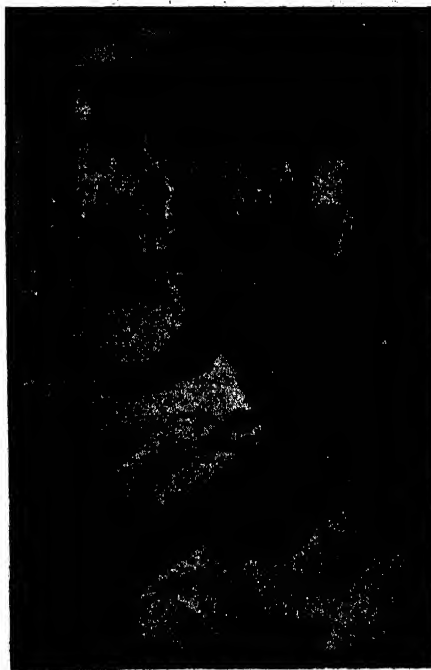
A technician in the laboratories of the New York City Department of Health is refining the crude serum supplied by the city's serum and vaccine farm at Otisville



At one of the public health agencies maintained by the New York City Department of Health a patient is getting an injection to safeguard him against the development of rabies



In the southern New York State countryside at Otisville this farm is continually manufacturing vaccines and serums for free distribution among the city's millions



Technicians in the laboratories in the New York City Department of Health pack and label a consignment of rabies vaccine for distribution to physicians

Since smallpox vaccine has been made available to residents everywhere in New York a case of smallpox has become such a rarity that reporting one would make front-page news, while a death from smallpox would be sensational news. Several years ago the isolation of an immigrant afflicted with smallpox drew hundreds of physicians and medical students to inspect the patient as a matter of clinical curiosity.

As a matter of fact, preventable epidemics of any kind are a rarity in New York City today and the incidence figures on all ailments are low due to the vigilance of the city's medical authorities.

HOW CANCER IS CHECKED IN THE U. S.

American medical science has made great progress in the last fifty years in the discovery of the causes and



A chemist works on an experiment at the National Cancer Institute

cures of many of the diseases to which the people of the United States and others the world over are subject. As a result the incidence of many of these diseases has been greatly reduced and those which still baffles scientists loom higher on the list of killers than they once did. Cancer now ranks as the second cause of death in the United States; 25 years ago it stood seventh. At least 165,000 Americans die of the disease each year. The apparent increase in the danger of cancer is at least partly due to the growing control of other leading diseases, the improved methods of diagnosis which now indicate cancer as the cause of deaths which once would have been veiled in mystery, and the lengthening life span which makes it possible for more people to become subject to the disease.

The chances for cure of cancers discovered in an early stage of development are 80 per cent to 85 per cent for cancer of the uterus, 90 per cent to 100 per cent for skin cancer, and in general 70 per cent to 80 per cent of all early cancer if promptly treated.

Cancer is the uncontrolled growth of cells in the body which multiply in unlimited numbers at the expense of normal body cell, robbing them of blood and food supply. Travelling by way of the blood or lymph they may invade parts of the body and start new growths there, a process known as metastasis. Any abnormal growth of tissue in the body is called a tumor. Cancer is a malignant tumor because the cells never stop multiplying and spreading. Sometimes tumors which were originally an abnormal growth of tissue become malignant and begin to grow rapidly, although malig-



The radium treatment of cancer

nant cells have never been known to become benign.

The cause of cancer is not yet known. It is neither infectious nor contagious; there is no danger of catching it from any kind of contact. Whether the disease may be inherited is not yet clear, although it seems possible that a tendency of certain tissues or organs to become cancerous may be inheritable.

Although the specific causes of cancer have not yet been discovered certain factors have been isolated which are so frequently associated with the growth of malignant tumor that they are believed to contribute to their development. Age is an important predisposing condition. Cancer is essentially a disease of middle and advancing age, although children may be affected. Warts and moles, chronic inflammatory conditions, dry scalp



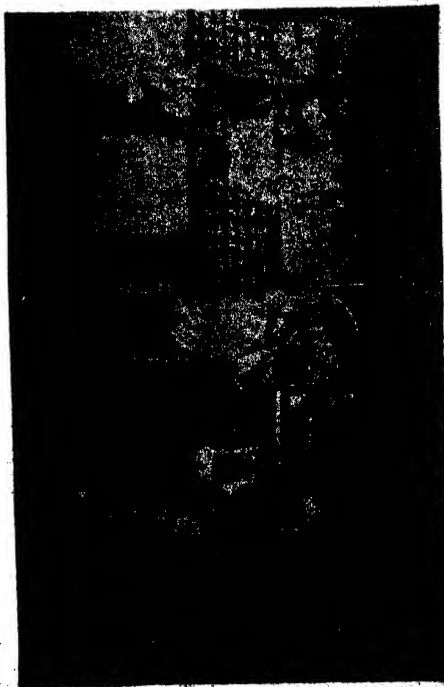
Tissue culture work at the National Cancer Institute



Wounded U.S. soldiers use gymnasium apparatus for exercises that will strengthen their bodies



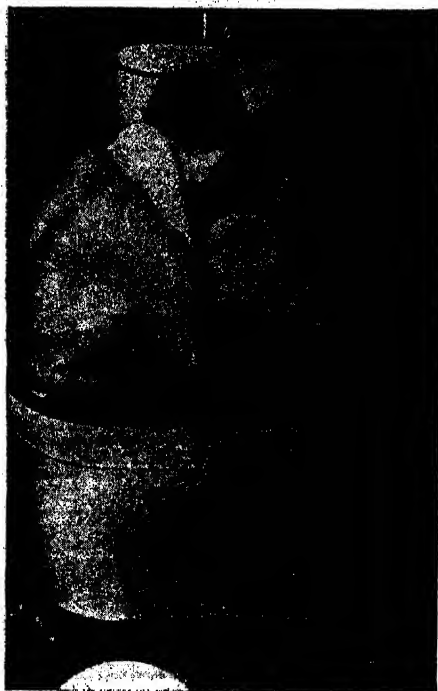
New York City school children line up at a Child Health Station for inoculation against disease



Patients on the porch at the Welfare Island Hospital in New York

patches and white patches on the skin, and persistent sores or ulcers are frequently considered "pre-cancerous" because they may develop into cancers if not corrected. Chronic mechanical, thermal or chemical irritation are recognized as being definite predisposing causes of many cancers since they are so often associated with the development of the disease. A single blow or injury rarely causes cancer though it may sometimes serve to attract attention to a tumor previously unnoticed, or may stimulate a small cancer to active growth.

disease, cancer in its early stages is curable. The prompt, complete removal of a cancer will check the spread of the disease throughout the body. The only effective means of curing cancer are surgery and destruction by X-ray and radium, the form of treatment depending upon the nature of the cancer. Injections of drugs and serums have been tried from time to time and up to the present proven to be worthless. Salves and other home remedies do not completely destroy the cancer and cause the patient to waste valuable time before he



A soldier-patient sits in the whirlpool tub, in which the action of the water agitated by an electric current stimulates the blood circulation of his legs



A nurse of the physiotherapy department at Bushnell General Hospital uses an electrical device to activate the stiffened muscles of this soldier's wounded leg

Very often a combination of several irritating factors is found to have contributed to cancerous growth. In the case of the pipe smoker, for example, there is mechanical irritation from the pipe stem, thermal, or heat irritation, and chemical irritation from the tobacco. Cancer of the lip or the mouth often results. Certain types of occupations may expose workers to the disease. Pitch, asphalt, paraffin, the tar of chimney soot, arsenical drugs have all been found to have contributed to the growth of cancers.

Keeping the body clean helps prevent cancer since dirt tends to act as a skin irritant. Foods that irritate the digestive organs should be avoided. Such irritation may be caused by food eaten without sufficient chewing, food that is too hot. General mouth hygiene is also considered an anti-cancer precaution since bad teeth may cause chronic irritation of the lips and tongue.

Although much remains to be learned about the

receives adequate treatment. These remedies may ever stimulate cancer cells to further activity.

Pain from cancer is usually a late symptom. Various types of cancers make themselves known in various ways, and the following are danger signals which often indicate the presence of the disease:

- 1) any sore that does not heal, particularly about the tongue, mouth or lips;
- 2) a painless lump or thickening, especially in the breast, lip or tongue;
- 3) irregular bleeding or discharge from the nipple or any natural body opening;
- 4) progressive change in the color or size of a wart, mole or birthmark;
- 5) persistent indigestion;
- 6) persistent hoarseness, unexplained cough, or difficulty in swallowing;
- 7) any change in normal bowel habits.

The American Society for the control of cancer was founded in 1913 to educate the public about this disease as a means of controlling it. The Society chose as its symbol a flaming sword, entwined in caduceus, and as its slogan "Fight Cancer With Knowledge." Both are now familiar throughout the United States of America.

PHYSIOTHERAPY BRINGS NEW LIFE TO U.S. WOUNDED

Physiotherapy is now used in all U.S. Army General Hospitals.

Nineteen of these specialize in treatment of amputees, neuro-surgical and neurological cases, which constitute the large number of war injuries, the U.S. Surgeon General's office reported.

Bushnell General Hospital, Brigham City, Utah, is typical of specialization centers where physiotherapy is an important phase of the treatment in these cases. The physical section there is under direction of a medical officer who is assisted by qualified physical therapists. In addition to the usual departmental activities, a training course for student physical therapists, approved by the Association, is conducted.

Daily instruction in exercise is a routine practice in all general hospitals. When patients are able to report to the physical therapy clinic, the exercise program, conducted in groups, is graduated and augmented by instruction in balance and walking. Bandaging of stumps is another responsibility of the physical therapy section.

Patients with cord and head injuries are usually treated in the wards. Head injury cases receive specialized exercise instruction directed toward increasing range and speed of motion, and is confined to an arc not



The Hubbard Tub makes it possible for weakened patients to exercise, after limbs have been made buoyant by the action of the water

American Medical

producing a "stretch reflex." Instruction in walking and common activities are included. Cord injury cases, in addition, receive radiant heat and massage as tolerated.

Patients with peripheral nerve injury receive some form of heat, massage, reeducational exercise and daily electrical stimulation. Before going on furlough, patients are instructed in exercise programs and self-massage.—USIS.

—O:—

ROYAL MOGHUL POETESSES

By RATTAN LAL KHANNA, M.A., J.D.

"Music when soft voices die
Vibrates in the memory."—Shelley

The literary history of the Moghul era is starred with the names of many royal poetesses who put forth blossoms of rich and varied hues and aromas. Fates have been cruel to their work. Much the most of it has perished; but a precious little has been kept 'from the dew and dust of time.' It has in it an abundance of the freshest flowers of a delicate perfume which once breathed will haunt the memory for ever.

GULBADAN BEGUM AND GULCHAIIRA BEGUM

Babar's two daughters, Gulbadan Begum and Gulchaira Begum were gifted poetesses. Their work has perished. The following is the only couplet which gives us a taste of the quality of Gulbadan's poetry:

Every fairy-faced beauty who is not intimate
with her lover,
She is not gathering life's rose-buds—you may
be sure of that.

Evidently she was of a romantic temper. Her poetry has an epicurean colouring. The same tone characterizes the only extant couplet of her sister Gulchaira:

The sassy sweetheart with rosy cheeks is never
without (my) rivals,
Truly there are no roses without thorns in the
world!

JAHANARA

Emperor Shahjahan's beloved daughter Jahanara sings in a different key. She is pre-eminently a religious poetess. Her poetry like that of Christina Rossetti breathes a fervour of faith. She chants hymns with a burning zeal:

Where there is the perfection of Thy glory
The whole universe is a drop from the ocean
of Thy munificence.
How dare we sing Thy praises?
Only Thy praise is worthy of Thee.

When Shahjahan died, she composed an elegy on him. The elegy throbs with pathos. Here are a few verses :

O my sun that hath set !
Was thy night of separation also like day-break ?

O ! the Emperor of the world, O ! the Qaisar of the universe !

Open thy eyes of mercy and cast a glance at my plight,

On account of my anguish my condition is pitiable,

In sorrow I am like a candle and smoke rises from my head.

In this elegy we hear the lyrical cry from a bleeding heart of a daughter, who was the model of filial duty, mourning the death of her august father in most tragic circumstances.

On the slab of her marble tomb at Delhi, the following couplet written by herself is inscribed :

Let no one cover my tomb except with verdure
Since grass suffices for the tomb-cover of a poor creature like myself.

The modest tone of this couplet reminds us of Christiana Rossetti's song :

When I am dead, my dearest,
Sing no sad songs for me.
Plant thou no roses at my head
Nor a shady cypress tree.
Be the green grass above me
With showers and dew-drops wet,
And if thou wilt remember
And if thou wilt forget.

The tomb of Jahanara has no roof interposing itself between the showers and dew-drops on the one hand and the green grass over her on the other.

NURJAHAN

Rupert Brooke has said that there are only three things in the world : one is to read poetry ; another is to write poetry, and the best of all is to live poetry. Nurjahan lived poetry ; she read poetry with a connoisseur's palate, and she wrote poetry of moving lyricism.

Like Mrs. Browning's her poetry excels in the romanticism of emotions. It vibrates with lyrical cry or lyrical ecstasy. Like Mrs. Browning, again she abounds herself to emotion or unrestrained passion when feeling is at its highest pitch and thus creates the song of the heart. The following couplet throbs with the agony of love :

I am a spark ; I am a flame ; I am a scar ; I am
a piece of roasted meat ; I am a
manifestation of light.

I am quivering lightning ; I am perturbation
and the pulse of the sick.

Her poetry shows psychological insight :

If the sephyr of the garden opens up a bud ;
The key of the lock of our heart is the smile
of the beloved.

She sings of the pangs of the love-lorn :

If I were to reveal the fire of love ; it will
blight the flower in the garden.

If I were to weep in my privacy the candle of
the assembly will be consumed.

Her passion is as fiery as it is authentic :

The agony of your love has melted my heart
into water,
The dust that remained of me became the
collyrium of the eye of the bubble.

Again :

I invoked you and set fire to my heart
I am a fire like the candle at my own heart
and tongue.

Here is a fine example of narcissism in poetry—
beauty in love with itself :

When I unvail my face the rose begins to
seek refuge,

If I comb my tresses there springs up a cry of
"help" from the hyacinth.

With this beauty and charm when I pass
through the garden,

From the hearts of the nightingales arises a
chorus of felicitations !

With a belief in the doctrine of "carpe diem" it is
no wonder that she ridicules strait-laced ascetics :

O ascetic ! do not fill our hearts with the terror
of doomsday.

We have undergone the dread of separation—
The day of resurrection is full well known !

It is clear that she is gifted with a rich and delicate imagination. She sings unbidden, because she must. Her poetry is nothing but the outgoings of her heart. The following verses inscribed on her tomb at Lahore were composed by herself :

On the tomb of a humble creature like myself
let there be no lamp nor rose.

(So that) no wing of the moth may burn ; and
no nightingale lament.

Her desolate tomb and the inscription it bears, are
a commentary of the vanity of human glory.

ZEB-UN-NISA

Last but the most brilliant star of the galaxy of the royal Moghul poetesses is Zeb-un-Nisa. She is the celebrated daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb.

Her life was a tragedy of frustrated love. Her lyricism displays the spectacle of a sorely bleeding heart :

... a high born maiden

In her palace tower

Soothed her love-laden soul in secret hour
With music sweet as love which overflowed her
bower.

The following lyric is as sad as it is wistful :

O idle arms !

Never the lost beloved have ye caressed :
Better that ye were broken than like this
Empty and cold eternally to rest.

O useless eyes !

Never the lost beloved for all these years
Have ye beheld, better that ye were blind
Than dimmed thus by unavailing tears.

O foolish springs !

That bring not the beloved to my abode :
Yes all the friends of youth have gone from me,
Each has set on his appointed road.

O fading rose,

Dying unseen as hidden thou wert born
So my heart's blossom fallen in the dust
Was never destined his turban to adorn.

Her heart was aflame with passion which was to remain unquenched :

My heart is hot within me, nay has burst
In flames of love ; the while
So fierce that like a drop to quench my thirst
Was the river of Nile.

In the following verses she gives a picture of the agony of disappointed love :

O blessed pain !

O precious grief, I keep and sweet unrest,
Desire that dies not, longing past control
My heart is torn to pieces in my breast
And for the shining diamond of the soul
In vain I pine.

Pessimism emanates from her poetry like a bitter essence. It is coloured by her own despair which leads her to fatalism and finally to mystic resignation :

Night after endless night
I sat in lonely grief remembering thee

Tears trickled into my disconsolate heart
How long have I in striving to be free
Broken my bleeding nails but never quite
Untied the knot of Fate.

Again :

Foundered by bark of life
Vainly on the sea of despair,
I ventured out seeking the tranquil shore
And the beloved. No further can I dare
I bow to fate. I turn me from the strife
I scheme no more.
Often she clothed her feeling in mystic imagery.

But she was an epicurean to the core :

Four things are necessary for happiness :
Wine and flowers, a running stream and the
face of the beloved.

These royal poetesses sang like spring songsters in language as naive as it is spontaneous. Their poetry has charm, sincerity and personality. They are conscious of the power of song and wine and of beauty which gives "grace and truth to life's unquiet dream."

—O:—

THE STORY AND CHRONOLOGY OF PLASTICS

By M. A. AZAM,

Industrial Chemist and Plastics Engineer (U.S.A.)

It all started with billiard balls. They were made from ivory which was becoming scarce. In 1868 a U.S. firm, Phellan and Collander Company, declared a prize of \$10,000 (or about Rs. 35,000 at the present rate of exchange) for a substitute. This aroused the imagination and aspirations of a twenty-six-year old journeyman printer—John Wesley Hyatt—from Albany, New York, resulting in the discovery of celluloid, the first plastic. During the same period Alexander Parkes of Birmingham was also experimenting with nitrocellulose compounds to produce 'synthetic horn'. Celluloid sheets, rods and tubes in commercial quantities were not, however, available before 1875.

Cellulose derived from wood or cotton is the basic raw material for celluloid. Cellulose is treated with nitric and sulphuric acids. Cellulose nitrate thus obtained is kneaded with camphor and the dough-like mass which can be pigmented is made into sheets, rods and tubes which have found innumerable applications. They are used, as for example, in making pen and pencil barrels, drawing instruments, tool handles, etc.

Celluloid is easily inflammable. To eliminate this undesirable property scientists developed a related compound, cellulose acetate. Gradually, other members, such as, cellulose acetate-butyrate and ethyl cellulose added to the family of cellulose plastics.

The casein plastics were developed in 1897 through the efforts of W. Kricheldorf, a printer in Hanover and Prof. Adolph Spitteler of Prien in Bavaria. They were both trying to produce a hardened and waterproof surface with casein solution treated with formaldehyde. The plastic product was marketed in about 1904. Casein obtained from skim milk is thoroughly kneaded with water, alum and colouring matter and then formed into

sheets, rods and tubes by suitable presses and extrusion devices. The formed pieces are then hardened by treatment with formaldehyde.

Casein plastics are widely used in the manufacture of buttons but their application is limited due to the difficulty in moulding the material and the comparatively high coefficient of water absorption of the finished articles.

History was in the making when, in 1871, Bayer had first observed the phenomenon of resin formation resulting from the condensation of phenol with formaldehyde. No particular significance was attached to the dark sticky mass thus obtained. It remained for Dr. Leo Bakeland, a Belgian chemist who lived in Yonkers, New York, to work out in 1900 a satisfactory formulation for phenolic moulding compound known, after his name, as Bakelite. Dr. Bakeland was looking for a substitute for shellac which was in a great demand for the manufacture of phonograph records. Unfortunately, Bakelite is not suitable for the purpose that led to its discovery as the material cannot be re-melted like shellac ; but the potentiality of the new plastic composition was quickly recognised and it soon found many applications in the electrical and automotive industries. Now-a-days, Bakelite of which telephone receivers, switch cups, ash trays, etc., are made is known in almost every household. Bakelite has other trade names, such as, Resinox, Durez, Textolite, etc.

Because of the inherent characteristics of the chemicals, fillers and other ingredients used in the phenol-formaldehyde (Bakelite) moulding powders it is not usually possible to get transparent or light colours with them. The most important material chemically related to Bakelite but admitting of a wide assortment

of colours including many of the delicate pastel shades is urea-formaldehyde. As early as 1897, a German chemist had discovered a resinous product from the reaction of urea with formaldehyde but it was not before 1924 that the compound could be commercially developed. By this time, low cost synthetic urea was made available from the firm of I.G. Farbenindustrie A.G. The foresightedness of H. D. Bennet, President, Toledo Scales Co., Toledo, Ohio, who sponsored several fellowship on plastics research at the Mellon Institute of Industrial Research, Pittsburg, Pa., and the pioneering efforts of Dr. John and Dr. Pollack were really responsible for the success of the urea moulding compounds. The history of urea is, in a way, the history of plastics and traced back to 1828 when Wohler, a German scientist, synthesised the chemical, the first organic compound from inorganic sources. The ground work for the synthetic industry of organic plastics was thus unwittingly laid.

Urea plastics are popular for scale and radio housings, display units and luminaries for lighting fixtures, etc. Some of the popular trade names are Beetle, Plaskon, Formica, etc.

The Vinyl plastics became commercially known by 1939. Regnault, in 1838, first observed the formation of a white precipitate when sealed tubes of vinyl chloride were exposed to sunlight. This and similar other phenomena were closely studied by Wislicenus and Claisen. But as in other cases there was a gap, in this case of about a century, between the test tube and the production plant. Thanks to the works of Dr. F. W. Skirrow, an Englishman and Staudinger, a German who vastly contributed to the development of the Vinyl plastics which sell under trade names Vinylite, Koroseal, Vinyon, Saran, etc., and are used in transparent wearing apparel, waterproofing fabric, seat covers and the like.

Polystyrene, a member of the vinyl group of plastics (Trade names: Lustron, Styron, etc.) was little known in industry before 1938, although styrene, the monomer is one of the oldest synthetic resins being first produced in 1831. Berthelot in course of his classical researches on pyrolytic reactions during 1866-1868 synthesised styrene by the thermal decomposition of ethyl benzene, which method is industrially employed even to this day. Polystyrene is recognised as an excellent insulating medium for high-frequency radio equipment and similar apparatus where dielectric properties are of primary importance. It has some other highly desirable characteristics such as, lightness, resistance to acid and alkalis, high index of refraction and a pleasing metallic sound. Polystyrene is very popular as a material for hair combs, bottle caps, electrical parts, etc.

Acrylic acid was first prepared by Redtenbacher in 1843. Otto Rohm and Bauer of Germany investigated into the commercial possibilities of a resin based on this compound. In 1927 Bauer's method was successfully employed to produce a quantity of methyl acrylate resin. By 1931-32, the Rohm & Haas Company began production of the plastics on a large scale. Polymethyl methacrylate is the name of the new plastics—popularly known as Plexiglas, Lucite, Perspex and Diakon. They are noted for their ideal optical properties being crystal

clear and very stable in outdoor exposures. These, as such, are used in bomber noses and aeroplanes cockpit housings. They also make attractive displays in cocktail lounges, novelties, jewelry, transparent furniture, etc.

All the above plastics fall in two principal categories, namely, the *thermoplastic* materials which may be softened by heat and re-moulded again and again. The cellulose and the Vinyl plastics including Polystyrene and Acrylic types belong to this group. The phenolic and the Urea plastics are distinguished as *thermosetting* materials because of their property of being set to an infusible and insoluble solid on the application of heat—imparting to the product a more or less permanent form which cannot be melted again for remoulding. More nearly related to the thermoplastics, though not strictly classified as such, are the Casein plastics.

The number of plastics is legion. The following interesting chronology of the best known and well-established plastics is taken from Simond's *Industrial Plastics*. Within the brief span of a little over half a century the plastic industry in the U.S.A. alone totalled an output worth over 150 crores of rupees. Before the war, in 1937, the *per capita* consumption of plastics of the three great plastics producing countries was as follows:

Great Britain	1.10 lb.
U.S.A.	1.45 lb.
Germany	1.50 lb.

In 1945, the *per capita* consumption in the U.S.A. was about 6 lbs. The plastics industry marches on!

CHRONOLOGY OF PLASTICS

- 1875 Celluloid—Sheets, tubes, rods.
- 1904 Casein—Thick sheets, rods.
- 1909 Phenol-formaldehyde (Bakelite)—Castings.
- 1911 Cellulose acetate—Sheets, tubes, rods.
- 1919 Vinyl acetate polymers—Adhesives.
- 1922 Phenol-formaldehyde—Laminated sheets.
- 1924 Phenol-formaldehyde—Moulding powders.
- 1924 Urea-formaldehyde—Cast forms.
- 1929 Urea-formaldehyde—Moulding powders.
- 1929 Modified vinyl acetate—Powders, sheets and films.
- 1931 Acrylic esters—Castings, mouldings.
- 1931 Urea-formaldehyde—Laminating sheets.
- 1931 Phenol-formaldehyde—Modified cast resins.
- 1932 Methacrylic esters—Castings, mouldings.
- 1933 Vinyl benzene—Moulding powders.
- 1933 Cellulose acetate—Injection moulding powders.
- 1933 Benzyl cellulose—Sheets, rods, tubes.
- 1934 Celluloid and cellulose acetate—Continuous extruded sheets.
- 1935 Vinyl chloride polymers and mixed polymers—Sheets, rods, powders, film.
- 1936 Phenol-formaldehyde—Extruded tubes.
- 1936 Ethyl cellulose—Sheets and powders.
- 1938 Casein—Moulding powders.
- 1939 Cellulose acetate-butyrate—Moulding powders.
- 1940 Melamine—Moulding powders.
- 1941 Vinylidene chloride—Extruded strips.



INDONESIA

The Land of Promise

By P. MADHAVAN NAIR, B.A.

SOUTH-EAST of the Malay Peninsula lies one of the richest colonial empires in the world: Holland's. The Dutch are envied. The ambitious Japs coveted the great wealth of the East Indies or Indonesia rich in raw materials and natural resources. The temptation, added to the prospect of an easy walk-over, was irresistible. Thus Indonesia fell a prey to Japanese lust for conquest and it all happened in one lightning sweep as it were. As matters stood the Dutch could do little, in fact nothing, against so mighty a bid on the part of the Nipponese to make themselves supreme in "Greater East Asia". Now with the end of the war in the Far East, the Dutch are once again on the scene in Indonesia; but not with flying colours as they might have hoped or desired.

The Netherlands Indies Empire grew out of the Dutch East Indies Company, founded in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The enterprising Dutch merchants and navigators opened up a brisk trade with the historic Spice Islands or the Moluccas, an island group in the East Indies. The Dutch monopoly of the spice trade and Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry in the Far East culminated in what is known in history as the Amboina Massacre, and thereafter the British concentrated on India and the Dutch began to establish their supremacy in Indonesia. The Netherlands Indies are at present governed by a Dutch Governor-General under the direct control and supervision of the Dutch Minister for colonies at The Hague—the capital of Holland.

THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

The East Indies comprise the major portion of the great Malay Archipelago—that immense conglomeration of islands which lie between the mainland of Asia and Australia, mostly along the Equator. They consist of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Banks, Billiton, Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Soemba, Flores, Timor, the Moluccas and a host of other minor and less important islands, besides the great land-mass of New Guinea. Of these, all the major islands except Timor, the Molucca group and New Guinea are sometimes called the Sunda group of islands and are collectively spoken of as Malayasia. The strategic and favourable geographical situation of these islands can well be imagined for they lie athwart the great sea-route to the Far East and Australia. The British Empire air route from London to Sydney via Port Darwin also passes through Batavia in Java.

THE COLOSSAL EXTENT OF THE INDIES

The Netherlands Indies have a total area of over 730,000 sq. miles. The islands comprising it are spread out over a vast expanse of ocean and from east to west extend to about 3,000 miles or roughly the distance between New York and Liverpool. The north-western part of Borneo, the biggest of the Sunda Islands, is under British control and consists of the Protectorates of Sarawak and Brunei, the former ruled by a white Raja and the latter by a Malay Sultan. British North Borneo is administered by a chartered Company with headquarters at London. Only the western part of New Guinea belongs to the Dutch and the island of Timor is shared by the Dutch and the Portuguese.

Though New Guinea is included in the East Indies, it naturally forms a part of Australasia. Though strategically important and intrinsically rich in natural resources and mineral wealth such as gold, petroleum, etc., it is quite undeveloped. Much of the territory is covered with dense forests but thanks to the war it is not now quite unknown as it used to be formerly, though the interior is still largely unexplored. The inhabitants, who are Papuans, are distinctly primitive in their habits and ways of living and cannibalism is prevalent among some of them.

COUNTRY AND CLIMATE

The islands of the East Indies, though mountainous in nature, contain rich river basins and immense tracts of fertile lowlands both near the coasts and in the interior. The East Indies are of volcanic origin and this fact accounts for the extreme fertility of the soil. There are many volcanoes but the majority of them are extinct and the activities of the rest are somewhat trifling at present. The East Indies possess a hot wet type of climate with rains all the year round. All the islands of Malayasia except the greater part of Java, are covered with dense equatorial jungle—the favourite haunt of the gibbon and the orang-outang. The flora and fauna of the region are noted for their great variety and abundance. The interior of the bigger islands, e.g., Borneo has not been fully explored as yet. The Malays, Chinese and some of the aboriginal tribes dwell on the coastal plains and river valleys, where they cultivate tropical products like sago, coconuts, groundnuts, sugar, cassava, etc. In remote parts of the interior of Borneo may be found the fertile roaming grounds of the head-hunter and the cannibal. The head-hunter kills friend and foe alike for the much-prized trophies of human skulls and cannibalism has not been completely eradicated from the island. The impact of civilisation has not been felt in the interior of some of the islands.

THE WEALTH OF INDONESIA

Indonesia is one of the most fortunate countries in the world. She is extremely rich in natural resources. Her forest wealth is practically untouched. Her immense forests possess an inexhaustible reserve of valuable timber especially teak. The country is very rich in mineral resources and produces coal, iron, tin, nickel, manganese, gold, sulphur, copper, etc. To these must be added the extreme fertility of the soil, and the climate which are responsible for the great production of variety of tropical products like rubber, tobacco, rice, sugarcane, cinchona bark, sago, cotton, copra, sisal-hemp, spices, coffee, tea, etc. It is clear, therefore, that Indonesia is rich in some of the essential raw materials of industry, such as coal, iron, tin, rubber, oil, timber, etc. In recent years, the East Indies have come into prominence as a great producer of petroleum. The oil produced in the Indies has a ready market in India and the Far East. The Balikpapan oilfields in south-east Borneo and the oilfields in Tarakan have become specially famous since the last war. Indonesia is one of the major tin and rubber producing countries in the world. Tin is chiefly mined

People's Council consisting of Indonesians and Netherlanders but its functions were purely advisory. Political advance in the pre-war years was extremely slow. All power and authority were in the hands of the few Dutch residents and the people did not possess even a shadow of power. The Dutch did not prove to be good administrators, inasmuch as they cared only for pumping wealth into the mother country and raise their standard of living to great heights at the expense of the subject people. There was practically no freedom of the press, speech or association. The people were kept poor, illiterate and ignorant and industrially backward.

The enterprising Dutch with their slender resources could not have prevented their far-flung and vast domain from falling a prey to a gangster power like Japan who over-ran the whole of South-east Asia with comparative ease in the early stages of the war. But the sudden rise of an organised and determined freedom movement in Java, coming as it did in the wake of the sudden Japanese collapse and before the imperialist power had had time to re-establish herself firmly in her old jealous possessions has upset all her plans and has created an entirely new situation as grave as unexpected for the Dutch. The restoration and reimposition of Dutch rule and authority over Java is fanatically resisted by the Javanese. All eyes are now turned on Java, which hitherto figured rarely in the news. The Indonesian struggle is being watched with intense interest and sympathy by all the subject peoples of Asia who are struggling for national independence. Their battle-cry 'Merdeka' which means freedom resounds throughout the length and breadth of Asia.

In this connection the more or less parallel movement now being carried on in Indo-China should not be lost sight of. All honour to the Annamites who are struggling against tremendous odds. The Indonesian and Annamite struggles for freedom are fraught with far-reaching economic and political consequences to the imperialist powers including Britain. The significance and implica-

tions of the struggle can well be imagined in the light of the facts which have been stated above. The reasons for the present struggle are not far to seek. The obvious answer is colonial exploitation. Other factors, besides, might have contributed to the present impasse, such as bad government, the temperament of the people, the chaotic conditions produced by the Japanese occupation and after, the procurement of arms, distrust of Dutch promises, loss of Dutch and European prestige, etc. Instances like this can be multiplied. The fact which emerges from all these, however, is the ruthless exploitation of a weaker by a stronger and better organised power, for enriching herself at the expense of the subject people, irrespective of whether they are fit or unfit for self-government and the passionate desire of the suppressed people to wrest themselves free. Permanent peace and progress in Indonesia, in the circumstances, could only be achieved by the recognition of the right of the Javanese people to self-determination and friendly co-operation between the contending elements.

Indonesia can be a great and prosperous country and she will be in a position to export immense quantities of tropical products, raw materials and foodstuffs for the world markets if only her resources are developed on proper lines. This extraordinary tropical region is such, that man can by comparatively little effort get back lavish dividends. Indeed the East Indies are so rich in natural resources, so rich in raw materials, so wealthy and so full of potentialities that it can well be termed the tropical treasure-house of the world. The Sunda Islands set amidst coral atolls and beautiful seas, with its background of lofty mountain peaks, some of them active volcanoes, and dense evergreen vegetation, and situated as they are in the far lands of the colourful Orient, present us with a picture of sublime grandeur and charm alike for its varied attractions as for its great wealth and progress, which are enhanced beyond measure by the great freedom struggle of a brave and patriotic people who are the Javanese. 'Merdeka'!

—O—

COMMUNISM AND INDIAN COMMUNISTS

By B. K.

COMMUNISM has come to stay. Scientific progress in the means of communications and in the scale of production has made capitalism an anachronism. The strong current in industry towards integration has led to the growth of industrial monsters which in the present-day contracting economy have become a social scourge and an economic pestilence. The good old spacious days of little men are gone for good; individualism or freedom of enterprise has become merely a cloak to perpetuate an order beneficial to a possessed few. The growth of monopoly and restrictionism has led to periodic breakdown in our economy. Unemployment at home and imperialism abroad leading to frequent wars are the natural consequences. But we cannot simply "wish the new monsters away." We must tame them or perish. Capitalism has demonstrated its inability to control them because control would spell ruin of those few who own them. Communism alone holds out the prospect of harnessing the tremendous potentialities—for good and evil—of these industrial monsters for the good of mankind.

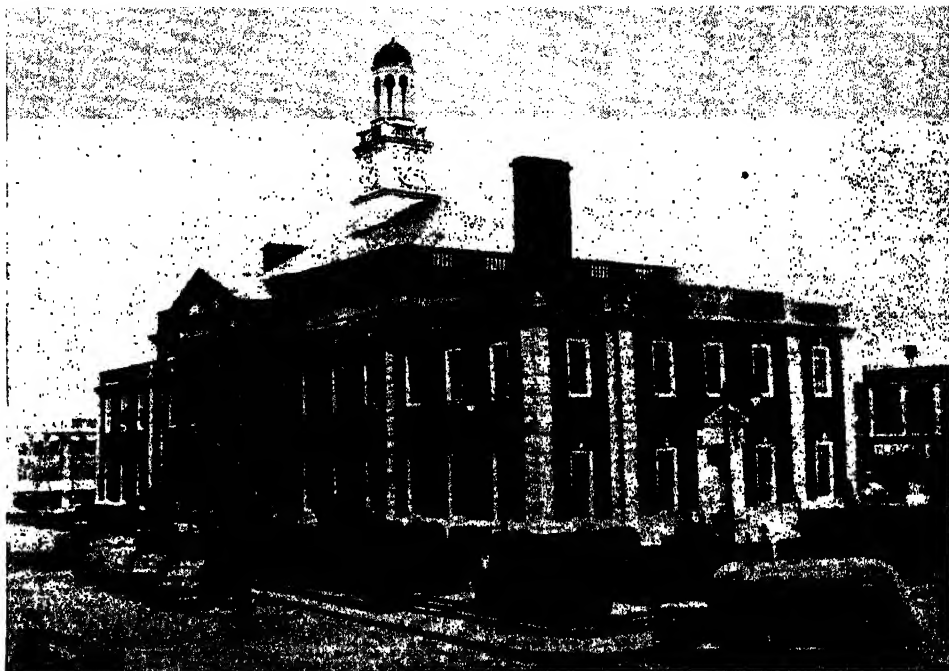
While the stark economic realities are forcing the world more and more towards communism, politically the marvellous achievement that has attended the Russian arms in this war and the decisive swing of the British electorate towards the Left have won social recognition for an hitherto heretic and outcast creed.

COMMUNISM AND SPIRITUALISM

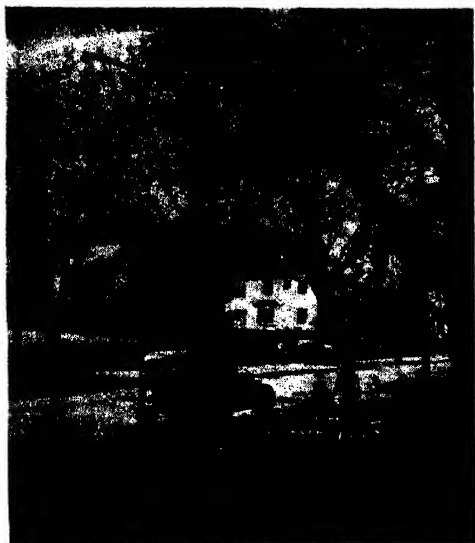
The early, though inevitable, anti-religious bias of the Russian revolutionaries has led many especially the Gandhites to brand communism as atheistic, anti-religious and materialist. This fallacy has further been fed on the emphasis which naturally Marx laid upon the economic interpretation of history. But it is not communism but industrialism that is soulless and anti-spiritual. Though the present-day drift towards communism is the result of industrial anarchy, communism as an economic order is neutral between machine economy and 'primitive' economy. (By primitive economy we mean an economy where machine is dethroned). It is capitalism that has made man the



This house in Independence, Missouri, is the family home where President Truman and members of his family stay on trips home from Washington



The Jackson County Court House in Independence, Missouri, built under the supervision of Harry S. Truman when he served as presiding judge of the county



A residential street in Independence, Missouri,
a typical small American town



The Independence, Missouri, High School, letting
out classes for the lunch hour



Prof. Robert Richards, leader of the members of the British Parliamentary Delegation,
addressing the Press Conference at Delhi

slave of machinery and communism promises to emancipate him from that servitude. At least communism offers much greater scope for the development of man's spiritual personality by making possible for him to pursue his spiritual aims unfettered by economic want or haunting sense of insecurity and by allowing him greater leisure. Capitalism, with its outward veneer of religiosity, creates conditions through degrading, soul-crushing poverty and unemployment which are most inimical to the growth of culture and spiritualism. What art to please the eye, what beauty to feed the soul can develop in the society where production is conditioned not by pleasure or by the satisfaction of the aesthetic sense but by the exigencies of the market-place? True it is, that mechanisation and mass production, specialisation and scientific management, have largely been responsible for the "artlessness" in industry and such conditions would obtain as much in industrial communism as they do in industrial capitalism. Through the provision of leisure and liberal entertainment, communism will solve the urgent problem of industrial fatigue and boredom; through industrial democracy it can offset the effects of mechanisation tending to kill initiative and also give scope to the worker for creative self-expression. In this way communism can mitigate to a large extent the soullessness of modern industrialism. But in capitalism where the wheels of the economic machine are run by private profit, this divorce between production and pleasure, between machine and art, between 'thought and toil' is accentuated. With its degrading poverty and its elimination of art from industry, capitalism is fatal to spiritualism. Surely a society based on equality, distributive justice and economic security and where production is governed by social utility is much more spiritual in its content than one based on private profit, greed and exploitation, and where money, not work, is the yardstick for social distinction and political power, where individual self-gratification and not social service is the criterion of success.

But our faith in Communism must not be mistaken for a praise of the Indian Communists.¹ That party with its admirable creed held out the hope that it would play an important part in organising the masses and bringing them political consciousness. Its war-time record is dark and our charge-sheet against it is long. It followed a policy of political opportunism and of alliance with reactionary imperialist forces.

The outbreak of the War found the Communists in a dilemma. Of all the countries Soviet Russia had concluded a pact of non-aggression and friendship with Nazi Germany. Marxian dialecticism failed to throw much light on the problem. Communists, save the Royists, quietly concluded that it was an imperialist war with which they would have nothing to do. Perforce they went into political hybernation. But in 1941, Hitler attacked Russia. Overnight the character of the War was transformed as though through a process of alchemy; it had become a people's war—a war of the international working class against the forces of privilege and reaction.

The case for or against the Communists hinges on the meaning of the term, people's war. Comrade P. C. Joshi, the authoritative spokesman of the Communist Party, has defined it thus: "People in people's war

means all peoples, the world over without exception. It, of course, includes India's millions and also the Negroes wherever they be." The word "people" has justifiably been extended by Mahatma Gandhi to include, along with Asiatics and Negroes, the proletariat of Japan and Germany.² On the truth or falsity of this contention, the reputation of the Communists stands or falls.

When Hitler launched his hordes against Russia, Stalin called upon his countrymen to rally round their *Fatherland*. It was followed some time after by the dissolution of the Comintern to free the Communist parties of various countries to pursue national policies unfettered by any allegiance to the International. While Stalin called upon his countrymen to fight for their hearth and homes, for their country rather than for the interests of the international working class movement, while his appeal was national rather than international, the Indian Communists repudiated their motherland and called upon the Indian people to fight for the peoples all the world over. Modern wars are indeed people's wars because they are total wars. War to-day is everybody's concern; but it is people's war in the sense that it is people's national war. The British, French and Russians have undoubtedly been fighting for their national existence; the first two for their overseas possessions as well. For them it can aptly be called a people's war.

Communists, of course, will say that the policy of national appeal was forced upon Russia by the exigencies of the war. That Russia, the embodiment of Communism, should be able to live, mattered above all. But why was Stalin, the mumbo-jumbo of Indian Communists, mum when Bengal in particular and India in general was (and is) dying of hunger? Any expression of sympathy for the starving millions of India would not have involved a breach of diplomatic etiquette or jeopardised the Soviet Union. Molotov's reference to India at the San Francisco Conference was more calculated to achieve debating advantage and to play to the gallery than inspired by any altruism to help our country.

People's War must obviously lead to a People's Peace. But a perusal of the Potsdam Agreement clearly shows that it is not a people's peace; it is emphatically an American, British and Russian peace.

If War was the result of a group of German capitalists and junkers, of a handful of Japanese industrialists and militarists, who coerced the mass of pacific proletariat into submission, clearly there is no justification for penalising the people when their criminal leaders have been liquidated. But the Potsdam Agreement has a different story to tell. Germany (this will apply to Japan as well) is to have agricultural and domestic industries which will inevitably depress the standard of living of the German people. Coupled with this, reparations will lower their standard below the low 1939 level when German economy was fully geared to the production of guns instead of butter. Further the German standard of living is not to rise beyond that of the other European peoples excluding England and Russia. We are not here discussing the justice and desirability or otherwise of the Potsdam Agreement. But it definitely affects the German- and Japanese pro-

¹ We use the words 'Indian Communists' not in the sense of individual communists but as organised political parties.

² Correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and P. C. Joshi, Edited by P. C. Joshi, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

letariat adversely. If the Axis had won (God forbid), the common people in these countries would have been better off than now by getting a share, though it would have been very meagre, in the spoils.

Why, it may be asked, special treatment or preference has been shown in the Potsdam Agreement for the British and Rumanian people over the other non-German Europeans, say the French, the Dutch, the Danes, the Poles and Czechoslovaks who have fought valiantly and suffered grievously in the war? Undoubtedly it was a national war, not a people's war.

The case of Rumania makes the nature of the war abundantly clear. Rumania could not help remaining out of the Nazi tentacles. Under German pressure and through anti-Slav propaganda, her ruling and propertied classes led her into war against Russia. When Germans were rolled back, the Soviets liquidated the reactionary Rumanian classes; now Russia has imposed on Rumania reparations which can only be paid by tightening closely the belt of the Rumanian peasants and workers. There might be some justification for exacting reparations from the Axis peoples; but there is none whatsoever from the Rumanians. Russia is fighting for the interests of her own people. The claim that it is people's war all the world over is patently hollow.

That is not all. England and France have fought for the maintenance of their imperial possessions. The French policy in Lebanon, Algeria and Indo-China needs no comment. Some Communists fondly believe that the character of the British war-effort changed the moment Labour joined the Conservative in coalition. Save on domestic issues, the foreign and imperial policies of the parties are identical. It was Labour that gave its tacit approval to Churchill's exclusion of India from the Atlantic Charter and to his declaration that he did not become King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire or "what we have we hold." It is travesty to say that the Conservative-Labour Coalition had been fighting a 'people's war' when it suppressed the Communists in Belgium and Greece by force, when it continued to have a soft corner for Franco in Spain or "for the Kuomintang dictatorship vis-a-vis the Yenan Communists in China." Can it be called 'people's war' when South Africa—a member of the United Nations—passes anti-Asiatic laws which smack of Nazi anti-Semitism and affect Indians who have shed blood for exorcising the doctrine of race-superiority? The Communist thesis betrays an inexcusable political naivety or an utter disregard of facts. Undeniably the Allies did represent comparatively more progressive forces than the Axis; but only in their methods rather than their aims, in their means rather than their ends. In that too they were only a degree better than their rivals. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress were right when they could not extend to them anything beyond moral support. And when the Congress tried to convert the national, imperialist war into a people's war for Indians in August 1942, the Communists stabbed it in the back and aided the Government in putting down the spontaneous risings of the people. People naturally said: *Et tu Brute!*

In internal politics, the part played by them is not creditable. They have allied themselves with the Mus-

lim League—the party of arch-reaction. In the Soviet Constitution every constituent state enjoys theoretical autonomy and complete right of secession. Taking their stand on this, they support self-determination and Pakistan for the Muslims regardless of the peculiar conditions prevalent in India and its dangerous effects if carried out into practice. In their blind admiration for the Russian Constitution, they forget that "Mother Russia" would not only frown upon but would put down with a heavy hand any attempt to give practical effect to the right of secession.⁵ While the Communists organise themselves on economic basis and regard religion as a reactionary force in politics, they do not mind hugging the League dominated by landlords, Nawabs and titleholders and organised on appeal to religious fanaticism. And in spite of the numerous concessions by the Congress to the Muslim League including the recognition of the Muslim right of self-determination, the Communists continue to snipe the Congress for its alleged reluctance to come to an understanding with the League.

COMMUNISTS AND CLASS WAR

Communism is not merely a negative creed based on hatred and conflict of interest between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the worker and the capitalist. Class antagonism is a phenomenon of capitalism and Marx's excessive emphasis on it was necessary in the first attempt to organise the workers. This dogmatic insistence on class conflict had an appeal to the psychology of the worker and won many adherents to Communism. But in India conditions are different. Class antagonism in the economic sphere is overshadowed by community of interests between the worker and the capitalist in the political sphere. Of course, we must be watchful as not to allow our national objective to be perverted and suffer a substitution of British regime by a rule of the propertied and moneyed classes. If that were to happen it would be a tragedy of first magnitude. But in the present political circumstances of the country we must not complicate and delay our march towards freedom by driving the vested interests into alliance with British imperialism. The slogan of class war must not be allowed to deflect our attention from our immediate national objective. But the Communists do not lose any opportunity to defame the Congress. They have decried it as an organisation of big business which incidentally gives the British Government additional material to misrepresent the Congress. But if Russia could come to terms with Nazi Germany or can make an agreement with 'the extremely anti-Communist authorisation' Kuomintang Congress with impunity can befriend the Indian business magnates. If Stalin can shake hands with Churchill—the man who helped the Whites against the Reds in the Russian Civil War between 1917-1922 and who declared, at the time of extending his hand of friendship to Russia in 1941, 'I hate Communism'—the Congress can certainly do some harmless flirtation with the Indian capitalists. If the Labourites in England can sit with men like Churchill—who dubbed socialism as Gestapo rule—and Beaver-

5 "Though the Soviet Constitution guarantees the right of secession to any national unit, in reality any advocate of such secession is treated as a counter-revolutionary."—Maurice Hindes in *Russia's Fight On*, p. 175.

6 How do the Communists square the cry of people's war with the declaration of Mr. Bevin that 'our territories (in the Far East) will be returned to us' and that Hong Kong would be retained in face of the strong Chinese feeling about it?

6 In 1937 Churchill denounced Leninism as a creed of "social passions and appetites." Quoted in Leach's *Faith, Reason and Civilization*, p. 188.

brook without ceasing to be socialists, the Congress certainly does not deserve the malicious traducement the Communists are pouring over it.

It is not unnatural that the temper of the people has been rising against the Communists. Disowned by

the Muslim League, hated by and now useless to the British Government, distrusted by the Congress, Nemes is bound to overtake the Communists in the shape of isolation and political ostracism from the Indian political scene.

—O—

STUDY OF PHONETICS

By PANNALAL CHAKRABARTI, M.A., B.T.

CORRECT pronunciation is the ornament of a language. It is required not only in English but in every language of distinction. In whatever sphere we may live or work, correct pronunciation is a condition of success. The utilitarian aim is predominant, not the cultural one. Unfamiliar accents, emphases, pronunciation and intonation stand in the way of mutual understanding.

Pronunciation plays a vital part in reading aloud, in conversation and in speaking with others. So we cannot overlook its realistic value. In trade, commerce, law-courts, academic institutions and social gatherings we must try to talk well and correctly.

We learn a language not only to read, write and understand it, but also to speak it and follow it when spoken by others. In our country this point is sadly neglected in the teaching of English. Students learn this language and become masters of it, but unfortunately in most cases, the conversation and reading of our boys is jarring and unintelligible. Often we hear our boys conversing with English gentlemen use the familiar phrase "Beg your pardon, sir?" Students fresh from the mofussil look vacant when addressed by the professors in the colleges here. In such cases Englishmen must lower their standard and much energy is lost, though the medium of intercourse is English. The defect lies with us. We do not pay proper attention to teaching children from a tender age the art of pronouncing by well-trained teachers and professors and oral work is not encouraged. The result is, difficulties concerning sounds.

Phonetics is concerned with the sound of a language when spoken. Its seeks to ascertain how sounds are produced, it traces the changes which sounds undergo according to time and place and attempts to determine the standard of speech suitable for general use.

So clergymen, actors, singers, professors, reciters, lawyers and politicians stand in need of its aid. But a question arises here: There is provincialism—there are varieties of speech, properly termed dialects. Which is to be followed in order to be a master of elocution?

We admit that no two speakers agree in vocabulary and intonation, and individual speakers often differ in varieties of speech according to circumstances. But, there is, in every well-established language of the world, a *standard form* of it. Though rustics and uneducated speakers have made many divergencies, still, gradually and slowly the standard form has evolved and educated gentlemen follow it. Various agencies like (1) great public schools, (2) good dictionaries, (3) the stage and the cinema, (4) gramophone records, (5) compulsory elementary education, (6) broadcasting stations and (7) foreigners who master it, have been at work to sow its widespread extension. The English of Southern England, spoken by educated speakers, is recognised to be standard English; and the Calcutta dialect of spoken Bengali is recognised to be so.

Standard speech is required (1) in teaching a

foreigner, (2) in general intercourse with the persons of other provinces of the country, (3) in aesthetic appreciation, e.g., in reading a book and (4) in public speaking.

We should acquire the pronunciation of this standard speech only. Phonetics teaches us the sound of this speech and according to Prof. W. Ripman—"the standard dialect would spread much if the spelling were phonetic."

Phonetics is the science of sounds and so students require a set of standardised and generally accepted symbols. Without phonetic symbols the designation of sounds is awkward and students would be unable to express pronunciation in writing. Though there are other systems of transcription, the I.P.A. system of symbols is the best. (1) It has several characteristics which are its own; (2) it is widely used in all parts of the world; (3) it is based on the most up-to-date scientific treatment of the subject; and (4) every possible sound can be transcribed by its use.

Beside the above advantages, the utilities of studying phonetics are many:

(1) Any sound of any language can be analysed and taught by phonetics and can be phonetically transcribed;

(2) Spelling and pronunciation can be differentiated by phonetic transcription and thereby we can train ourselves to speak in the right way;

(3) One symbol of these alphabets stands for one sound and one only, while the symbols of the ordinary alphabets may indicate more than one sound;

(4) Foreigners may easily master a language through this script;

(5) The actual sounds of words may be transcribed on paper by this system: These sounds are peculiar to the languages which produce them, and cannot be properly represented by the ordinary symbols of other languages. This does much harm. Several Anglo-Bengali Dictionaries are examples to the point.

One eminent phonetician has remarked that the number of serious students is small. But if students take the subject seriously and have early training in phonetics with the aid of reliable books and eminent professors, they will be benefited in their after-lives. Understanding and comparative study of the other tongues of the globe would then be easy.

N.B.—(a) My thanks are due to Prof. W. Sutherland, M.A., of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, for his invaluable and ready help as to the composition of this article.

(b) Reference may be given to the following books which I have often consulted during the composition of the above: (1) *English Phonetics and Specimens of English*, W. Ripman; (2) *English Speech To-day*, R. McDonald, M.A.; (3) *Clear Speaking and Good Reading*, Arthur Buzzell, M.A.; (4) *Outline of English Phonetics*, D. Jones; (5) *Handbook of English Pronunciation*, Mukharji and Trivedi; (6) *English Intonation*, H. E. Palmer.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto be answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—*Editor, The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

CONGRESS AND THE MASSES: By H. C. Mookerjee, M.A. Ph.D. Foreword by K. M. Munshi. The Book House, 15 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. v + 280. Price Rs. 3.

The book is divided into twelve chapters dealing with the following subjects: Indian Political Organisation and the Masses, The Congress Approach to Some Indian Problems, The Agrarian Programme of the Congress, Cottage Industries and Unemployment, Cottage Industries in Congress India, Congress and the Proletariat, Congress and Labour Unrest, The Bihar Government and The Masses, Some Achievements of the Bihar Congress Government, Prohibition in India, Prohibition in Madras, Congress Leadership and The Awakening of the Masses.

The author has taken great pains to show how the Congress has consistently stood for the welfare of the masses, irrespective of any communal consideration, throughout its long history. Its social programme has been of a radical character, specially designed to free the poorest people from the numerous disabilities which have been oppressing them for centuries. In the matter of economic interests too, the Congress has always tried to be fair to all classes without distinction; but its special aim has been to bring a ray of hope in the forlorn lives of the toiling millions. The book contains a very full account of the measures initiated by Congressmen when they accepted office in the seven provinces in which they were in majority. These activities clearly prove the correctness of the observations made in previous chapters.

We hope that this very seasonal publication by an unprejudiced observer of the standing of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, will go a long way to clear the misunderstandings spread by interested parties against the premier national organisation of the country.

GANDHIAN CONSTITUTION FOR FREE INDIA: By Shriman Narayan Agarwal. Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Kitabistan, Allahabad, January, 1948. Pp. 188. Price Rs. 3-12.

The book consists of two parts containing twenty-two chapters altogether. In the first half of the book, the author deals with certain basic principles and tries to establish the soundness of the Gandhian scheme in which the productive, as well as the administrative systems are decentralised. Defence is by means of organised non-violence, which is calculated to bring power within reach of even the physically weakest. This is, according to Gandhiji, the only way to establish real democracy. In the second half of the book, certain concrete suggestions have been set forth in order to give shape to the principles enunciated above. While criticising the Western democracies, the author has made ample use of the writings of many modern Western thinkers; but, we are afraid, this process has in

itself handicapped his critical treatment to a certain extent.

The essence of the proposed scheme consists of this: The administrative system envisaged in this constitution is that of a pyramid whose broad base is composed of numberless village communities of the country. The higher panchayats shall tender sound advice, give expert guidance and information, supervise and co-ordinate the activities of the village panchayats with a view to increasing the efficiency of administration and public service. But, in the non-violent state of Gandhiji's conception, it will be the basic units that would dictate to the Centre and not *vice versa* (p. 135). The system of election favoured will be direct for the village panchayats and indirect for those higher up. There will be universal adult franchise. Minority rights will be protected by an adequate reservation of seats and the right to contest additional seats through joint electorates.

Undoubtedly, these measures will go a long way to relieve India of the consequences of the Party system, which is unfortunately coupled in our country with communal representation. They will also help to foster the spirit of initiative, and loyalty to common interests irrespective of communal considerations. So far, the author's suggestions are sound and practical. But, we are afraid, this is not the whole of the problem of democracy in the modern world. How are we to make sure that the right men have been placed in the right place to look after the community's interests? A man who may have proved his ability in smoothening out human relations within a village council, or even higher up, need not necessarily have the ability to decide satisfactorily on technical questions like those connected with, say, mining and irrigation, banking or engineering or afforestation. This is a problem which faces us all over the world today. Capitalism tried to find a way out by unequal distribution of opportunities; and it has made a hash of human lives. Ancient India tried to go round the difficulty of selection by assuming that abilities and aptitudes are transmitted along the family line, which is not proved true by scientific observation. As a matter of fact, this reliance upon the hereditary caste system resulted in the rule of the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas in the past. Elsewhere in the world men have tried device of functional electorates; that has been found by experience to lead to the growth of sectional interests. Now, all these are matters which we must take into consideration, and we must find some way out if we are to save democracy, which ought to mean that all men should be given equal opportunity to develop their special aptitudes and abilities, and exercise them in the best interests of society.

We expect to learn more from Shri Agarwal on these fundamental sociological questions; in the meanwhile, we can recommend the present book warmly to all those who are interested in the welfare of our motherland and of its down-trodden rural population.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

GANDHI AND GANDHIEM : By Nagendranath Gupta with a foreword by Mr. K. Natarajan of the "Indian Social Reformer", an appendix giving the life-sketch and an estimate of the author by the late Shree Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, "The Modern Review". Published by Hind Kitab, Bombay. Pp. 185. Price Rs. 5.

Those familiar with the more prominent among the elder race of journalists are aware of the position created by the late Mr. Gupta for himself through his abilities. These were so well-known and so widely appreciated that, in the course of a fairly long life, he was called upon to exercise his talents in six Indian provinces—Bengal, Bihar, United Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay and Sind. One naturally expects that anything written by such an individual would go to the fundamentals of the subjects discussed as also that they would be treated in such a fashion that even the ordinary man would experience no difficulty in understanding them. Nor do these expectations remain unfulfilled as is abundantly clear from the author's exposition of Ahimsa and Satyagraha which are treated in the first and the eighth sections of the book. The analysis of Gandhiji's gifts to India is both clear and convincing. The comparison between the trials of Christ and of the Mahatma, the prevalence of violence in the world as contrasted with the new orientation given to the problem of combating evil through non-violence are praiseworthy instances of the writer's powers of analysis and interpretation.

Constituting the first part of *Sidelights on the National Movement in India*, the book under review presents an appreciation of Mahatma Gandhi by the late Mr. Gupta, and is worth the study of all who are interested in India's foremost leader and the ideals for which he stands.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN : A Report by M. Molotov. Book Forum, Calcutta. 1944. Pages 165. Price Rs. 4.

This book contains a fairly exhaustive statement of the objectives of the Soviet Union's Third Five-Year Plan. The targets of agricultural, mineral and industrial production, technical and scientific advancement and cultural progress are set forth in the manner of a catalogue. The third Plan was interrupted by World War II and will now be revived in order to achieve the aims set by its authors. The familiar note of Communist propaganda runs throughout the book. Comrade Saroj Acharyya has added a learned Preface on the historical significance of Soviet planning. It is a spirited defence of the Stalinist regime and explains the recent developments in Soviet economy in a truly doctrinaire fashion. The central theme is: "Russia was prepared for war and won it; her preparation and victory will also win the peace and save mankind."

WE NEVER DIE : By D. F. Karaka, Thacker and Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pages 253. Price Rs. 7-14.

Karaka of the "I-Go-West" fame kindled through his early literary efforts much greater hopes than most of his later works have justified. Of all the assignments he has held so far, from Oxford to Washington via New Delhi and Chungking, I think the billet in the *Bombay Chronicle* suited him most. He is a journalist by temperament and experience. His latest experiment to interpret India through English novels has not just worked. It is really purposeless writing. I wonder for whom the present novel, depicting the impact of political agitations and social movements on the structure of India's village life, has been written. In every progressive Indian vernacular there are novels portraying these silent revolutions that will far outshine Karaka's

indifferent, though imaginative, story in literary quality and human appeal. He would have rendered a far greater service to Indian literature by translating one of these works into English than by attempting something beyond his capacity as he has done in the present instance. Karaka has lost in depth what he has apparently gained in versatility. The present story shows how unreal is the world in which he lives, since he does not seem to know that the tempo of political agitation in Indian villages to-day is infinitely quicker than he would have us believe through the present narrative. If Karaka is really keen to interpret Indian life through novels, he should either translate the best vernacular stories or start writing in vernacular, provided he knows one.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

DUTCH ACTIVITIES IN THE EAST : By Frederick Charles Danvers. Edited with an introduction by Dr. Nihar Ranjan Roy. Published by The Book Emporium Ltd., 25/1, Cornwallis St., Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.

The book under review throws some new light on a chapter of recent Indian History which is still obscure. In the struggle for dominance in the East that broke out amongst the European powers during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Dutch power played a very important part. We cannot have a clear perception of the factors that led to the establishment in India of British rule if we do not take note of the activities in the East of their great rival, the Dutch.

Unfortunately for us, works in English language covering this period are few and the information contained in them is very meagre. Dr. Roy has done a distinct service by editing the hitherto unpublished manuscript of the note on this almost untrodden field. The manuscript published in this book is a short report of the Dutch activities in the East covering the whole of the seventeenth century, carefully culled by Danvers from the State archives in the Hague. It was evidently compiled by him for submission to the India Office, which body deputed him to that place to secure transcripts of Dutch records.

For some reason or other, the report was not submitted, nor was it independently published. Maybe, it being a very sketchy preliminary note, he wanted to develop it more fully. Danvers was by that time a reputed historian having established himself as a painstaking historian and careful research-student known for his brilliantly written *History of the Portuguese in India*. This short note just published under the careful editorship of Dr. Roy contains some useful information which was not available to the English-knowing world. In the well-written introduction the Editor has tried to clear the mystery of the MS. finding its way to a small village library and has succeeded in clinching the authorship to late Mr. F. C. Danvers of the India Office, though neither the present superintendent of the records there nor a keen student of the European period of Indian history like Sir William Foster could even trace anything about Mr. Danvers ever submitting any report on his researches in the Dutch archives.

The Baidyabati MS. is not the original one but a carbon copy. A careful examination of the faint violent typography would have revealed this fact to Dr. Roy. In 1921, I saw the original typed copy which also contained some handwritten marginal notes in the Imperial Library of Calcutta. How it came to the possession of that library I failed to ascertain.

Dr. Roy has kindly referred to my futile attempt to edit the Baidyabati MS. I had to give up the task because I found that it would not be worth while to edit it if the meagre information given in this brief report is not supplemented. As the English source lacks

fuller details, a knowledge of Dutch seemed to me absolutely essential for the purpose. As I am not equipped with even a working knowledge of that language, I had to leave it for men better qualified for the task. Dr. Roy deserves the thanks of all students of Indian history of the European period for carefully editing and presenting this useful adjunct to Indian history.

P. C. GANGULY

HINDUISM OUTSIDE INDIA: *Swami Jagadishwarananda. Shri Ramakrishna Ashram, Rajkot, Kathiwar. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a collection of fourteen interesting and informative papers—eleven from the pen of Swami Jagadishwarananda and the remaining three contributed by Swami Gambhirananda, Dr. D. N. Roy and Dr. S. K. Chatterji. These papers, some of which have already been published in different Indian periodicals, deal with the story of the spreading of Hindu religion and culture outside India, in the east as well as in the west. Thus we have here accounts of old traces of Hinduism in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Indo-China, the Philippines, Java, Bali, Malaya and the two Americas, and a reference to the present-day propaganda in the countries of the modern west. It is true, different aspects of this fascinating subject have already received attention at the hands of various scholars in different parts of the world. But a popular survey of the entire field in a single volume was a desideratum. The present work will thus remove a long-felt want and be welcome to every cultured Hindu, nay every cultured Indian. The book will arouse the curiosity of every reader who will be eagerly waiting for the promised second edition in a more comprehensive form.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

INDIAN ECONOMICS: *By Rabindranath Chatterjee. Published by H. Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 19 Shamacharan De Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5-8.*

In this book an attempt has been made to present a general account of our economic life. The book is up-to-date and has been written with the background of the war that has just come to an end. The chapters on industries, transport, finance and banking will be useful to every student of economics. The inclusion of the summaries of Bowley-Robertson Report and the proposed Banking Act has added to the value of the book. The author has given an able and dispassionate, although short criticism of the proposed Death Duty. In the chapter of post-war reconstruction, the government post-war plan and the Bombay Plan have only been taken into account. The inclusion of the Congress Plan and the Gandhian Plan would have made the chapter complete.

D. BURMAN

THE ROMANCE OF SCIENTIFIC BEE-KEEPING: *By Kehitish Chandra Das Gupta. Khadi Pratishthan, 16 College Square, Calcutta. Pp. xvii + 484. Ninety illustrations. Price Rs. 7.*

This exhaustive treatise on the art and science of bee-keeping will, we are sure, be welcomed by the reading public in these days of acute food-shortage and general economic distress. It not only gives a detailed account of all that a reader may want to know of the biology and habits of different types of bees, but also gives full practical instructions for the management of colonies, the extraction of honey, utilisation and sale of both honey and beeswax and so forth. The descriptions are written in clear style, and the illustrations are instructive and full. Bee-keeping being of the nature of a subsidiary industry, which can be taken up

almost anywhere in India by the common householder, we hope that the book will gain the popularity which is its due.

NEEL KUMAR BOSE

POVERTY AND SOCIAL CHANGE: *By Tarlok Singh, I.C.S. Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Pages 200. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author's is a study of Indian rural poverty and suggestion of reconstruction keeping in view age-long traditions of the race. He recognises the benefits of revolutionary changes in agriculture as have been adopted in Soviet Russia but does not recognise such benefits for his own country. Mr. Singh would attack poverty at the very source, i.e., he would begin to reconstruct and reorganise village agriculture and cottage industries on the basis of what he calls 'joint management'. It is distinct both from 'co-operative' and 'collective' production. He believes that to try anything revolutionary will be against Indian genius and tradition and sentiments. He will not abolish private property or ownership in land but will introduce 'joint management' in agriculture so that uneconomic cultivation may cease. He is willing to tolerate even absolute landlordism to a limited extent. The author himself studied the problems first-hand in villages and has prepared his thesis based on latest statistical figures available. The idealism expressed in this book is commendable and the author's moderation even in methods sufficiently revolutionary may be tried only by a National Government of the people, by the people and for the people. India of today is a body without soul and as such no self-determination in economic sphere is practicable. The author being a member of the Indian Civil Service has kept clear of politics but Indian Economics is too much blended with politics of the day. The question of emancipation of the teeming millions of India economic and otherwise is as much a socio-economic question as it is a political question of self-determination or National Independence. Without meaning any revolution the author advocates changes which will ultimately lead to revolutions—social and economic and such changes cannot be worked up or allowed to be worked up by an alien government for a subject race whose uplift is sure to affect adversely the interest of the ruling race. The question of rural reconstruction is so much linked up with national and international questions of tariff, taxation, planning, currency and exchange, etc., that no action can be taken at one end without a reaction at the other. So the questions of National Independence come in the forefront as a matter of course. The author's attempt to solve Indian poverty by a system of 'joint management' deserves serious consideration in the hands of those who are already in the field of work. But there can not be plenty for the people unless the exploitation of the British Imperialist is stopped once for all.

A. B. DUTTA

IN ENGLISH FIELDS: *By John Gasworth. Published by Sural Gupta, 1, Wellesley St., Calcutta. Pages 64. Price Rs. 3.*

In the core of Mr. Gasworth's poems, there is a tranquillity, a balanced equipoise of vision and emotion, which bespeak of a classic frame of aesthetic organisation. To this has rightly been added that sleepless sense of poetic fitness which is so much of the essence in aesthetic communication. But do the modern poets communicate? Some critics would like to think they do. But more often they don't. How can they communicate an incommunicable and intensely personal experience except in a way which must necessarily be a most difficult and different medium, unless they have attained a reasonable amount of objectivity. Mr. Gasworth has it to a considerable degree. He is tethered

to the English poets who were able to fuse rare intuitions of beauty into beautiful forms, and while English poetry is in the confused throes of an impossible communication, Mr. Gargworth speaks with the resurrected voice of his dead compeers, rendered more tuneful by his own melodic echoes. In a world of storm-tossed agony, he stands in his secluded Goshan where the old world reappears, scene after scene, tinged with deep but tranquil passion, saturated with the colour and melody of a glowing perception. His style has the fulness of Keats's autumn. It is free from the academic taint of Bridges' poetry and is enlivened by fresh touches from Nature and passion.

The present volume is a collection of lyrics written between 1931-1941, many of which have Nature as their theme. Though written in early youth they represent a great mastery of "an exacting art."

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

TELUGU LITERATURE (Andhra Literature) :

The P. E. N. Books (The Indian Literatures—No. XV) : By Prof. P. T. Raju, M.A., Ph.D., *Sastri*. Edited by Sophia Wadia for the P. E. N. All-India Centre. Published by the International Book House, Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2-8.

This brochure is one of a series designed to promote familiarity with the main literary trends of the major Indian languages.

Dr. Raju brings out in this volume a comprehensive survey of a language acclaimed to be one of the most musical in India. Set against the background of general Andhra culture and history, the book unfolds some of the magnificent contributions made by Andhras in the literary field.

The Anthology which has been appended as Part III deserves special mention. It contains specimen translations from some of the well-known works, both ancient and modern. Foreigners will find it very helpful in appreciating some of the outstanding features of the literature.

In spite of the voluminous present-day output it is feared that for the best in Telugu, one must invariably refer to the ancient literature. This characteristic drawback can partly be explained in the Editor's own words :

"India is no exception in a world swayed by politics in an extraordinary measure. Her ruling passion is for freedom from foreign domination ; in other countries politics revolves round other ideas and ideals, other hopes and aspirations. India has greater justification for being preoccupied with politics, for her servitude affects her indigenous culture on every plane."

It is, however, encouraging to find that contemporary figures like Viswanatha Satyanarayana and others herald a future full of promise.

While congratulating Dr. Raju for his commendable work, we fervently hope that all literary-minded people, specially of the other Indian Provinces would enthusiastically welcome this volume.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

BENGALI

MOUCHAKE DHIL : By Pramatha Nath Bishi. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Dhurumtola St., Calcutta. Second Edition. 1952 B.S. 158 + 35 + 7.

This is a satire on the true Shavian pattern with its long ponderous Preface and unusual dramatic situations. Pramatha Babu is a well-read man with a highly cultivated aesthetic sense, and can distinguish between the genuine work of art and all the chaff that passes for it. Essentially this book is a political satire of the type that Shaw and Barker popularised in England during the early twenties of this century. Proust and Pirandello enlarged the scope of the Shavian

technique by writing psychological and metaphysical satires. The wave of this satirical technique has reached the shores of Bengali literature somewhat late, but nonetheless it is a healthy current. The author has exposed in terms charged with ruthless sarcasm and sharp banter the hypocrisies of our political life, the vulgarities of our social conduct and the pretensions of our artistic creativities. He attacks the sham show that is our democracy, the muddle that is our press, the atrocity that is our Stage and the sacrilege that is our Cinema. If his satire goes home, it will still do a lot of good to our public conduct and professional taste. The author has been unduly bitter about a few other things, but his comments are well-intentioned. Like Shavian plays, the Preface of *Mouchake Dhil* is more important than its dramatic content. The sequence of scenes is also a little cumbersome. That, perhaps, explains the failure of this story as a film. As the author himself has claimed, it is essentially a drama, and its art and technique are entirely different from those of the motion picture. It is to be hoped that Pramatha Babu will continue to write such satirical dramas challenging the slumbering complacency of our national leaders in the realm of social and artistic creativities.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE (Sahitya-Sadhak-Charitmala—52) : By Brajendra Nath Banerjee. *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*, 245/1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Illustrated. Pp. 148. Price twelve annas.

In this short treatise the author has given an authentic account of the life and works of Saratchandra Chatterjee. Saratchandra is a household word in Bengal. His novels, being the true pictures of our Bengali life, have a charm of their own. The lucid style of Saratchandra's writings and the graphic presentation of his characters are not only unique in themselves but also have added lustre to the Bengali literature. His letters, not a few in number, have been mostly collected in this book. They throw much light on the inner workings of the author's mind. Saratchandra had another phase of his life, which has received very little publicity, but none-the-less very important. Saratchandra joined the freedom movement of the Congress for some time. His thoughts on the current problems as well as his views on men and things as expressed in his occasional speeches and writings, were very important, and even today our political leaders will find in them much light for their guidance. The author has done a distinct service to his countrymen by getting them together in this neat little volume. We congratulate the Parishad on bringing out such a handy volume at such a low price.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

KHUN KE DHABBE : By Mohan Singh Sengar. Published by Pradip Press, Moradabad. Pp. 180. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a collection of eleven short stories, converging round the truth, so much needed in modern times, that Fascism is a delirious fever which is a positive danger to the health of humanity and which, therefore, must be resisted at all costs with one's very life. The scene is mostly laid in the war-mongering and man-insulting-and-oppressing countries of Europe. It is, indeed, remarkable how the author who has never been to that Continent, has been able to create, with such vivid imagination, the *milieu* of the people and plots around which the stories move with dramatic effect. The passion for freedom is a part of man's soul ; as such, it shares in his immortality and so the urge for freedom and an expression of that urge, even though that may mean shedding of one's own blood (though not neces-

sarily spilling of another's) can never be killed under the hobnailed heels of a Dictator (be that Dictator a person or a party) jack-boots. The warriors of freedom, sketched in the stories, are all humble folks of the rank and file but the courage they show in resisting the terrors of Fascism, has about it the aroma of the heroes of the epics. There is more of the art of life in the stories—and that is the greatest of all arts!—than of "art-for-art's-sake" art, and so they have a verisimilitude of veracity.

The set-up and printing are of a high order.

SHEKHAR : EK JEEVANI (Second Part) : By "Agnaya". Saraswati Press, Benares. Pp. 259. Price Rs. 6.

This is the second part of an autobiography which, when the first part appeared some years ago, created a sensation in modern Hindi literature. Of course, it provoked criticism but it also evoked encomiums, and brought out in bold relief the contrast (it need not be described by that discordant word, 'clash') between the reactions of the old and the orthodox to their environments,—physical, intellectual, social and religious—and those of the young and the ever-yearning for something new and novel in the landscape of life. In the volume, under review, however, this contrast is deepened and made more dynamic, inasmuch as both the onlookers are helped in viewing the world, its views and ways from an angle, which is a little higher and so more all-embracing than the one from which they surveyed the scene before. The stay-at-home-ness and sense of security of the aged or the elder are shaken to let in the breeze blowing from the bigger world, while the spirit of adventure of the growing generation is chastened into including the nest also, in addition to the sky. *Shekhar* is a tonic with a lot of iron in it.

G. M.

ANTARASHETRIYA GYANKOSH : By Ram Narayan 'Yaduvendu,' B.A., LL.B. Published by Educational Publishing Co. Ltd., Cherbagh, Lucknow. Pp. 446. Price Rs. 5-8.

The book under review is a sort of encyclopaedia containing a comprehensive summary of important personalities, -isms, events, places, poets and treatises and popular current terminology in politics, art, science, history, philosophy, religions, etc., arranged in alphabetical order. The book is much useful for general reference purposes for the general reader. In future editions, we hope, an attempt will be made to make it more comprehensive and all-embracing.

M. S. SENGAR

MARATHI

SUVARNATULA : By Shrikrishna Keshav Kahiragar. Published by Padma Publications, Pheroseshah Mehta Road, Bombay 1. Price Rs. 8.

A critic of high literary repute, Mr. Kahiragar has given an appropriate title to this collection of essays on Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Jawaharlal Nehru, Radhakrishnan and M. N. Roy. He has really weighed gold and with the care, caution and exactitude that gold is weighed. His estimate of each of the great personages discussed is altogether objective and candid, neither prejudiced nor pre-possessed.

Summing up the secret of the Gandhian way, Mr. Kahiragar says, "Just as a householder does not feel elated by compelling members of his family to follow his wishes but feels delighted to win them over by love and persuasion and thus convince them of the desirability of doing so, the Gandhian way adopts the same line in social and international affairs. Gandhism looks upon the whole world as a family and love as the only

law that should govern the inter-relations of this family. The concept of revenge is altogether ruled out in the governance of this family." His estimate of Dr. Radhakrishnan is that he is the most accomplished interpreter of ancient Hindu lore in excellent English. He looks upon Jawaharlal Nehru as the epitome of modern, young India with all its good points and blemishes. Of Ranade he says that the title of a saint in politics and social life would fit him more than even Gandhiji. The estimates of Rabindranath Tagore and M. N. Roy leave one with the impression that the author believes in their greatness but is at pains to prove it even to his own satisfaction. Naturally he cannot lead his readers to share his belief on the strength of what he has said of them.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

RUPLALSA : By Rajhans Lathi, Kathiawad. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1945. Khadi cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 302. Price Rs. 8.

Rajendra and Sobhan, two young men, and Sharda and Lala, two young women, are involved in this story, which is an attempt to present a picture of the life lived by young educated girls of the present times from amongst whom it is difficult to find *Satis*, even potential *Satis*. Why is it so? The author answers the question by saying, "Standard of Morality differs everywhere". The ideal of marriage as cultivated amongst orthodox Hindus, is partly abandoned here. Divorce was contemplated when the husband died as a result of a fire and left his widow free to remarry her lover and out-rager of her wifely modesty. The story in short is this :

Shobhan and Sharda are college friends and as such they marry each other. Soon after marriage they have to live away from each other. Rajendra, a widower and libertine takes possession of Sharda's body and physical self. Lala who loves Rajendra is discarded in favour of Sharda, and Lala resigns in her favour provided it makes Rajendra happy. His morals improve and he sticks to Sharda, and Lala vows to remain a spinster and become a nurse. The picture, however, is unreal. Hindus even now would rarely be found living such artificial lives. The language is consonant with the theme and the whole book is interspersed with Sutra-like, i.e., terse sayings. The writer has maintained a high level throughout.

GUJARATI SAHITYANI RUPREKHA : By Prof. Vijayarat K. Vaidya of M. T. B. College, Surat. Printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1945. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 381. Price Rs. 1-12.

This book is published as one belonging to the Sayaji Sahitya Mata, Baroda, and is meant to give an outline of the literature of Gujarat from about 900 A.D. to present times. The field is very vast and in the space of about 360 pages, the writer can but merely touch the fringe of it. He is conscious of the limitation and admits that the restrictions thus imposed on his work have made him skip over or very lightly touch, all but very important and outstanding authors and their work. Even then he has been able to paint a very representative picture of the different stages and periods through which medieval Gujarati literature has passed on its way to modern and recent times. Prof. Vaidya has studied and digested his literary material very well and has reproduced it in a style, which will appeal to cultured readers. His critical examination and evolution of the work of each author created by him maintains a very high level, and is conceived in a vein, which even with our present standard of education, it is difficult to fully satisfy. He is cramped for space, otherwise he would have done better; and he knows it. He has added, all the same, another valuable and reliable book on this subject.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Tagore's Message of Freedom

The following is the text of an address (as published in *The Hindustan Review*) delivered by Sir Stafford Cripps at a meeting held in London :

We express our gratitude for the life of Rabindranath Tagore, in the cultural sphere the greatest Indian of our times and one of the outstanding figures of all time.

His influence extended far beyond his own country and expressed, more particularly during the opening years of this century, the influence of the ancient Indian culture upon the problems of modern times.

Tagore was descended from a long line of distinguished ancestors and there seemed to be distilled into his mind and character the essence of all that was best and finest in his race.

As the youngest of the eight remarkable children of Debendranath Tagore, himself a foremost leader of Indian culture, Rabindranath, who was born in 1861, was sent to school in Calcutta and, later, in England, but he was not one of those ordinary mortals who could be tamed by the formal educational methods of the time. His spirit was too free so that he eventually became the product largely of self-education and of those beneficent influences that surrounded him amongst his family and friends.

He started early in life to express himself through the medium of literature, using his native Bengali, and in the course of his life, he did much to develop the literary and poetic qualities of that language.

The volume of his writings was very large, but unfortunately many of them still remain inaccessible to the English-speaking world. I hope that before long a complete translation of all his works will appear in this country, as a most fitting tribute to his memory and to the great advantage of our civilisation.

The first period of his life was crowned by the great public reception accorded to him in the Town Hall of Calcutta by all the people of Bengal on his fiftieth birthday, when he was already acknowledged as the supreme genius of his own country.

It was shortly after this that he broke like a shining comet into the sphere of Western European culture. The publication in England of *Gitanjali* in 1913 awoke through Western lands a lively appreciation of the greatness of this renowned genius of the East.

Almost immediately after he was accorded the Nobel Prize for Literature, which established his European fame.

For some time, after the first World War, Tagore, through his writings, letters and statements exercised a growing influence throughout the world, and not least in Germany, as the prophet of reconciliation between the peoples. This period of influence in the sphere of international politics lasted so long as the world was thinking in terms of unity and reconciliation, but when the hard and vicious forces of aggression swept into the scene, Tagore's influence gradually faded, until he became almost a forgotten power. He could have no community of interest with the forces of war or of oppression.

Even to the very last days of his life, in August, 1941, he kept up his interest in and his encouragement

to his fellowmen all over the world whatever their nation, race or creed, always looking forward with hope to a new and better world.

VISIT TO TAGORE

I was privileged, when I visited India in the late autumn of 1939, to spend an hour with him in his bedroom, and never have I felt a greater inspiration of hope from contact with any human heart.

He seemed to have accumulated during his long life all the wisdom, human kindness and understanding of the world and to have transmuted it in the passage through his own mind into hope and inspiration for the future of the human race. I felt myself profoundly privileged to be allowed to draw upon that fount of inspiration. It was an unforgettable experience.

In the last twelve years of his life he took to painting and found in it some measure of release for his subconscious mind. He never made any claims for himself as an artist, but loved to try his pictures upon the professional art world to see what fantastic comments would emerge.

Though his mind revolved in the wide spheres of human interest and development throughout the world, and though he was truly international in his outlook, yet at the beginning of the century, particularly, he threw all his great energies into the struggle of rising Indian nationalism.

Many of his finest poems and of his political essays were the outcome of his intense feelings upon Indian Freedom, and these writings not only inspired his own countrymen in their battle for freedom, but helped to open the eyes of many outside his own country to the problems and sufferings of India.

TORCH OF LIBERATION

I would like to quote you some lines from his poem "The Torch of Liberation", which express so vividly his passionate love and sympathy for the oppressed :

"Arise One and all ! behold ! yonder rages a great conflagration.

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The firmament resounds with myriad human wails.
 Listen to the helpless, in fetters bound, crying for
 liberty from the death-enveloped prison house.
 And look hydra-headed flaming rapacity sucks the
 life blood of the mute millions.
 Injustice, the outgrowth of arrogant selfishness,
 mocks at all suffering and pain while the timid
 and cowardly slaves shelter in disguise.
 The People stand dumb, bowed and bent; on their
 death-pale countenances written the story of
 agony of centuries.

* * *
 Face your tyrants; like frightened curs they shall
 vanish.

The gods are against them, friendless they are, and
 with all their vaunts and boasts they know their
 own wretched meanness.

Yours, O muse of life, is the task of awakening,
 inspiring and emancipating this dismal world
 steeped as it is in darkness, sorrow and pain, in
 poverty, emptiness and insignificance.

The Cry of our Land is the cry for Bread, for Life,
 for Light and Freedom, for Strengthened Health
 and Joyousness and Open-hearted Courage.

Amidst this gloom of our misery and distress bring
 us, O heavenly Muse, for once the torch of faith
 and confidence."

But his influence and his sympathies were not
 limited to the sufferings of his own people. When War
 engulfed the whole of civilisation in its tragedy he
 was deeply moved.

A POET'S PROTEST

When, at the age of nearly 80, in the midst of the
 second World War, he was honoured by the conferring
 on him of the degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris*
causa by the University of Oxford, he spoke these words
 in his acknowledgment.

"In an era of mounting anguish and vanishing
 worth, when disaster is fast overtaking countries and
 continents, with savagery let loose and brutal thirst for
 possession augmented by science, it may sound merely
 poetic to speak of any emerging principle of world-wide
 relationship. But a time of violence, however imme-
 diately threatening, is circumscribed and we who live
 beyond it and dwell also in the larger reality of time,
 must renew our faith in the permanent growth of
 civilisation toward an ultimate purpose."

Even in these most tragic hours he could preserve
 the calm philosophy of hope, coloured by his great faith
 in the simple humanity of the world.

Far from being an impractical dreamer that some
 mystics would like to think him, he was essentially a
 practical long-sighted statesman, though in his later
 years he grew to dislike and be suspicious of politics
 and politicians. He had no doubt in his mind that
 science, economics and psychology were three new
 solvents which must be applied to all the problems of
 India.

CRITICAL OF BRITISH RULE

He was devoted to his British friends and the
 memories of his kindly treatment and friendships during
 his early life in England never left him. But he was
 severely critical of the negative outlook of the British
 Government towards India. He always drew a sharp
 distinction between the character of the individual
 Englishman and the mass actions of the English people
 as represented by their Government.

He was, of course, particularly interested in the
 fate of those countries and peoples who were closely
 associated by geography or culture with his own country.
 In the course of his wide travels, which took him into
 every continent, he visited China, Japan and Soviet
 Russia.

One who knew him intimately and shared some of
 his travels writes of him: "Never was there a more
 lively witty or stimulating fellow-traveller and to see
 a new country with him was a perpetual delight."
 To use his own words once again—"When I went to
 China, I felt a touch of that great stream of life that
 sprang from the heart of India and overflowed across
 the mountains and desert into that distant land
 fertilising the heart of its people."

IMPRESSED BY RUSSIA

He was profoundly impressed by the Soviet regime
 in Russia as is shown by the letters he wrote from
 Moscow. Here is an extract from one of them:

"Man cannot do good to those he does not respect.
 No sooner is one's self-interest at stake than a clash
 arises. A radical solution of the problem is being sought
 in Russia."

"Not in European Russia alone, but also among
 the semi-civilised races of Central Asia they have
 opened the flood-gates of education."

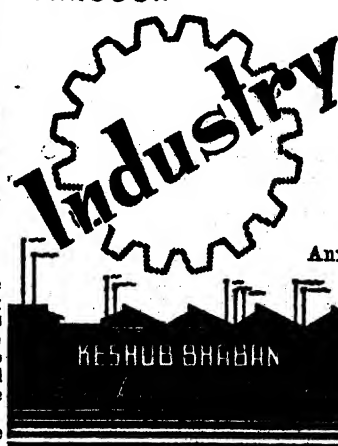
REPLY TO NOGUCHI

When, during the War, Noguchi, the Japanese
 writer, sought to persuade Tagore to the mission of
 Japan as the leader of Asia, his reply left no doubt as
 to his views of Japanese methods.

"It is sad to think that the passion of collective
 militarism may on occasion helplessly overwhelm even
 the creative artists; that genuine intellectual power
 should be led to offer its dignity and truth to be
 sacrificed at the shrine of the dark gods of war."

"You are building your conception of an Asia which
 would be raised on a tower of shells. I have, as you
 rightly point out, believed in the message of Asia, but
 I never dreamt that this message could be identified
 with deeds that brought exultation to the heart of
 Tamerlane at his terrible efficiency in manslaughter."

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"The doctrine of 'Asia for Asia' which you enunciate in your letter, as an instrument of political blackmail, has all the virtues of the lesser Europe which I repudiate and nothing of the larger humanity that makes us one across the barriers of political labels and divisions."

SHANTINIKETAN

But he did not content himself with mere negation, a large part of his life was spent in constructive works to build up that wide humanism which he looked upon as the hope of the future.

At Shantiniketan in Bengal, where he founded his school in the year 1901, he sought to establish, first, a pattern for Indian education based upon freedom and harmony with nature, and, second, to surmount the prejudices of nationalism wherever they might be found.

At his school he faced boldly the most difficult problems, such as the segregation of the sexes and the practice of child marriage, and was prepared to adopt the most revolutionary steps for their solution.

His determination to face and understand the problems of the breakdown of the economy and the social system of the villages immediately around his school led him to start his Institute of Rural Reconstruction.

The gradual broadening out of the basis of Shantiniketan was to make it a meeting place of peoples and cultures which would serve to disperse the misunderstandings and frictions engendered by a narrow nationalism.

When opening the Chinese Hall at Shantiniketan in 1940 he gave this expression to his desires :

"I do not know whether you have heard of this institution that I have established in my land. Its one object is to let India welcome the world to its heart. Let what seems a barrier become a path, and let us unite not in spite of our differences but through them. For differences can never be wiped away and life would be so much the poorer without them. Let all human races keep their own personalities, and yet come together, not in a uniformity that is dead but in a unity that is living."

THE HEAVEN OF FREEDOM

This unity that is living was the unity of freedom, the deepest passion of Tagore's heart. In one of his poems of freedom occur these lines :

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;

Where knowledge is free ;

Where the world has not been broken into fragments by narrow domestic walls ;

Where words come out from the depth of Truth ;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection ;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit ;

Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action ;
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD

It would be difficult to sum up Tagore's contribution to the world in better words than those which were used when the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature of Oxford University was conferred upon him :

"Here before you is the myriad-minded poet and writer, the musician famous in his art, the philosopher proved in both word and deed, the fervent upholder of learning and sound doctrine, the ardent defender of public liberties, one who by the sanctity of his life and character has won for himself the praise of all mankind."

It is that great citizen of the world whose work and labours in the cause of freedom, honour and progress we commemorate. His is a great example, perhaps beyond the possibility of following for all of us, but none the less a spur that may urge us on towards those very goals which he set before himself and his people.

Never has the world been more in need of such leadership and inspiration—of the practical application to our crushing burden of difficulties of the clear-sighted and single-minded solutions which he taught us.

It is for us who remain and who have had the privilege of living in his times and within the sphere of his influence to do our utmost to carry on the message of hope and courage which was instinct in his life and works.

Let me conclude with almost the last words that Tagore wrote on the eightieth anniversary of his birth :

"To-day my one last hope is that the deliverer will be born in this poverty-stricken country, and from the East the divine message will go forth to the world at large and fill the heart of man with boundless hope. As I proceed onward I look behind to see the crushing ruins of civilisation, strewn like a vast dunghill of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over, and the atmosphere rendered clear with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Another day will come when the unvanquished Man will retrace his path of glory, despite all barriers to win back his lost human heritage."

Dare we hope that we have lived to see the dawn of that other day and that it has been given to us to overcome those barriers and win back man's lost heritage ?

"When death comes and whispers to me 'Thy day are ended,'

Let me say to him 'I have lived in love and not in mere time.'

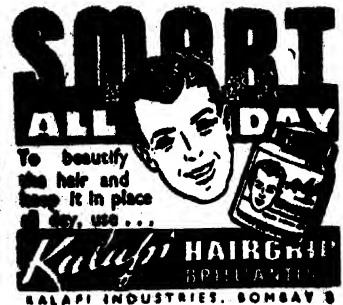
He will ask 'Will thy songs remain ?'

I shall say 'I know not, but this I know that often when I sang I found my eternity.'



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Nai Talim Basic Education

The Wardha Scheme of Education is a revolutionary departure from the traditional methods of education. In the concluding portion of his article on Nai Talim in *The Calcutta Review*, G. Ramchandran observes :

Material results we do want from work. When we ly the charkha and let the shuttle fly on our looms we reduce yarn and cloth. And we need all the yarn and cloth we can produce by work. When we drive the plough and work with all the other fascinating instruments in a farm we produce grains, fruits and vegetables and a variety of crops. And all these we need as much as we can produce by our work. But if we are to inculcate the real love of all such work then it will not do to teach these to our children in a merely mechanical way. The charkha, the loom, and the plough are not only machines. Each of them is truly a piece of history. Each of them is a living and growing thing. They have all lived and grown and changed with us. How much history, how much science they work with them, we should reveal to them all that history and all that science. We shall then have to further reveal how this history and this science embedded in them are entwined with many other pieces of history and science in the environment. History and science will then no longer be "bookish" but living and glowing realities. The charkha, the loom, and the plough will link themselves almost interminably with ever-widening circles of facts and works. They will not be merely certain instruments for producing certain material results. They will become educators. And what we learn from them in this manner will make us produce better and more efficiently what they produced before. The charkha, the loom, and the plough are only illustrations. These illustrations can be easily multiplied. But the truth of truths in regard to this matter is that our world is enriched both materially and spiritually when we spin and when we weave and when we plough and when we do all such other things in such a manner that we win from such work the knowledge we need to enrich our minds. The progeny of love is always better than the progeny of lust. This is the most true of our approach to work. This then is the central fact upon which Nai Talim is founded and based.

From the start children in Basic Schools are so placed as to develop love for work. There is no more ridiculous conception than that work in Basic Schools is a kind of sweated labour. It would be so if such work is mechanical. And yet so much mechanical work in ordinary schools escapes the calumny that it is sweated labour because a wall of books and note-books hides the fact. It is on the other hand exactly the contrary in Basic Education. Children are guided to do such work as they can in such a manner that they discover "learning" in it. Doing and learning become one joint process and thus "doing" ceases to be a drudgery and "learning" is no longer unreal or "frustrating."

As children learn to love work, they will learn to derive "learning" from work and thus do work better and better.

They will thus receive from work all the spiritual and material gifts it can so richly give. This is Basic Education—education through work, education in and by the love of work. Such education will enter into the very blood and love of the boy and the girl, making them live vitally, fully and consciously for themselves and for society. Since all real work has necessarily to be environmental, education through such

work becomes a luminous bond between boys and girls on the one hand and all the realities in their environment on the other. Our boys and girls will no longer become aliens in their environment as they so much tend to do under the present system of education. On the contrary, under Basic Education they will fix their roots well into their soil, and being capable of drawing up all the nourishment in that soil, they will in turn enrich the life of their country beyond anything we can dream of today.

Basic Education is intended for the seven years between the ages of seven and fourteen. When it puts down roots into the lives of younger children from two and a half to seven years of age it becomes Pre-Basic Education. When it throws up branches into the lives of those above fourteen years of age it becomes Post-Basic and Adult Education. But throughout from "the cradle to the grave" education is primarily through activity and work. The whole of such education is what has today become Nai Talim.

In Nai Talim therefore we thus stand on the threshold of a new era in education and therefore inevitably in our national life. In Nai Talim we have the vision of a whole people, from children to adults, creating a new social order in which all must work for all. That means a non-violent social order in which co-operation will replace competition, peace will take the place of conflict and a healthy general level of well-being will appear where we have today overplenty at one end and bitter penury at the other. What a revolution that will be.

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Education in Ancient India

As Mirrored In Sanskrit Folk-tales

M. A. Mehendale shows in an article in *The Aryan Path* how much light the Sanskrit folk-tales—and especially the collection known as the *Kathasaritsagara*—can shed on education in the India of a thousand years and more ago :

Much has already been written on education in ancient India. The Sanskrit folk-tales, collected in works like the *Kathasaritsagara*, give us data which agree in general with the information obtained from other sources. But they also preserve certain interesting customs which help us in getting a profile of society in those days. The collections of Sanskrit folk-tales that we have today date mostly from the eleventh century A.D. onwards.

It is now well established that, from the Smṛiti period onwards, the Brahmins were the chief custodians of learning and hence we find in these folk-tales many students approaching a Brahmin preceptor for their education. It was not considered meet for a Brahmin boy to indulge in dainties, to wear rich garments and ornaments, and to give himself up to betel-chewing and sensual pleasures instead of devoting himself to his studies. For the sake of specialisation in a particular subject many students had to leave their homes and go to distant countries for further studies under expert guidance. It is significant that in the story literature we find many students proceeding to the Deccan for their studies. It seems that the period required to cover all the higher studies was a very long one, though it is very difficult to dogmatise on the point.

Some students, we find, underwent severe penances in order to get their education.

Perhaps education, like wealth, was regarded as a special boon conferred by the deity on his devotee. It was the deity Karttikeya who was generally resorted to for this purpose. Yet it seems that a section of public opinion looked with disfavour on this method of acquiring learning. Thus, when a certain Brahmin went to the Ganges to acquire learning by austerities, Indra appeared before him in the form of a Brahmin and reproved him for having adopted such a method of educating himself. In very clear terms Indra told him that it was impossible to educate oneself without reading and listening to the discourse of a teacher. (*Kathasaritsagara*, 7.6.15 ff.)

We learn from Alberuni that long before the tenth century Vaisyas had left off Vedic studies and that in his own time only a few Kshatriyas followed them. In the folk-tales, however, we find Kshatriya princes engaging themselves in the pursuit of knowledge and the acquirement of varied accomplishments. For instance, the son of King Merudhvaja is in his eighth year invested with the sacred thread by a hermit who instructs him during the following eight years in different sciences, accomplishments and the use of mighty weapons. (*Ibid.*, 17.5.46-47) Nor were such intellectual pursuits the monopoly of royal families. On certain occasions Kshatriya and Brahmin lads are shown receiving their lessons together. (*Ibid.*, 13.1.25)

Our knowledge about the spread of education among the merchant and the servant classes is rather scanty. Yet it may be gathered from the few references that we have, that the members of the Vaisya class were not altogether illiterate. The mother of a Vaisya boy is seen persuading a teacher to teach her son writing and ciphering. And when he has learnt these elementary things she says to him, "You are the son of a merchant, so you must engage in trade." (*Ibid.*,

1.6.32 ff) The lower classes, however, seem to have been completely illiterate ; a certain porter, for example, could not read the letters of the king's name engraved on a bracelet which he had found. (*Ibid.*, 10.1.15.19)

It was a bright aspect of ancient Indian education that the students were not required to pay regular fees to their teachers.

The teacher gave them instruction in return for the personal services he got from them and at the most in expectation of some lump sum at the end of the studies. Thus the Brahmin Visuasarman, in the *Panchatantra*, declined to sell his knowledge for any fixed sum. The relations between the teacher and his pupils, who used to stay with him, were usually very cordial. In the case of a clash, however, the student left the house of his preceptor, leaving behind him his stick and water-vessel. (*Ibid.*, 12.30.24-30)

In the ancient history of India kings have all along shown a benevolent attitude towards the cause of education by extending patronage to learned scholars. I-tsing observes that many scholars, after finishing their studies at the universities, repaired to the royal courts to get suitable appointments in the State service. It was a fashion in those days, with learned scholars and artists, to carry on discussions in the learned assemblies and to exhibit their art in royal courts. Those who came out victorious in such assemblies or were able to make their mark by proficiency in a particular art were richly rewarded by the king. (*Ibid.*, 10.10.566)

In early days caste distinctions did not determine the occupations of youths ; to this fact even the Chinese traveller Yuan-chwang, who visited India in the seventh century, bears testimony. In the story literature we come across many Brahmin youths who were adept in the use of weapons and hand-to-hand fighting. Not only this, the Brahmin and Kshatriya youths are occasionally shown to have acquired remarkable skill in such fine arts as music and dancing. Gunhasarman, a Brahmin friend of King Mahasena of Ujjayini, was versed in the Vedas and in the use of weapons and this over and above other accomplishments. Once he was requested by the king and his queen to exhibit his skill in dancing. He, however, thought it improper to dance in a court and especially before the king with his queen. The king then assured this friend that his performance would not be looked upon as a stage exhibition but merely as a private display of skill in the company of friends. Thereupon the Brahmin acceded to their request and danced with great skill. (*Ibid.*, 8.6.8 ff.; 8.6.162-164) This incident also shows that such arts were pursued by the members of the higher castes only as a matter of personal accomplishment and not for exhibition in public.

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Role of Women in the Domain of Science

Women have been outstandingly successful in scientific pursuits, thus disproving the oft-quoted proverb that 'woman is a lesser man.' Dr. (Mrs.) Asima Chatterjee writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Women are the creatures of finer but not of weaker vessels as men think of them. We have orators, writers, poets, artists and journalists among women. We have also scientists of the highest intellectual order that the world has ever seen.

The first and foremost picture of the brilliant women scientists that flashes in one's mind is that of Madame Curie. She was a poor Polish girl and belonged to an oppressed nation but her disposition was calm, sweet and amiable.

A powerful vocation summoned her from her motherland Poland to study science in Paris where she lived through years of poverty and solitude. There she met M. Pierre Curie whom she married. Under the guidance of M. Curie, Mme. Curie started her scientific investigations on the mineral pitchblende. On tons after tons of pitchblende—a uranium mineral—she kept on working day and night which she was enabled to do through the generosity of the Austrian Government and some French societies and companies. She noticed an unusually high activity in pitchblende. This abnormally high activity led her to announce the probable existence of a new element hitherto undiscovered endowed with powerful radioactivity in a communication to the Academy. This paper was published in the proceedings of the Academy on the 12th April, 1898. This was the first stage of the discovery of radium. Mme. Curie continued her laborious researches with pitchblende day and night in the damp little workrooms in the Rue L. Homond. By July, 1898 Mme. Curie in collaboration with her husband announced the discovery of a new element which she called polonium in honour to her motherland Poland, the results being published in the proceedings of the Academy.

On the 26th December, 1898, Marie and Pierre Curie declared the discovery of radium—a sensational discovery in the world of science.

Radium gives out penetrating rays under all conditions and it is always 2°C warmer than its surroundings. It gives out energy at a tremendous rate. A piece of radium will cause more than its weight of water to boil in an hour. This fact is not so impressive as the fact that the same piece of radium would go on boiling water for thousands of years. Radium not only evolves energy but shoots out radiations which are known as the α the β and the γ rays. The discovery of radium has brought

a revolutionary idea in science, changing the fundamental conceptions of chemistry, because so far it was known to the scientists that transmutation of elements was impossible but radium shows that with the emission of radiations radium undergoes disintegration, giving rise to new elements and ultimately it produces an entirely different element—lead. The X-rays that are emitted from the radium are now being used for studying further transmutation by bombardment with atoms of other elements—the special apparatus Cyclotron and Betatron respectively being devised for this purpose. Next, Mme. Curie started therapeutic researches with radium and it was taken under the direction of Andre Debierne at the Central Chemical Products Company. The action of radium on cancerous cells proved efficacious and now-a-days radium therapy is the only treatment for cancer which was regarded so far as an incurable disease—thus radium acquiring a commercial aspect. Mme. Curie has made a notable and outstand-

ing contribution not only in the realm of chemistry, but also in the science of medicine.

Mme. Curie won the Nobel prize twice, first in 1903 and then in 1911. She received the Gagner prize, the Doctorate degree and a large number of honorary titles, prizes and medals.

She was the first woman who has ever been admitted to the sessions of the Royal Institution.

Every morning she entered the narrow rooms of the school in the Rue Cuvier, took a coarse linen smock gown from its peg to cover her black dress and set to work. As days passed on she won more and more wreaths of honour and fame. As professor, research worker and laboratory director, Mme. Curie worked with the same incomparable intensity. At the Sorbonne in Paris she was promoted to the titular Professorship in 1908. In 1910 she published a masterly treatise on radioactivity. The number of Mme. Curie's students increased in number every day, some of them being the world-renowned scientists of to-day. With the earnest attempts of Dr. Roux and Vice-Rector Liard 800,000 francs was donated by the University of Paris and the Pasteur Institute to build up the Institute of Radium, a laboratory for researches on radioactivity for Mme. Curie. She was appointed Director of this Radium Institute in Paris. When the War broke out in 1914, she personally entered the theatre of war, nursing the soldiers and treating and curing their wounds with radium. She also built a factory at Arneuil for the treatment of ores in mass by radium therapy. Due to incessant work and no rest Mme. Curie grew weaker day by day and she became bedridden at last suffering from an aplastic pernicious anaemia. On Friday, the 6th July, 1934, she died peacefully leaving inspirations to the women scientists of the future generations. Einstein, one of the greatest scientists of to-day, has said 'Marie Curie is, of all celebrated beings, the only one whom fame has not corrupted.'

Irene Curie, daughter of M. and Mme. Curie, won the Nobel prize in 1935 jointly with her husband Joliot for the researches on the artificial transmutation of elements.

The creation of the atom bomb which has suddenly brought unexpected changes in the world, is due to the Jewish woman scientist—Dr. Mayitner, the Principal of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin. She announced in 1938 that tremendous energy which is stored in an atom has the possibility of its practical applications. She continued her investigations—'How this energy can be utilised.' For a number of years she worked with Dr. Niels Bohr. The problem was further worked up by Dr. Yermi.

In Russia, the director of the Baku petrol mine is a woman scientist—Sakina Kulieva. The captain of the naval department is a lady—Anna Sohetinina. The Superintendent of the Moscow Railway traffic is a woman—Zineinaida Troitskaya. In Protein Chemistry the leading scientist is a woman—Jordan Lloyd. She is now the authority on this subject.

The Royal Society of London made regulations placing a ban on women, so that they could not be Fellow of their Society. Since 1944 the authorities of the Society have been forced to remove this ban and two women have so far been admitted as Fellows of the Society. One is Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale—the Physicist, Royal Institute. She is distinguished for outstanding contributions to the investigation of the crystalline structure of organic compounds by means of X-ray analysis. The other is Marjory Stephenson—a member of the Scientific staff of the Medical Research Council. She is distinguished for her bio-chemical researches upon the metabolism of bacteria during 25 years.

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RAJ JYOTISHI, JYOTISH-SHIROMANI, PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.N.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc., and also many reputed personalities of the world (of England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan, etc.) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Premier Stalin's Election Speech

The text of Premier Stalin's talk as recorded by the Soviet monitor from a Moscow radio broadcast (published in *The New York Times* Sunday, February 10, 1946) is reproduced below:

Comrades, eight years have elapsed since the last elections. This is a period rich in events of a decisive character. The first four years passed in strenuous work of the Soviet people in the fulfilment of the Third Five-year Plan.

During the past four years the events of the struggle against the German and Japanese aggressors developed—the events of the Second World War. Doubtless the war was the main event of that period.

It would be incorrect to think that the war arose accidentally or as the result of the fault of some of the statesmen. Although these faults did exist, the war arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism.

Our Marxists declare that the capitalist system of world economy conceals elements of crisis and war, that the development of world capitalism does not follow a steady and even course forward, but proceeds through crises and catastrophes. The uneven development of the capitalist countries leads in time to sharp disturbances in their relations, and the group of countries which consider themselves inadequately provided with raw materials and export markets try usually to change this situation and to change the position in their favor by means of armed force.

As a result of these factors, the capitalist world is sent into two hostile camps and war follows.

Perhaps the catastrophe of war could have been avoided if the possibility of periodic redistribution of raw materials and markets between the countries existed in accordance with their economic needs, in the way of co-ordinated and peaceful decisions. But this is impossible under the present capitalist development of world economy.

CAUSES OF TWO WORLD WARS

Thus, as a result of the first crisis in the development of the capitalist world economy, the First World War arose. The Second World War arose as a result of the second crisis.

This does not mean, of course, that the Second World War was a copy of the first. On the contrary, the Second World War is radically different from the first in its character. It must be kept in mind that the main Fascist States—Germany, Japan and Italy—before attacking the Allied countries had abolished at home the last remnants of the bourgeois democratic liberties, had established a cruel terrorist regime, had trampled under foot the principles of sovereignty and freedom of the small nations, declared the policy of seizure of other peoples' lands as their own policy, declared for the whole world to hear that they strove for world domination and spread of the Fascist regime throughout the world.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against the Axis powers could only strengthen and did strengthen the anti-Fascist and liberating character of the Second World War. On this basis was established

the anti-Fascist coalition of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, Great Britain and other freedom-loving countries, which subsequently played a decisive part in the rout of the armed forces of the Axis powers.

ORIGIN OF WORLD WAR II

What about the origin and character of the Second World War? In my opinion, everybody now recognizes that the war against fascism was not, nor could it be, an accident in the life of the peoples; that the war turned into a war of the peoples for their existence; that precisely for this reason it could not be a speedy war, a "lightning war."

For us this was an excellent school of experience, heroism, honesty and devotion. This war has shown many of our Soviet people in their real light and thus helped to judge them as they deserve.

Now victory means, first of all, that our Soviet social system has won, that the Soviet social system has successfully stood the test in the fire of war and has proved its complete vitality.

As is well known the assertion often has been made in the foreign press that the Soviet social system is a risky experiment, doomed to failure, that the Soviet system is a house of cards, without roots in real life, and imposed on the people by the organs of the Cheka (secret police) and that it would be sufficient (two words inaudible) for this whole house of cards to smash.

Now we can say that the war has refuted all the assertions of the foreign press as without foundation. The war has shown that the Soviet social system is a truly popular system, issued from the depths of the people and enjoying its mighty support. The Soviet social system is a form of the organization of society that is fully capable of life and stable. Moreover, the point now is not whether the Soviet social system is or is not capable of life (some words inaudible) none of the skeptics any longer dares to come out with doubts as to whether the Soviet social system is capable of life or not.

HAILS SOVIET SOCIAL SYSTEM

The point is that the Soviet social system has proved to be more capable of life and more stable than a non-Soviet social system, that the Soviet social system is a better form of organization of society than any non-Soviet social system.

The assertion has been made in the foreign press that the multi-national state represents an artificial structure, and in the case of any complications the disintegration of the Soviet Union is inevitable, that the Soviet Union would meet the fate of Austro-Hungary. Now we can say that the war has proved these statements of the foreign press false and devoid of any foundation.

The war has shown that the Soviet multi-national state system has successfully stood the test, has grown still stronger during the war and has proved a completely vital state system. Now we can say that the analogy with Austro-Hungary cannot be substantiated, since our multi-national state has grown up, not on a bourgeois foundation, which fosters feelings of national mistrust and national animosity, but on a Soviet foundation, which, on the contrary, promotes the feeling of friendship and fraternal collaboration between the peoples of our state.

Third, our victory implies that it was the Soviet armed forces that won. Our Red Army had won. The Red Army heroically withstood all the adversities of the war, routed completely the armies of our enemies and emerged victoriously from the war.

THE RED ARMY

One should not forget that the Red Army is that same army which routed completely the German Army—the terror of all the armies of peace-loving states. It should be noted that there are fewer and fewer critics of the Red Army. And in addition the foreign press begins to publish more and more frequently statements about the high qualities of the Red Army and the skill of its soldiers and commanders.

This is understandable after the victories at Moscow and Stalingrad, and of course Kursk and Belgorod, Kiev and Kirovograd, Minsk and Bobruisk, Leningrad and Tallin on the Vistula and Niemen, the Danube and the Oder, at Vienna and Berlin. After all this it is impossible not to recognize that the Red Army is a first-class army, which could teach others quite a lot.

To be able to meet the blow from such an enemy, to counter it and later to inflict on him a crushing defeat, it was necessary to have, in addition to the unprecedented bravery of our troops completely modern armament in sufficient quantities and well-organized supplies, also in sufficient quantities. But this in turn demands the possession in sufficient quantities of such things as metals, equipment and tools for enterprises, fuel for the work of the enterprises, transport, clothing, etc.

Can it be said that, before its entry into the Second World War, our country already possessed the minimum supplies necessary for satisfying in the main all these requirements? I think we can give an affirmative answer. The preparation of this enormous task involved the carrying out of three Five-Year Plans of national economic development. It is precisely these three Five-Year Plans that helped to create these material positions.

RECALLS DEFENSE PREPARATIONS

In this respect our country before the Second World War, say in 1940, was several times better off than in 1913 before the First World War. What material possibilities were at the disposal of our country on the eve of the Second World War? In order better to understand this, I will give you a brief report on the activity of the Communist party in the preparation of our country for active defense.

If we take the data available for 1940 and compare them with those of 1913, the eve of the First World War, we see the following picture:

In 1913 our country produced 4,220,000 tons of pig iron, 4,230,000 tons of steel, 29,000,000 tons of coal, 9,000,000 tons of oil, 21,600,000 tons of marketed grain, 740,000 tons of raw cotton—such were the material resources of our country with which it entered the First World War.

This was the economic base of old Russia, the basis which it could use to conduct the war. As for the year 1940, in that year our country produced 15,000,000 tons of pig iron, almost four times as much as in 1913; 18,300,000 tons of steel, four and one-half times more than in 1913; 166,000,000 tons of coal, five and one-half times more than in 1913; 31,000,000 tons of oil, three and one-half times more than in 1913; 38,000,000 tons of marketed grain, 17,000,000 tons more than in 1913; 2,700,000 tons of raw cotton, three and one-half times more than in 1913.

Such were the material resources with which our country entered the second World War.

This was the economic base of the Soviet Union, the base which it could use to conduct the war. As you see, the difference is colossal. Such an unprecedented

development in production cannot be considered the simple and ordinary development of a country from backwardness to progress. It was a leap into an advanced country, from an agrarian country into an industrial one.

These historic transformations were achieved in the period of the three Five-Year Plans, starting from 1928—the first year of the first Five-Year Plan. Before that, we had to occupy ourselves with the restoration of industry that had been destroyed and with healing the wounds of the first World War and the civil war.

If we take into consideration the fact that the first Five-Year Plan was completed in four years, and that the execution of the third Five-Year Plan was interrupted by the war in its fourth year, it appears that the transformation of our country from an agrarian into an industrial country required only thirteen years.

Thirteen years is an incredibly short period for the realization of such a gigantic task. This, indeed, explains the fact that the publication of these figures aroused disputes in the foreign press. Friends decided that a miracle had taken place. Poes declared that the Five-Year Plans were Bolshevik propaganda and inventions of the Cheka. But since miracles do not exist in this world, and our Cheka is not so powerful that it could abolish the laws of social development, public opinion in Europe had to reconcile itself to the fact.

The point one is: What was the policy by the aid of which the Communist party succeeded in securing these material resources in our country in such a short period?

First of all, it was by the aid of the Soviet policy of industrialization of the country. The Soviet method radically differs from the capitalist method of industrialization. In capitalist countries industrialization usually starts with light industry, since light industry requires smaller investments and the turnover of capital is quicker, and it is easier to obtain profits than in heavy industry.

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LENGTHY PROCESS INVOLVED

Only after a considerable time has elapsed, in which light industry accumulates profits and concentrates them in banks, only then comes the turn of heavy industry, and a gradual transfer of accumulated capital into heavy industry starts creating the conditions for its development.

But this is a lengthy process, requiring a long period of time, several decades, during which one has to wait for the development of the light industry (some words inaudible).

It is clear that the Communist party could not take this path. The party knew that war was approaching, that it was impossible to defend the country without heavy industry, that it was necessary to begin the development of heavy industry as quickly as possible, and that to be too late in this task meant to lose. The party remembered Lenin's word that without heavy industry it would be impossible to safeguard the independence of our country, that without it the Soviet system could perish.

Therefore, in our country the Communist party reversed the usual path of industrialization and began the industrialization of our country with the development of heavy industry. This was very hard but not impossible to achieve. A great help in this task for us was the nationalization of industry and banking, enabling us to transfer money speedily into heavy industry.

It would have been impossible to achieve, without this, the transformation of our country into an industrial country in so short a period of time.

Second, a factor in carrying out our policy was the collectivization of the rural economy. Here our aim was to give to the country more bread, more cotton. And it was necessary to change from small-scale peasant economy to large-scale agricultural economy, for only the large-scale farm is in a position to apply new, modern technique and to use all its achievements to increase production.

It was necessary to make large-scale agricultural economy a collectivist one. The Communist party could not adopt the capitalist method of developing the rural economy, not only because of reasons implicit in our principles but also because the capitalist type represents a slow development and implies a ruination of the peasants.

That is why the Communist party embarked on the road of the collectivization of the rural economy through uniting individual peasant properties into a new form—a "kolkhoz." This collectivization proved itself a beneficial experience, not only because it did not involve the ruination of peasants but also, and in particular, because it gave the chance of covering the whole country—within a few years—with a net of large-scale collective farms.

Without collectivization we would not have been able to eliminate the age-old backwardness of our agriculture in so short a period of time. It cannot be said that the party's policy did not meet with resistance in this respect. Not only backward people, who always resist everything new, but also many others of the party systematically held back the party and tried in all sorts of ways to drag it on to the usual, capitalist line of development.

These were machinations of Trotskyites and Rightists, participating in the sabotage of the measures of our government.

PARTY ALWAYS IN THE LEAD

The question now arises, was the Communist party able to utilize correctly all these material conditions to increase war production and to supply the Red Army with the necessary equipment. I think that it was able to do so, and to do so with the maximum success.

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HUGE MUNITIONS PRODUCTION

It is also known that our mortar industry in the period 1942-1944 produced on the average about 100,000 mortars per year. It is obvious that in the same time a corresponding quantity of artillery shells, various kinds of mines, air bombs, and rifle and machine-gun ammunition was also produced.

It is known that in 1944 alone more than 240,000,000 shells, bombs and mines were produced and more than 7,400,000,000 cartridges.

Such is the general picture of the supplies for the Red Army in regard to equipment and ammunition. As you see, it does not resemble the picture which the supplies of our armies presented during the First World War, when the front experienced a chronic shortage of artillery and shells, when the Army fought without tanks, and when one rifle was issued for every three soldiers.

Regarding supplying the Red Army with food and uniforms, it is generally known that the front not only did experience no shortage in this respect, but even had the necessary reserves.

PARTY'S IMMEDIATE PLANS

Now a few words on the plans for the work of the Communist party in the near future. As is known, these plans are confirmed in the very near future. The fundamental task of the new Five-Year Plan consists in restoring the areas of the country which have suffered, restoring the pre-war level in industry and agriculture, and then exceeding this level by more or less considerable amounts.

Apart from the fact that in the very near future the rationing system will be abolished, special attention will be focused on expanding the production of goods for mass consumption, on raising the standard of life of the working people by consistent and systematic reduction of the cost of all goods, and on wide scale construction of all kinds of scientific research institutes to enable science to develop its forces.

I have no doubt that if we render the necessary assistance to our scientists they will be able not only to overtake but also in the very near future to surpass the achievements of science outside the boundaries of our country. As far as plans for a longer period are concerned, the party intends to organise a new mighty upsurge of national economy, which will enable us to increase the level of our production, for instance, threefold as compared with the pre-war level.

To achieve this we must endeavour to see that our industry produces 50,000,000 tons of pig iron per year, 60,000,000 tons of steel, 500,000,000 tons of coal and 60,000,000 tons of oil.

Only under such conditions will our country be insured against any eventuality. Perhaps three new Five-Year Plans will be required to achieve this, if not more. But it can be done and we must do it.

Some say that victors should not be judged, that they should not be criticized or checked. This is not correct. Victors can and must be judged, they can and must be criticized and checked.

This is good, not only for the cause but also for the victors themselves. Why? Because there will be less conceit and more modesty. I consider that the election campaign is the judgment of the electors on the Communist party as being the party of the rulers. The results of the election will signify the verdict of the electors. Our party would not be worth much if it were afraid to face this verdict. The Communist party is not afraid to receive the verdict of the electors.

NEW UNITY IS STRESSED

In the election struggle, the Communist party does not come forward alone; it enters the elections together with the non-party people. In former days Communists had an attitude of a certain mistrust towards non-party persons. This is explained by the fact that the "non-party" banner frequently masked certain bourgeois groupings, who did not find it advantageous to present themselves to the electors without a mask. Such groupings existed. There was such a state of affairs in the past but now times have changed.

Non-party people are now separated from the bourgeoisie by barrier which is called the Soviet social system. This very same barrier unites the non-party people with the Communists into one common collective of Soviet peoples.

Living in one common collective, they fought together for the strengthening of the might of our country. Together they fought and shed their blood at the fronts for the sake of the freedom and greatness of our motherland. Together they forged and created the victories over the enemies of our countries. The sole difference between them is that some of them are members of the party and others are not. But this difference is only a formal one.

What is important is that both Communists and non-party people are fulfilling one common task. Therefore, the block of Communists and non-party persons is in my view a natural and common cause.

In conclusion, permit me to express my gratitude for the confidence which you have shown me in nominating me as candidate for Deputy to the Supreme Soviet. I will try to justify this confidence.

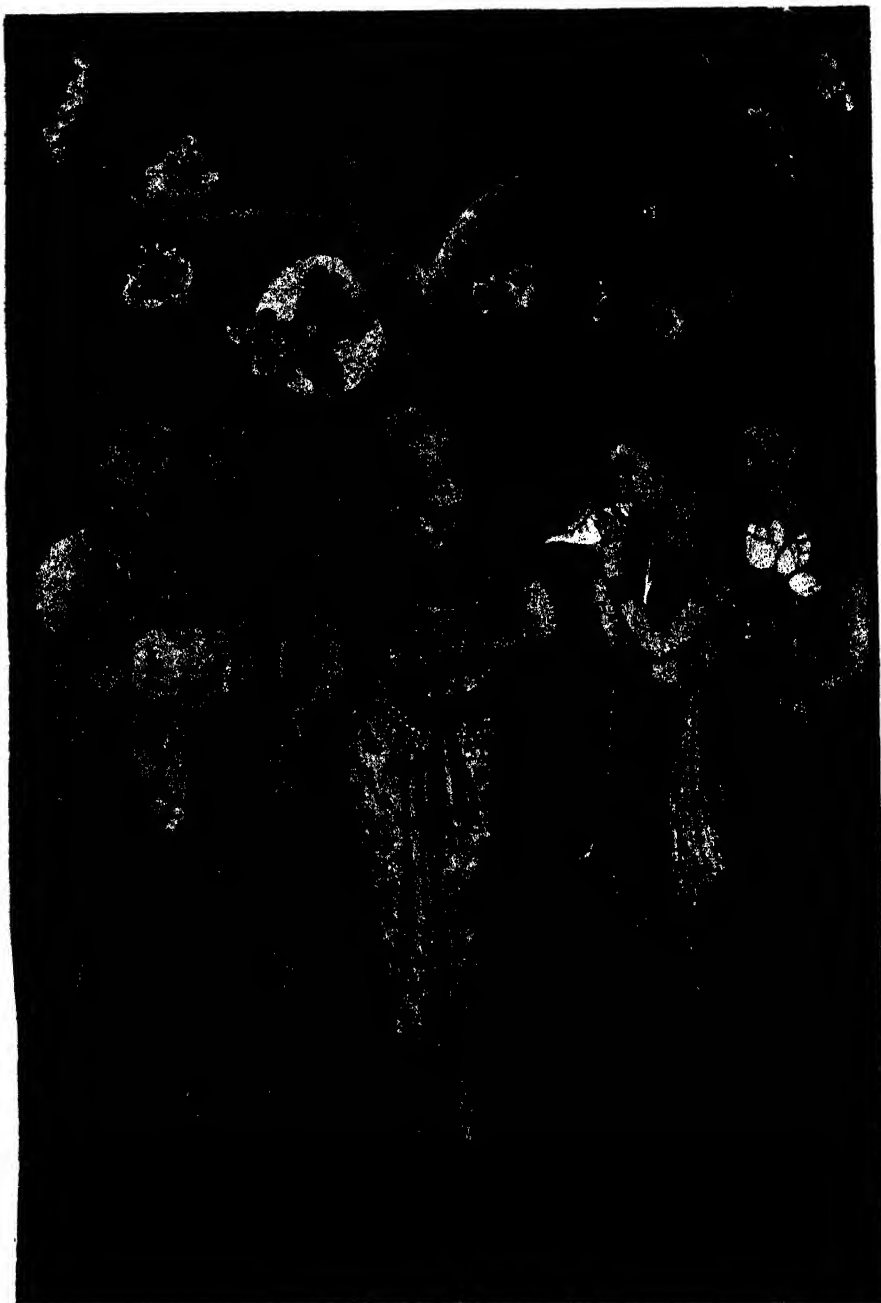
LANDSCAPE PAINTING
By Benode Behari Mukherji



*Top : Landscape with horizon (Tempera on cloth)
Bottom : The Bridge (Tempera on cloth)*



*Kabibhavan Museum
(Tempera on wood)*



NATIVITY OF LORD BUDDHA
By Manindrabhusan Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

The Negotiations

History has seldom provided such a curious spectacle as we are witnessing to-day at Delhi. There the Cabinet Mission is engaged in negotiations with two radically opposed parties for the handing over of the reins of the country to which both the above parties belong. One of the parties, the Congress, has by far and wide the greatest following in India, comprising hundreds of millions of all castes and creeds and religions, and has the sole right to be called the true representative of all the forces of independence and democracy in the country by virtue of its sustained struggle through six decades, involving gigantic sacrifices and limitless suffering. The other, the Moslem League, is beyond all doubt a creation of British Imperialism, fed, nurtured and helped along by largesse, by grant of unjust privileges on a vast scale and strengthened by malicious counsel and false propaganda, all at the cost of nationalist India and all for the sake of creating a subservient faction composed of reactionaries, armed with the might of Foreign Imperialism and enriched with treasure looted from the suffering fighters for liberty. There is no record of a fight against foreign domination nor of any sacrifice—not even for their own duped following—nor an iota of any logical or historical justification for the granting of any privileges. If any payment is due to this party it is from the coffers of the British Imperialist.

The irony of fate lies in the fact that the Congress, after all its fight and struggle and sacrifice, is now called upon to bargain—as if for the spoils of war—with a party that has impeded the liberation of India and its peoples, has impeded progress at every step through its reactionary methods and has dragged the country back to the days of corrupt medieval tyrants. It is not even entitled to the "conqueror's guerdon," out of date as that relic of medievalism is, despite all bombastic false propaganda by its spokesmen. In order to dispel any ideas generated in the minds of neutrals by the lying propaganda of British Imperialism, we give the following quotations from one of the most eminent of British historians of the Imperialistic era, who was above all "suspicious" of any sympathy for the yet unborn Indian Congress :

"The British won India, not from the Mughals but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal Empire had broken up. *Our final wars were neither with the Delhi king nor with his revolted governors, but with the two Hindu confederacies, the Marhattas and the Sikhs.* Our last Marhatta war dates as late as 1818 and the Sikh confederation was overcome only in 1848."^{*}

"In 1765, the titular Emperor Shah Alam, had sunk into a British pensioner after his defeat at Baxar. In 1771 he made overtures to the Marhattas. *Holkar and Sindhia nominally restored him to his throne at Delhi, but held him a virtual prisoner till 1803-4 when they were overthrown by our Second Marhatta War.*"[†]

Even in the Mutiny of 1857, the leader was a Marhatta, Nana Sahib, and his most active lieutenants were all Hindus. Strange to say the British were saved by the valour and staunchness of other Hindus, notably the Sikh, the Brahmin and the Gurkha mercenaries. It was a Brahmin regiment led by a Brahmin Subedar that fought to the last man in covering the retreat of Lawrence into the defences of the Residency at Lucknow, and it was the Sikh cavalry of Hodson's Horse that brought relief to Lucknow.

Be that as it may be, the question now is of the future history of India, not of the past. We have no desire to embarrass our leaders in their arduous task by raking up the past. Our sole intention is to lay emphasis on the point that there is no justification, legal, moral, historical or logical for keeping the League into a position of vantage into which they were placed by the Imperialist predecessors of the Labour Ministry, in accordance with the policy of *Divide et Impera*. The League has been loudly proclaiming that it would use force and violence as their sole "logical" argument, and it is true that right up to now it has had the strength of arms and that of corrupt politics and money on its side. The armed might of British Imperialism, placed at the service of reactionary and corrupt officialdom, has enabled the League to conduct a sort of Hitlerian election in the Moslem constituencies. All along the

^{*} *The Indian Empire*, p. 258. By W. W. Hunter, Trubner, London, 1883.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

bitter struggle of the past two decades, the League has been acting hand and glove with the might of Imperialistic forces, deriving great material benefit thereby and so it is no wonder that it should mistake the might of British arms as being its own. Needless to say, it can continue to enjoy that powerful support in the future only if the British Labour Party decides to carry on with the vile reactionary programme initiated by their predecessors in office.

The world abroad, specially those parts with a democratic label, is now becoming aware slowly of how the machinations of British vested interests, blind with greed and vainglorious with the faked records of Imperialism, led to the catastrophic holocausts of World War II. Of how the British reacted to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria by promptly clapping an embargo on arms for China who had to import all her arms and Japan, who was manufacturing all the arms she needed. Japan was allowed to buy all the raw materials for cash, of which she had enough, and the biggest suppliers, of course, were the British and the Americans. Of how Sir Samuel Hoare of the British Cabinet collaborated with Laval in the rape of Abyssinia by Mussolini and got a peerage, in the long run, for his anti-democratic activities—and later on how the "democratic" European powers staged a farce in the League of Nations, nominally condemning and virtually condoning Mussolini's act of brigandage. Of how the Cliveden set led by Mr. Baldwin spiked the guns of the French when Gamelin wanted to attack the German forces of Hitler when they were marching into the thirty kilometer neutral zone of the Rhine. Of how the treacherous policy of non-intervention in the Spanish civil war was forced upon the despairing and craven Blum of France by the Baldwin-Chamberlain-Halifax-Simon combination of the British ruling caste. Regarding this last-mentioned episode, the observations recorded in the contemporary memoirs of an American journalist are worthy of reproduction here. "While Madrid was making her heroic stand," he writes, "Englishmen of the ruling class were helping to put non-intervention across. Only one Frenchman might have stopped it. His name was Blum, and he failed to act, or rather he acted like a craven. It is all very well to say that he might have believed he was keeping France out of war. *War is bad, but it is better for self-respecting men to die while they still feel like men than to become cowards and hypocrites and the laughing stock of an unscrupulous enemy who will make them fight or enslave them after they are demoralized.*"

"The British leaders decided on an embargo against sending arms, planes, tanks, or ammunition to 'either side' in Spain, knowing that the republicans were represented by the legitimate government elected by popular will and that Italy and Germany, through Portugal, were supplying and would continue to supply the rebels with everything they needed, including fully equipped units of troops and technical advisers."

"The Spanish Government would get supplies only through France, even if they were sold to Spain by Russia. The British policy, in effect, was to permit Franco to obtain, *without putting up cash but by mortgaging future Spain, all the arms and soldiers and food he needed*, while the republicans were to be shut off from supplies and slaughtered. Not only did the British plan this chicanery, but they forced the French to take the initiative under pain of a double threat :

(a) a refusal to guarantee the eastern frontier on the Rhine, (b) a devaluation of the franc, controlled by the London exchange."

The further activities of the Cliveden set, high-spotted by the Munich Pact of evil memory, need not be given in detail in these columns. Indeed, the British people have themselves partially condemned those criminals by giving their party a salutary defeat at the elections. What we want to impress upon the world that the same treacherous group had absolute power of life and death in a throttled India, where there was no Russia to intervene nor any sympathetic and independent American to report. Samuel Hoare was Secretary of State for India before he betrayed Abyssinia, and Halifax, as Lord Irwin, was the Viceroy of India, before he aided Mussolini in the slaughter of republican Spaniards and sold Czecho-Slovaks into slavery. So, what is now coming out as the Indian picture was composed and drawn in the main by the self-same group and their predecessors and successors in Imperialism. The British Cabinet Mission has all the goodwill it needs in the bank as yet, mainly because they have thrown out the evil-doers. But they must clearly show that their thinking and planning is not in a line with that of their predecessors. A new orientation must be sought by them, for in this instance they must achieve a lasting success or else it would spell disaster for all democracy in the not-so-far-off future.

We must conclude with a note of caution for our leaders. We repeat that we have no intention of embarrassing them at this stage. But the veil of secrecy that has been drawn over their deliberations for such a long period has resulted into general uneasiness and a certain amount of confusion amongst the Congress and the Nationalist ranks. The meagre statements that the leaders have released to the press can be divided into three categories, cryptic, nebulous and flatly contradictory in a few instances. On the other hand, the *Orient Press* reported that Mr. Jinnah came out of a conference in a jubilant mood telling the reporters that he had secured the maximum that he could imagine the Congress to concede. And further we find a new tone in the statements of the League mouthpieces which goes to indicate as if now being assured of their basic demand for Pakistan over contiguous Moslem majority areas, they have to enlarge their demands, in the customary fascist method for wider and still more unjust demands. For example, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy was reported as follows in the daily press on the 13th of April :

The question before the country now was of one Pakistan and one Hindustan. Once this was conceded it would be for the Pakistan State to define the status of its constituent units, said Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, prospective Premier of Bengal, in an interview on Friday.

The units, he added, should, as far as possible be workable units and should conform to the conditions of linguistic and cultural affinities.

"Bengal ought not to be dismembered and I believe that my Hindu friends also would like Bengal to remain one entity," he continued.

Mr. Suhrawardy advocated a separate sovereign state under Adibasi control to be formed out of the

* *The Last Time I Saw Paris*, by Elliot Paul, Random House Inc. New York.

districts in which the Adibasis predominated, e.g., Singhbhum, Manbhum and Hazaribagh. If, however, no such state was intended to be carved out, then the Bengalee-speaking sections might well be added to Pakistan.

It would be logical to add Purnea district to Bengal and Assam. The whole of Assam, which Mr. Suhrawardy claimed was a natural part of Bengal, should be included in Pakistan, because, he said, the Surma Valley was Muslim Bengalee, and the Assam Valley was becoming increasingly Bengalee. He thought the majority of non-Bengalees would also prefer to be linked to the powerful state of Pakistan than be isolated in the corner. Since the elections, he said, a strong feeling had grown among the Assam Valley people to form part of Pakistan.

What he intends doing with the Bengal he wants to control was amply shown during the years of hellish distress and corruption that Bengal went through during the Pakistan Regime under Governor Herbert and his League ministries. That the position will be still more acute in the future for the Hindu minority at least is shown by the following news in the daily press.

Ranaghat, April 26.—It is reported that under the order of the District Magistrate, Mr. Nasiruddin, the village of Charnawpara, Ranaghat Subdivision, a purely Hindu area for a long time on the river Ganges, is being evacuated.

The Char was previously the property of zamindars and has now passed on to Government and according to the order the right of the tenants have ceased and become void. It is further stated that, in spite of offer of *salami* and rents, new Muslim settlers from East Bengal are getting the lands at one-third the rate offered by the occupiers.

Recently the District Magistrate went to the Char for inspection and the Hindu cultivators requested him for reconsideration of their cases, but, it appears, he turned down their request.—U.P.

We do not know who the "Hindu friends" of Mr. Suhrawardy are. We cannot imagine that any Congress Hindu or Hindu Mahasabhaite would be so far advanced in senility or idiocy as to suggest that the whole of the Bengali Hindu race be sold into perpetual slavery for the benefit of Pakistan, if and when that materialises. If there be any detached Hindu, following in the footsteps of Umichand, then the public ought to be alert about the activities of such a depraved person. For if the abandoning of the Hindu and Moslem nationalists in Moslem majority areas be a counsel of despair and defeatism, that of ceding Hindu majority districts and towns to Pakistan is one of blackest treachery.

Aligarh and Muslim League Politics

The recent riots at Aligarh are the darkest blot on Muslim League politics. We are constrained to make this remark because we cannot view the happenings as isolated and sporadic incidents or mere specimens of youthful exuberance. Statements from League and non-League leaders and factual findings published in the press prove beyond doubt that these riots and incendiarism are part of the definite programme of League-minded Muslims with regard to non-Leaguers.

It is reported that the day before the events took place large posters were found pasted on the walls of

the University inciting the students to violence. They were asked to rise up against the Government and the Congress who, it said, joined hands to deny the League's demand of Pakistan. The posters further stated that an underground organisation had already planned to sabotage the movement and exhorted the students to collect arms and organize themselves into armed bands in readiness for Mr. Jinnah's call to action. Students were further told that the sabotage plan was aimed at the dislocation of transports and communication by destroying wireless sets in Thanas, tampering with the railway lines and the burning of Government buildings. They were also asked to enlist hands of *goondas* for this purpose.

The provocation produced its result in rioting, incendiarism and even casualties. Had the curtain been dropped on the scene after this, we could have found less reason to indict the League. But the attitude of the prominent Leaguers towards these unfortunate happenings not only proves that they are prepared to connive at them, but also confirms our apprehension that such hooliganism is actually sanctioned by Muslim League ethics. Commenting on the statement of Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai in connection with the incidents, Chowdhuri Khaliquzaman, leader of the U.P. Assembly Muslim League Party, said :

The Muslims will not tolerate any interference with the affairs of the Aligarh Muslim University by the Congress Government. I would advise my friends of the Congress to observe the motto : 'Hands off Aligarh'.

Another report says that Sir Ziauddin, Vice-Chancellor, saw Mr. Kidwai and pleaded for a lenient view of the affair.

Sir Ziauddin's unseemly solicitude for his unruly students is not above criticism. But Chowdhuri Khaliquzaman went to the length of threatening the Congress with dire consequences if they did not submit to these fascist atrocities. His statement is explicit enough to prove that the League is going hell-bent for a reign of terror in order to browbeat the nationalist elements in the country. Mr. Ansar Harvani, President of the All-India Youth League and a former student of the Aligarh University, has truly observed :

Mr. Jinnah has called Aligarh an arsenal to the Muslim League. No doubt he has reduced a great university to that status. It is only at Aligarh that the dark days reminiscent of Nazidom in Germany still survive. The nationalist students are beaten and harassed while the Muslim Leaguers are subsidised and patronised.

As a matter of fact, these happenings are not unusual for the students of the Aligarh University, the entire body of which seems to be corrupt, reactionary and fanatical. In a press statement Shiva Mangal Singh, M.L.A., has called this university "a disgrace to a civilised country." He says :

It is chronic complaint that the students are a menace to the travelling public in trains, to the railway staff, to the women in bazaars, and to shopkeepers in general.

And at the helm of the affairs of this University is Dr. Ziauddin who was forced to quit the University as the result of the recommendations of the Rahmatullah Committee appointed by the Viceroy in 1927.

But what is to be done? Mr. Kidwai has said that the shopkeepers complained that in spite of the presence of the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police and other officers they were given no protection when the grain market was set on fire. It is also stated that Mr. Kidwai having expressed his inability to take a lenient view of the affair. Dr. Ziauddin has sought the Governor's intervention in the matter. The whole attitude of the League leaders is taking a purely fascist colour. But threats and even atrocities must not deflect the Congress Ministry from taking the proper course which is to apply very strict measures to root out these vandalistic practices. The evils cannot be remedied by pandering to the whims of the bully.

India in the International Field

The two centuries of British rule in India has not only worked out the political and economic ruin of the country but has also brought about utter humiliation for her in the sphere of international conferences and world organisations. India's place with reference to other countries has been humiliating and her representation in the world conferences unreal. In a recent article published in the *Forward*, Mr. Manu Subedar has discussed this problem with factual documents.

Indians have emigrated to different countries where they are treated often as indentured labourers and as political helots. The glaring instance of South African racial prejudice has already been commented upon. One may also cite the case of Australia where Indians are denied the rights of citizenship by a device in the admission test for immigration, by which an immigrant is required to know any two European languages, named by the immigration authority.

But helots even if they are, Indians have been tied to the apron-strings of their British masters to represent India at international organisations. The representatives are, of course, the "handpicked nominees of a London-controlled Government of India." These stooges of the British authorities make India's case much worse by their inability to represent it with courage, tact and honesty. India was a member of the League of Nations and contributed from its birth, right up to the last year. "It was a curious place for a country, which had no responsible Government and which had a foreign Army of Occupation, to sit as the pariah at the table of an international body."

Although India has been made to contribute heavily to international funds, she has been scrupulously excluded from any executive role in the organisations. Little Holland and obscure Peru got a place on the Security Council of the U.N.O., but not India. It is again only the careerists who are sent abroad as representative figureheads and ornamental nonentities to international organisations, and they actually merely repeat "His Master's Voice."

Fortunately the proposed United Trade Organisation, some of whose implications are entirely against Indian interests, has been postponed for a few months. But India has agreed to join the Bretton-Woods Fund and Bank which will involve an ultimate liability of Rs. 266 crores. England joined it because she wanted the American loan. India had to join because Britain wanted her vote. But what about India's Sterling Balances which now constitute 1,800 crores collected by Britain from India in a period of five years? It has been suggested that Britain cannot pay, notwith-

standing the fact that England's resources in dollars and gold have increased from three million to four hundred and fifty million dollars. With the issue of Sterling Balances undecided, it is most unwise for India to join the Bretton-Woods Fund and Bank and incur the huge liability.

Then again there is India's vast contribution to U.N.R.R.A., another offshoot of the United Nations. The contribution of Rs. 8 crores has been spent in twelve months' time and an additional Rs. 2 crores have been sanctioned, but they did nothing to alleviate India's food situation.

Food in 1947

The problem of food is not a mere topical question in India which faces almost a permanent or recurring food-shortage. At the same time it is also true that if we can evolve a long-term food plan and implement it into practice India can not only be saved from the danger herself but can also offer her help to others in need. But we noted with regret how all expert recommendations on the food problem have ever been pigeon-holed by the Government giving an opportunity to corrupt and inefficient people to work out in league with the vagaries of nature the doom of the country.

Our apathy will be glaring in contrast with the keen interest that other nations are already evincing to ensure adequate out-turn of food in the years to come. The present food problem of the world is purely one of international politics, of price levels and of transport. It is highly doubtful if farmers' efforts now can make any significant difference to the result of the 1946 harvest. In a very stimulating article in the *Spectator* Mr. H. D. Walston has discussed the problem of Food in 1947.

There is little prospect of European agriculture producing more food this year than it did last year. The chances are that considerably less food will be produced. But the food situation for the next eighteen months has passed out of the hands of the producers. It is only from the end of 1947 onwards that farmers can hope to make any significant contribution. The 1946 harvest will be affected by three major factors, viz., the weather, the supply of seeds for spring-sowing and the supply of fertilisers; and over none of these the farmer has any control. Millions of acres will remain uncultivated on the continent this year because of shortage of seeds.

But the situation is not absolutely menacing. The wheat shortage, although great in actual quantity, is very small when expressed in terms of yield per acre. The estimated shortage is about 175 million bushels: the pre-war world wheat acreage (excluding the U.S.R.R.) was about 275 million acres. Therefore, an increase in average yield of two-thirds of a bushel per acre (or 4 per cent of the 1942 figure of 16.8 bushels) would entirely remove the deficiency, while an increase of 1 bushel, or 6 per cent, would convert it into an actual surplus. Since the present situation has been brought about to a large extent by a disastrous series of droughts in widely scattered parts of the world—Australia, the Argentine, North Africa and India—it is improbable that a similar series of disasters will be repeated in all the main wheat-producing countries this year. So in spite of the small European harvest of 1946 the world position will improve considerably, if not in 1946, surely in 1947.

Discussing the problems of continental agriculture he puts in a few suggestions. Continental agriculture as a whole does not suffer from lack of man-power. What is lacking is seed and fertiliser, and, in addition to this transport and machinery. The best of the produce of this year's harvest should be earmarked as seed for next year's harvest. As to fertiliser production, the main source of phosphates being North Africa, shipping must be provided. Potash is produced in Europe. Nitrogen, being also an explosive ingredient, offers a problem that can be decided by political and military authorities. And lastly, considerable attention should be paid to the problem of agricultural machinery and the overriding problem of transport upon which depends the entire recovery of Europe, industrial, political and agricultural.

The Food Controversy

There has been throughout the last month a brisk exchange of statements and counter-statements by responsible persons regarding the world food crisis and the wheat allocation for India. The entertaining aspect of this plethora of publication of views, rejoinders and official announcements apart, there are many revealing points about the whole show; and a careful study of these statements and reports will help us to understand the full significance of the issues involved.

The story begins with the presentation of India's case by the Indian Food Delegation before the Combined Food Board. Returning to India Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar stated that the Food Delegation had been able to secure an allocation of 1,400,000 tons of wheat for India.

In the meantime President Truman in a broadcast message told that the world food crisis would be tided over within ninety days. This optimism was also shared by the U.S. Secretary for Agriculture, Mr. Clinton P. Anderson, who was of the opinion that "the situation in India this year will not be nearly so bad as the Bengal famine was." Truman's view was contradicted by the recently retired Director-General of U.N.R.R.A., Mr. Herbert Lehman, who categorically stated that one million tons of monthly grain from the U.S.A. as a contribution to meet the combined need of some 500 million people in Europe and Asia simply was not enough. This directly referred to another broadcast message on April 19 made by President Truman that the U.S. Government was taking strong measures to export during the first half of this year 1,000,000 tons of wheat per month for the starving masses of Asia and Europe. The President had declared: "The time for talk has passed. Action is here." But Mr. Lehman considered the action to be inadequate, and said that instead of collecting facts and data regarding the food situation the Combined Food Board had better plunged into a vigorous plan of action.

Mr. C. P. Anderson's optimistic assertion about India was contradicted by Mr. Roy Hendrickson, U.N.R.R.A. Deputy Director-General. Mr. Hendrickson, returning from a tour of Far East, said in a press statement:

Today's situation in India is even more tragic. Unless India can obtain four million tons of cereals, which it must have, from five million to fifteen million people will lose their lives in the months lying ahead. It is a mathematical certainty that without grain from the Western Hemisphere more

people will perish in India in 1946 than died in the Bengal Famine.

President Truman's and Mr. Anderson's views about India's improved prospects evoked bitter criticism even from British official circles. An India Office official commented: "The statements from Washington are preposterous and almost laughable." Officials confirmed that little, if any, American wheat would be moved to India in the crucial months of May and June.

The most scathing criticism of the proposed relief measures was made by the Soviet journal *The New Times*. Writing in that paper Mr. A. Dyakov openly contradicted the view that the recurrence of famines in India was due to climatic conditions. Commenting on the proposed measures he said:

There is considerable discussion in the British and Anglo-Indian press at the present time about the measures to be taken for the relief of India. But the measures that are suggested do not go beyond the bounds of mere philanthropy which can only be a drop in the ocean of human suffering and poverty—the life of the Indian peasants and urban poor.

At a Press Conference on April 18, President Truman admitted that the world food-crisis is "worse than it has been painted." In a telegram to Mr. Herbert Hoover who was in Cairo at that moment, he stated:

An urgent need has developed in this country to bring forcibly and dramatically to public attention as a spur to food-for-famine-efforts, the facts about the conditions in Europe which your visit and inquiries have brought to light.

It was at least some relief to see that the President had come out of the groove of his absurd optimism, even if his statement only referred to the countries in Europe.

We have already referred to President Truman's broadcast of April 19, and Mr. Lehman's criticism thereof. President Truman at last had realised that the present crisis is history's greatest threat of mass starvation.

But what about India? We had been complacently waiting for the 1,400,000 tons of wheat reported to have been allocated for India. But on April 18, Pearl Buck, Chairman of the India Famine Emergency Committee, came out with a disconcerting revelation. She stated:

Press reports continue to refer to the allocation of 1,400,000 tons of wheat for India for the first six months this year, presumably by the Combined Food Board. This reported allocation is causing a certain amount of complacency about the Indian food situation. However, the India Famine Emergency Committee has received an official denial that any such allocation has been made.

After this came the devastating charge of Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, against the Indian Food Delegation. He said that after a personal enquiry he had come to the conclusion that there was no possibility whatsoever of 1,400,000 tons of wheat reaching India by July 1st. The maximum that India might get would be 800,000 by that date. He said:

I also found that though in public statements the Food Delegation kept asking for 2,000,000 tons of wheat for the first half of the year, in private conversations they left the impression that the

delegation had asked for more than was actually required.

It was most deplorable that responsible members of the Delegation should have wrecked India's cause by their weak and irresponsible remarks. If they really held that view they were grossly mistaken and should not have been sent out to represent the case of India's dumb millions, or if it was due to careless gossip, their inefficiency was inexcusable. The bungling has produced its results which can be seen in the continued lack of attention to India's plight in the recent statements from American quarters. Anyway, the members of the Delegation tried to put up some defence in the course of a few counter-statements. Contradicting Pearl Buck's statement Sir J. P. Srivastava, Food Member, is reported to have said that there is no mistake in the figure quoted by the Indian Food Delegation, viz., 1,400,000 tons; and they were definitely given this figure by Sir Ben Smith, British Food Minister. Sir S. V. Ramamurthy, Member of the Indian Food Delegation, emphatically maintained in a statement that Sirdar J. J. Singh's information was absolutely mistaken and "Sirdar J. J. Singh could well have treated such statements with contempt and not given currency to them."

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar issued a statement in connection with the charge and said:

Mr. Singh does not disclose the source of his information, but, whatever the source may be, the information is a wicked lie.

To this remark Sirdar J. J. Singh replied caustically:

Instead of attacking me Sir Ramaswami should be grateful for the information so that immediate and effective steps may be taken to correct this impression. All I am trying to do is to see that India's case is 'not lost in the shuffle.'

It is not fruitful to dilate any longer upon this controversy. Judged by its results the Food Delegation's mission has not been very successful. The Food Board has announced the wheat quota for India, which is 292,500 tons for April. We cannot make any comment before the total allocation is announced. But the prospects do not seem to be very bright at any rate. Mr. Herbert Hoover is making a tour of the distressed countries. But neither in his statements nor in President Truman's anxiety to get him back home do we see any concern for India's crisis. After surveying the Indian situation he has stated that India's case is not as menacing as that of European countries. "There is no present famine in India, but there will be if supplies give out." But the statistics to which we have access and to which we have often referred prove that there is famine present in India and India's situation is far worse than that of the European countries.

Nutrition in India and Abroad

President Truman and Mr. La Guardia, Director-General of the U.N.R.R.A. have shown great concern for the people of Europe and have directed almost all their efforts to the alleviation of suffering of the people of Europe. Mr. La Guardia has fought tooth and nail to get an increase in European allocations of wheat made by the Combined Food Board on the ground that the ration system of Europe must be maintained. In India, Mr. Hoover has seen that rationing in Bombay and Mysore is on the verge of

precipice, but nobody has fought to rush supplies there to avoid the impending disaster.

A comparative study of European and Indian rationing will bring home the full implications of the difference. At the invitation of the Council of British Societies for Relief Abroad, Sir Jack Drummond, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Food, Dr. Andrew Russell Ellis, Medical Director of the International Commission for War Refugees, Miss K. Marriott, Principal Assistant Organiser, Children's Care Work, London County Council, and Mr. Michael Hacking, Quarter Master of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, served as a committee for the purpose of compiling an up-to-date manual on nutrition in its relation to relief work. This report has recently been published. We give here some of their calculations on the dietary needs for different types of men in terms of their calorie value.

Energy requirements of man have been differentiated into two. One is that needed to keep the body "ticking over." When lying at rest, fully relaxed and with an empty stomach, the individual is steadily using up energy. The amount is related to body weight and is termed the *Basal Metabolism* or *Basal Energy Requirement*. An "all over" figure for adult men is about 70 calories per hour and for adult women about 60 calories per hour. Thus with no physical activity whatever the ordinary normal man and woman need about 1,700 and 1,500 calories a day respectively.

The slightest physical effort increases the calorie demand. The harder the physical work, the greater is the need for energy foods.

The calorie needs of an individual are as strictly determined by the amount of physical work as estimates of petrol are related to the distance to be travelled and the load to be carried. An idea of the order of magnitude of the demands can be obtained from the following figures:

Type of Activity	Calories per hour of Activity
Standing at Rest	15
Sedentary work (writing, typing)	20-45
Walking slowly	120
Walking moderately fast	180-200
Moderately active work (light metal work, carpentry)	90-140
Active work (stone mason, heavy metal work)	180-300
Very active (mining, lumbering)	320-380

From such figures can be calculated the daily needs of an active individual on a particular type of job. Here is a selection of the energy value of the daily food eaten by various types of workers, taken from wartime studies by the Ministry of Food:

	Men	Women
Light Engineering	2700	2300
Shipbuilding	3300	—
Steel Rollermen	4000	—
Coal miners	3500-4500	—
Cotton spinners	—	2400
Railway goods loaders	—	3200

Even during the years of war devastation in Europe, these standards of energy value were maintained in almost all the countries of Europe except only a very few like Greece. Here are some examples of the calorie value of food consumed daily:

	Pre-war	1943/44
Germany	2750	2500
Czechoslovakia	2450	2300
Poland	2250	2200
Greece	2250	1400
Italy	2250	2150 (1942/43)
Bulgaria	2750	2750
France	2850	2050
Belgium	2800	1900

Here is a typical diet chart guaranteed under the ration system :

POLAND 1943/44	
(Kilograms per head per year)	
Grain (Wheat and Rye)	143
Potatoes	300
Sugar	12
Meat	13.6
Milk (liquid whole)	67
Butter	3
Pig-fat (crude)	2.3
Oil (pure)	1
Eggs (number)	48
Total daily calorie value 2200.	

This is for Europe. The pattern of dietary scales for the Eastern countries was prepared by Dr. B. S. Platt, Director of the Human Nutrition Research Unit of the Medical Research Council and Mrs. G. M. Culwick. They may be considered to be broadly applicable to India and have, in fact, been used by the Young Committee working on Far East Relief requirements for Burma. They cover three scales, emergency (1700 calories), moderate work of 8 hours per day at an expenditure of 100 calories per hour (2800 calories) and heavy work of 8 or 10 hours a day at an expenditure of 200 or 160 calories per hour respectively (3600 calories). These scales are averages for the year and take account of seasonal variations in energy expenditure and other variable factors. The following table sets out the basic requirements for each of the above three scales :

Type of food stuff	Daily Rations in Ounces per capita		
	Emergency scale 1700 cal.	Heavy work scale 3600 cal.	Moderate work scale 2800 cal.
Rice	12	24	20
Pulses	3	6	3
Meat and fish	—	24/7	12/7
Food yeast	1/2	—	—
Fish meal	1/2	—	—
Oil	1/2	1	1
Fresh vegetables or fruit	32/7	32/7	32/7
Salt	1/2	1/2	1/2
Lime	1/2 gm.	1/2 gm.	1/2 gm.
Sugar	1/2	1	1
Soya sauce	1/2	3/2	3/2
Curry stuffs	1/2	1/2	1/2

The types of foodstuff listed are not to be regarded as rigid, but one interchangeable with other foodstuffs of equivalent nutritional value. Thus, 1 lb. of fresh meat or fish may be replaced by 1/2 lb. of dried meat or dried fish or 1 lb. of dried meat powder or fish meal or 4 pints of milk or 10 eggs.

The Health Bulletin on Rice prepared by the Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, gives the "actual" diet of the Indian people which in fact is beyond the means of at least half the population of the

country. This diet ensures only 1750 calories per day. The "actual" diet of the rice-eater and a well-balanced diet-chart, in ounces per adult person per day, is given below :

	"Actual" diet	Well-balanced diet
Rice	15.25	15
Pulses	5.1.5	3
Milk	none or negligible	3
Leafy vegetables	5.1	4
Non-leafy "	2.5	6
Fruit	negligible	2
Vegetable fats and oils	less than 1	2
Fish, meat, eggs	5.1.5	3

But what is the present real position of Indian diet ?

The Coonoor Research Laboratories feel shy to claim more than 1750 calories where 2400 calories should be the minimum.

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar thinks he would feel fortunate if he can ensure 1200 calories.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, after his Bombay visit found that people were getting barely 1200 calories and admitted that it was sub-normal.

Sir Manilal Nanavati declared in a recent statement that the people of India were getting 900 calories only.

Anti-Indian Bill in South Africa

The blow has been dealt ; protests and deputations have gone in vain. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill of the Union Government of South Africa passed the third reading by 78 votes to 50 in the Assembly on April 17, after debates lasting 16 days. A Nationalist amendment demanding a plebiscite to test feeling on the granting of communal franchise to Indians in Natal and Transvaal provinces was rejected by 80 votes to 49 as was a Dominion Party amendment stating that any bill that linked tenure restrictions with franchise rights was unacceptable. So, F. M. Smuts has had his own way even in the teeth of wide and intense opposition. Democratic pretensions were readily cast away for the perpetuation of a system of fascistic racialism.

But what is to be done after this ? Empty protests and deputations cannot persuade the reactionary Union Government. The only course left open at the moment is to take direct action. As to the methods of this direct action we have already suggested the application of economic sanctions. India herself cannot take any other measure now, although other measures will surely be adopted by a Free Indian Government. But in the meantime we may reasonably hope that the big powers of the world, professing to be champions of justice and democracy would take up the cause of oppressed Indians in South Africa.

Speaking in the Central Assembly. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar announced on April 16, that it had been suggested that the issue should be placed before the U.N.O. International intervention, we think, is absolutely justifiable at the moment ; and if the clauses in the U.N.O. Charter mean anything, action must be taken immediately and effectively.

So far as the Indians in South Africa are concerned, they should launch a direct struggle, in the form they consider best, against the anti-Indian measure. As Maulana Asad has said, India will support any well-thought-out struggle even if the support be moral.

Changes in Congress Constitution

Far-reaching changes in the Congress constitution have been proposed by the Congress Constitution Sub-Committee, which had been appointed at the Poona Session of the Working Committee last year. The Working Committee in its Delhi session has discussed this report which has not yet been published by the Congress High Command. A veil of secrecy has come to form a regular feature in respect of actions of a far-reaching nature taken or proposed to be taken by the supreme leaders of the Congress. The people are kept in the dark during the period of negotiation. Later, they are asked to accept a *fait accompli* and support the actions of the Leaders in the name of maintaining the prestige of the Congress. We are prepared to admit the occasional necessity of withholding the details of the negotiations from the public for a time, but the hush-hush policy in regard to the broad principles of the policy proposed to be pursued ought to be given out when the subject is under discussion. The people ought to be given an opportunity to express themselves during the stage of negotiations and not after it has been accepted by the leaders either expressly or tacitly. The people have unbounded confidence in the leaders, the press in general have extended unqualified support to them; no misinterpretation or misrepresentation of the Congress viewpoint has been indulged in either on the platform or in the press except by a microscopic few. It is in the interest of the country and the Congress that the people should have authentic reports of the broad principles of negotiations or discussions with representatives of Great Britain or high British officials in India. The people's right to have a knowledge in broad outlines of any measure which is going to affect them must be admitted. It is regrettable that the Working Committee, like their other measures, have kept the public in the dark about the drastic changes in the Congress constitution. The *United Press of India* understands from a reliable source that the recommendations of the Constitution Sub-Committee are on the following lines :

- (1) Every adult attaining the age of 18 will automatically be deemed as a primary member of the Congress without having to pay a fee of four annas provided he accepts the aims and objects of the Congress ;
- (2) Every hundred adult members will elect two voters provided they pay an annual subscription of one rupee ;
- (3) From amongst the "Voters" referred to above, a new class called "Workers" will emerge and they will constitute the field of candidates for holding executive officers ;
- (4) Provincial Congress Committees will be recruited by members elected by "Voters" from amongst "Workers" at the rate of one member for every four hundred voters and for one lakh population ;
- (5) The term of elected membership will be three years subject to payment of a subscription ;
- (6) Election of the A.I.C.C. will be by members of the Provincial Congress Committees not on the basis of proportionate representation but on the basis of distributive votes ; and
- (7) The annual session of the Congress will no longer be a feature as in the past. A session may

be convened on a requisition or on a necessity being felt for it on the initiative of the Working Committee.

Pending publication of the Working Committee's resolution on the proposals, we refrain from commenting on the first six clauses. But we consider it our duty to discuss the clause which seeks to do away with the holding of an annual session of the Congress.

Some may argue that when the Congress is going to accept full power and the electorate will be called upon to pronounce their verdict on its actions, there is no need of any more annual session of the Congress. But we differ. We believe that if ever there was any real need for an annual session of the Congress, it is now. The electorate will be called upon to give its verdict only once in five years. Once a set of Congress leaders are in office, they would have safe walk-over for this period. Judging from the manner in which some Congress leaders have functioned in office in the past and the reputation and past activities of some persons who have succeeded in entering the Legislatures on Congress ticket, people may legitimately feel nervous about them if they get a free hand in office for a period of five years. Only an annual session of the Congress can keep them in check.

An example has just been provided from Assam. The Premier, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, has been defeated in the election of delegates to the next session of the Congress. He has threatened to resign, and the Congress High Command have asked to stay on because he is useful. The real cause of this defeat will be clear from the following editorial comment in the *Sylhet Chronicle*, a supporter of the Congress Ministry in its issue, dated, April 16 :

We have to note with much regret that bungling is still going on in the procurement and distribution of foodstuff and cloth. The country is tired of crying against malpractices over and over again. People expect some speedy relief. Is it too much to be expected of a popular Ministry? We are afraid the Government is taking much longer time to set matters right than the people can afford to allow. Members of the Cabinet have had enough of complaints from all quarters regarding mismanagement and bungling in various directions. The country is soon going to face the worst famine and even now reports are coming to the effect that rice and paddy stocked in godowns are being allowed to rot. Black market is as alive as ever ; allegations against responsible officers are still coming. We wonder if these officers will ever be brought to book ! Villages have their innumerable complaints about scarcity of cloth, yarn, sugar, kerosene and every other article of necessity.

We do pray that the Hon'ble Ministers come to quick decisions and get rid of the red tape method of doing things too late. If the Congress election manifesto aroused hopes in the minds of the people, the Hon'ble Ministers have a moral obligation to fulfil those expectations without unnecessary delay.

This comment clearly indicates the extreme need of an annual session of the Congress which will prevent the leaders from becoming easy office-goers and remain buried in the files. Neither the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., nor the Labour Party of Great Britain have done away with their annual sessions of Party Congresses after their acceptance of supreme power.

Four Urgent Reasons Why India Must Have Freedom

Mr. H. V. Hodson, formerly Reforms Commissioner of the Government of India, in a B.B.C. talk, discussed what he considered four urgent reasons why India must have freedom. They are, first, the acute political situation in India; secondly, the state of affairs in part of the Indian armed forces; thirdly, the threat of terrible famine, and fourthly, the possible breakdown of the whole administrative machine in India under present conditions. Pointing out Britain's ultimate responsibility, Hodson says:

We, in Britain, are still responsible in the last resort in India, and, while this remains so, the constitutional baby is always handed back to us. In order to get rid of it, as we have promised to do, we must first make Indians responsible in practice for government. How can we get Indian responsibility, before we have got an Indian-made constitution?—that is the riddle which must be answered, for a new constitution will not appear out of the air. It can be framed and agreed only by a long process under the guidance of an Indian government.

Meanwhile, there are ominous signs of political ferment in some of the Indian armed forces. Besides demanding improvements in their service conditions, they have been shouting slogans like 'Quit India,' and hoisting the Congress flag. I do not know that we should be too much surprised at these happenings, though we may well be distressed.

When the tension and action of war are relaxed, men in the forces of every country—our own included—tend to be restive and discontented and open to political propaganda. Nor should we forget that Indian sailors, soldiers and airmen come from the same areas and communities and homes as do the civilians who support the Indian political parties.

We ought not to expect their political feelings or their national ambitions to be very different from those of their fellow-countrymen. In the war, they have been the bravest and most loyal of fighters, deserving everything that we can do for them; but obviously we cannot assume that in the long run their bravery and loyalty will not be devoted to India's national aspirations.

I am afraid that the agitation over the trials of certain of the men who joined with the Japanese in the so-called 'Indian National Army' has done something to undermine the morale of the Indian armed forces.

The temper of the Indian armed forces is another reason for urgency in completing India's self-government, so that there need be no conflict between the loyalty of the Indian soldier as a soldier and his loyalty as an Indian.

Indianisation of the Army

Speaking in the Council of State, Sir Claude Auchinleck has given his considered opinion on the Indianisation of the Army within the shortest possible time. Before proceeding to examine the significance and the limitations of the Commander-in-Chief's announcement, it will be worthwhile to study in retrospect the history of the Indian Army and particularly the phases in the process of Indianisation.

The necessity of maintaining British forces in India sprang from the rivalry of European traders in India,

but no Indian sepoys were employed by the East India Company till the battle of Tellicherry on the West Coast. But after this battle Indian sepoys began to be increasingly employed; and Clive led 300 Indians at the siege of Arcot and at Plassey 800 Europeans and 1,200 Indians took part.

This gradual increase necessitated the reorganisation of the sepoy regiments and led to the setting up in 1759 of a committee under Capt. Lawrence. Though according to its decision the Indian Army began to take an organisational shape, yet the forces of the three Presidencies could not co-ordinate due to lack of communications. By 1813, the number of troops had reached the total of 200,000. Though the European section of this army were scandalously corrupt and vicious, the behaviour of the Indian sepoy remained exemplary. We are filled with a sense of grim irony when we remember Cornwallis's tribute that "a Brigade of our sepoys could easily make anybody emperor of Hindustan." It is, indeed, a shameful truth that the foundation of the British Empire in India was laid with the blood of loyal Indian sepoys.

A number of small explosions leading to the famous mutiny of 1857 made the British Raj aware of new dangers against its measures which had been successful till the recent R. I. N. strike in Bombay. When in 1858 India came directly under the control of the Crown, the proportion of British troops came to be increased; and the Commission of Indian Army Reorganization reported:

The lesson taught by the mutiny have led to the maintenance of two great principles of retaining in the country an irresistible force of British troops and of keeping the artillery in the hands of the Europeans.

In 1893 the three Presidency Armies were merged into one and called the Indian Staff Corps which in turn became the Indian Army in 1903. Indians shed their blood for the cause of the Imperialist in the war of 1914-18, but it was only in 1918 that the right of Indians to become officers was grudgingly recognised. Fifty officers were trained in three years in the college that was established in Indore, and in that period only ten vacancies were reserved for Indian Gentlemen Cadets at Sandhurst. The pace of Indianisation was considerably retarded by the perverse method of selection and Lord Rawlinson's "black-listing scheme" of 1923 which provided for the segregation of efficient Indian officers.

The Skeen Committee, appointed in 1925, protested against the scheme of Rawlinson, but it was to no effect. Only the number of vacancies at Sandhurst was raised to twenty. In 1928, Woolwich Military College and R.A.F. Military College were thrown open to Indians and the Indian Military Academy was established at Dehra Dun in 1932, thus materialising the recommendation of the Skeen Committee.

A committee was appointed in 1938 under Lord Chatfield to make recommendations regarding land and air forces in India. The recommendations include the mechanisation and modernisation of the Indian Army.

On the eve of the second World War the Indian Army was 182,000 strong and the number of Indian officers was 400 against a total of 5,000 officers. At the end of the war there were 8,200 Indians among the 50,000 officers in the Indian Army. Against this background and in the context of the future role of a free India, the question of full Indianisation has once again

come to the fore. So Sir Claude Auchinleck's statement will be hailed by all as a timely gesture.

Speaking on a resolution moved by Pandit Kunzru, General Auchinleck said that it was the intention of the Government of India to create a completely national army officered and manned throughout by Indians in the shortest possible space of time without lowering the very high standard of efficiency and competence of the Indian Army. Outlining the policy for this objective, the Commander-in-Chief said that the estimated strength of 9,000 officers for the Indian Army would be built up partly by recruiting a special class of officers from the V.C.O.'s and Indian warrant officers and N.C.O.'s; and by April next year 1,100 regular Indian officers would be ready. By this process, the Commander-in-Chief said, the number of officers, British and Indian, would rise up to 5,100 against the estimated future demand of 9,000.

Although we welcome this move for Indianisation, we also feel constrained to remark that some of the major issues have remained absolutely undecided in this announcement. "Within the shortest possible space of time" is too vague a clause to inspire optimism, and the most significant evasion is in General Auchinleck's answer to Pandit Kunzru's demand for stopping recruitment of British officers in the grades of Lieutenants or Captains in the Indian Army. He has refused to place any such restrictions at this moment on the ground of efficiency. It has been reported in a Calcutta newspaper that vacancies created by demobilization of Indian officers are already being filled up by British personnel. The Commander-in-Chief said that complete Indianisation of these grades depended on the coming forward of suitable Indian candidates for regular short service commission. But it must be remembered in this connection, that one of the main reasons holding back Indian young men coming forward is the rotten system of discrimination in favour of the British for Imperial reasons which makes the lives of Indian forces miserable and humiliating and the Indianisation useless.

Dr. Deshmukh's Bill

The Indian Legislature has passed Dr. Deshmukh's Bill on Hindu Women's Rights. The Bill seeks to give a married Hindu woman the right to separate residence and maintenance if her husband is suffering from any loathsome disease not contracted from her, if he is guilty of such cruelty to her as to render it unsafe or undesirable for her to live with him, if he is guilty of desertion, if he marries again, if he ceases to be a Hindu by conversion to another religion, if he keeps a concubine in the house or habitually resides with a concubine and for any other justifiable cause. This is the summary of the objects of the Bill as reported in the press. The Hindu Mahasabha held demonstrations against the Bill. The Muslim members of the Assembly abstained from voting. Dr. Deshmukh in moving the adoption of the Bill referred to the criticism that it would break up the Hindu family. He claimed on the contrary that it would consolidate the Hindu family. The veteran social reformer Mr. K. Natarajan thinks that it will certainly not break up the Hindu system, neither will it consolidate it. He believes that it will have no effect at all.

Dr. Deshmukh's Bill comes ahead of the Hindu Code drafted by the Rau Committee and there is no doubt that it is a measure long overdue. The Hindu

Code will go deep down to the root of the widely prevalent social diseases in the Hindu society, and it is this measure which, when enforced, will uproot the evils of the Hindu social system. Till the Hindu Code is made into law, measures of the type of Dr. Deshmukh's Bill will go a great way in alleviating the distress of Hindu married women and are therefore perfectly laudable.

Reclamation of Waste Lands in U. P.

Dr. K. N. Katju, Minister for Justice and Development, told a press correspondent that the U.P. Government was taking most active steps to bring all cultivable land under cultivation. In 1938, the Congress Ministry had appointed a committee to investigate and report on the reclamation of waste land in the province. The committee reported in October, 1939, that the province had a crore acres of fallow land. The report was held in abeyance during the years Congress was out of office. Immediately after their re-assumption of Ministry, the report has been taken under consideration and speedy steps are being taken to implement its recommendations.

The greatest difficulty has been an acute want of agricultural implements. About the dearth of agricultural implements Dr. Katju says:

The Government Agricultural Workshop was requisitioned by the military authorities, and owing to scarcity of raw materials and other causes, agricultural implements were either not available at all, or their prices had gone up by 400 to 500 per cent. Government were faced with the problem how to increase the output of improved agricultural implements, and secure them to the cultivators at reasonable terms. They were treating it as a question of 'highest priority.' All efforts were being made to overcome this difficulty as early as possible.

While Britain treated agricultural implements as munitions of war and placed their production on top priority lists, here in this country their manufacture was stopped by requisitioning the Government Agricultural Workshop. The Government of India did not come to their senses even after the stern warning of the Gregory Committee. The cumulative effect of such thoughtless actions of the Government of India have contributed to a steady worsening of the food situation of the country.

Food Politics of the Powers

The tight veil of secrecy which surrounded the resignation of Herbert Lehman as Director-General of U.N.R.R.A. has at last been lifted by Drew Pearson. Writing in the Washington Merry-Go-Round column in the *Leader*, Pearson gives the following story:

The excuse that the former New York Governor resigned because of poor health was mere 'diplomatic double talk.' Actually, Lehman resigned because he was disgusted with the deceit and fraud which has surrounded the entire question of feeding a hungry world, plus Herbert Hoover. Hoover was the straw that broke Lehman's back.

More was involved than the fact that Hoover was given permission to make a food survey of territory which U.N.R.R.A. had already carefully surveyed. Lehman was Franklin Roosevelt's close

friend and Herbert Hoover was one of Franklin Roosevelt's bitterest enemies.

On the day after Hoover's appointment was announced, Lehman recalled to friends the way Hoover used relief for political purposes after the last war, and he was convinced that Hoover would repeat the same errors in 1946.

Lehman was not even consulted regarding Hoover's appointment. The one Roosevelt Cabinet member who was consulted, Henry Wallace, protested vigorously. But in the end, he went along as a 'good soldier' under urging from President Truman and Secretary of Agriculture, Anderson.

Even before the Hoover appointment, however, Lehman was on the verge of resigning. For months he had been warning that world famine was imminent. He had appealed for the continuation of rationing and charged at inner Government conferences that the Administration had wept crocodile tears for the rest of the world while ducking rationing because of political expediency.

Lehman's experts estimated that another 5,000,000 to 7,000,000 tons of food could be exported by rationing, and that this amount would spell the difference between life and death for 10,000,000 people.

Another of Lehman's battles involved Combined Food Board composed of Canadian, British and American members, which has a virtual death grip on the assignment of food for export. *Lehman felt that many of its decisions were frankly political, and that food was being used as a weapon to influence the politics of certain nations not friendly to England.* Finally, when he saw he had lost on all these fronts, Lehman, a gentleman and a loyal Democrat, politely cashed in his chips, refusing to issue a critical blast against the Truman Administration.

In spite of the Government's protestations to the contrary, food has always been and still continues to remain in India as the hot bed of Imperialist politics. In an earlier issue, we had explained how the Government of India's food politics have landed us in the present disaster. We had always suspected similar politics in the distribution of food to hungry countries of the world. Drew Pearson has confirmed it.

How the Combined Food Board Works

The Combined Food Board is composed of only three members representing America, Britain and Canada. America naturally dominates because although Canada is in name a British Dominion, in fact it is an American puppet. This explains Britain's weak position on the Combined Food Board which has recently been revealed by Sir Manilal Nanavati.

The Board is assisted by Committees dealing with various commodities in short supply, on which the main importing and exporting countries concerned represent almost all United Nations. The first thing to get clear is that the Board is a purely advisory body. It has no mandatory or executive powers or financial responsibilities.

The various commodity committees collect facts as to the amount of each commodity available for export by the producing countries and the amounts required by countries in need. Then they recommend to the Board how the supplies available should be allocated and the Board passes on these recommendations to the Governments concerned. The countries in

need then go out into the open market to buy up to the extent of their allocations.

This is all on a voluntary basis, but its success is shown by the fact that so far food produced in fifty countries has thus been distributed to seventy countries.

The Board cannot go out and buy food to distribute as it wishes. It cannot say to a producing country: "You are exporting only so much wheat, whereas in fairness to others you must export so much more." It cannot say to an exporting country: "You must divide your exports in these proportions among the countries A, B and C."

This happened last month. The Board was powerless to do anything when Argentina, one of the chief wheat exporting countries, refused to reduce her shipping to Spain and Portugal.

The Board was set up in 1942 when it was felt necessary to bring into being a "fair share" pool for the Allies.

Dr. B. C. Roy on Bhole Committee's Report

For the first time, the Bhole Committee have made a serious attempt to draw up a comprehensive plan for every type of health service, in order to secure positive health for the people of the country. In preparing a plan for health development in the future the Committee accepted certain fundamental principles such as: (1) That every individual has a right to receive from the State free and adequate medical care; (2) that the health programme must include both curative and preventive measures; (3) that there was an urgent need to develop and maintain health services for the vast rural population; (4) that the health services should be placed as close to the people as possible; (5) That the scheme should be so devised as to secure active co-operation of the people in all stages; (6) the Ministry of Health in future should contain persons with an intimate knowledge of health matters, who should enjoy the confidence of the public and are thus able to secure their support in matters of legislation and administration.

The country-side was the focal point of the Committee's main recommendations, because therein resided 90 per cent of the people who today received very little health protection.

Criticising the Committee's Report, Dr. B. C. Roy said in a speech broadcast by the All-India Radio, that it may take 40 years or more to implement fully the long-term programme; but once given effect to, it will secure for the people a reasonably well-developed service based on the newer and extended conception of modern health requirements.

Dr. Roy said that such a long term of years would be necessary to give full effect to the scheme because: (1) The total number of personnel required for implementing the scheme for the whole of British India was not now available. It may take 30 years and more to do so; (2) The money necessary for giving effect to this scheme, both recurring and non-recurring, may be difficult for this country to afford immediately; and (3) The technique for providing the health services should be developed in reference to the existing social and economic conditions of the people. Emphasising the third reason, Dr. Roy pointed out that it should be a tragedy if the technique developed in other countries were to be applied to India.

Dr. Roy made it perfectly clear that any health plan for India must be based on the following two fundamentals :

First, that we should be free to overhaul, if need be, the whole of the existing machinery for administration of health services in India as also the policy guiding it and not to be weighed down by any consideration of sectional service, communal or racial interests.

Secondly, that in planning for the future, we should proceed on the basis that the problems belong to an independent India, an India which would be free to formulate its own scheme of health development and be responsible to carry it into effect, an India where people will give to the plan their free and willing co-operation without which success cannot be ensured.

Egypt and the Treaty Revision

Three major problems confront Egypt today : revision of Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, the sterling balances and the disposal of cotton stocks. The relation between them is closer than is generally imagined. A new Treaty may depend in large measure on a satisfactory settlement of the problem of cotton, which remains the farmer's most profitable crop and the basis of Egyptian economy. The sterling balances are as much a mystery to most Egyptians as is the sphinx. One writer in a daily Egyptian newspaper suggested that Britain should be asked to send a cheque for the full amount immediately, and another that since Britain had originally occupied Egypt to recover a debt the tables should now be turned. As regards the recent fall in cotton prices, the belief has been created that Britain deliberately set out to force down prices by curtailing her own imports of Egyptian cotton and by preventing other countries from taking it. The Egyptian Government have kept the acreage under cotton at last year's reduced wartime figure but in view of the accumulating stocks, no steps have been taken to restrict the growing of cotton. By next July or August, therefore, a crisis may be expected. Then the government will have to decide whether it is going to continue its cotton buying policy at the dictate of the agricultural interests or stand aloof. This dilemma will inevitably be alleged to be of Britain's creation, and if, as is possible, it should coincide with a crucial stage in the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty negotiations, it might well be decisive. The *Manchester Guardian* feels that consequences will be harmful to Britain and suggests that some attempt should be made to find a solution. The *Guardian* says that it should not be forgotten that during the war the joint Anglo-Egyptian Cotton Buying Commission worked well, and not without a certain amount of financial profit to both countries. With the same goodwill it should not be impossible to revive such an organisation with the object of restoring the situation for the benefit of both producer and consumer.

The retention of British troops and the water of the Nile are the next vital questions. Egyptians feel that there is no case for the retention of any substantial British forces in Egypt, particularly in the neighbourhood of Cairo. British politicians think that a reconciliation of opposing views on the question of retention of troops is possible. But the problem of Sudan is much more difficult. On the usual plea that

Sudan is pursuing its own road successfully towards ultimate self-government, Britain wants to retain this cotton growing area under her thumb. She is, however, ready to give Egypt assurances to get at rest her anxieties about the Nile water.

Meanwhile Egyptians are growing continually anxious about the fate of the negotiations for Treaty revision. The Cairo incident of February 21 was significant in this connection. There is, however, a discrepancy between the Egyptian and the British accounts of this incident. Both parties give their version after careful inquiry. The Egyptian account, finished by Sidky Pasha in a speech to the Senate, is that peaceful demonstrators were proceeding harmlessly until some British lorries, advancing through the crowd, caused injuries and one death and touched off the passions which resulted in widespread destruction of British property. The British version is that hooliganism had begun in parts of Cairo before the incident of the lorries had begun. Judging from our own experience of police and military attitude to peaceful demonstrations and exactly similar "lorry incidents" followed by widespread destruction of property, every Indian will be inclined to believe the Egyptian version of the Cairo events. In any case, it is plain that public temper in Egypt and Treaty negotiations can be protracted only with bitter results. Meanwhile, the death of Hassanein Pasha, King Farouk's *Chef-de-Cabinet*, in a motor accident has been a serious blow to Britain. Hassanein Pasha was probably the last of the liberal politicians who could influence Egyptian opinion at least to some extent in favour of the British. The strong and extremely vocal body of extreme Nationalists in Egypt demand that the treaty should be unilaterally denounced and not revised. They argue that now that the United Nations Organisation is established, the treaty is useless. The existing Anglo-Egyptian Treaty provides that British troops should be stationed in the Suez Canal area ; it has a life of 20 years, 1936-56, and while either party can ask for revision after ten years any change must be made by mutual consent.

Showdown in Middle East

The British-Soviet duel over Iran shows that Great Britain is losing in Iran and with that control of the Middle East, thus exposing her empire life line. This crisis is only a part of major empire policy crisis, writes Max Werner in *PM*, New York.

This "battle for Iran" is indeed a peculiar dispute. There is no private Soviet-Iranian dispute as there is no private Turkish-Soviet conflict. Iranian sovereignty and the inviolability of the Soviet frontiers are not at stake ; Soviet-British-American relations in the Middle East region are. In the Middle East, the appeal of Soviet diplomacy is not to Teheran and Ankara but to London and Washington.

Max Werner sums up the Soviet attitude as follows :

The Soviet Union supports the complete independence of Iran and of Turkey. But this independence must work in all directions and must be asserted towards all the Great Powers. It is absurd to consider Soviet policy in Iran similar to Hitler's Sudeten demands preceding the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union does not consider the Middle East as its *Lebensraum*. In the early 20s,

the independence of Turkey and Iran, threatened by Great Britain, were saved with Russian help.

What Soviet diplomacy opposes are the special privileges of the other Great Powers in Iran and Turkey. It insists on equality and reciprocity. In the Soviet concept, Iran and Turkey have the same relation to Soviet strategic interests as the Low Countries to Britain and Mexico to the United States.

Summing up the British interest, Werner says :

Because Britain has economic influence in Iran far superior to the Soviet Union. Soviet diplomacy requires guarantees against eventual British political and military penetration. Russia does not oppose the British exploitation of the south Iranian oil fields, but it strikes against the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., making the policy of Iran. The best guarantee of Soviet security in the Middle East is the real independence of Iran and Turkey.

The actual British positions in Iran are obviously inadequate. The Soviet Union is the neighbour of Iran. Britain is not. The Soviet Union has a land frontier with Iran, Britain has to support its influence through arduous 4,000-mile long sea communications. If there is to be a seesaw of British pressure and Soviet counter-pressure, Britain will lose.

There is hardly any remedy against the basic political and strategic weakness of Great Britain in this region. Iran is situated in the centre of the former zone of British influence, now stricken by a crisis. All of the land approaches to the Turkish-Iranian space are in fermentation—or lost. Britain has given up its positions in the Balkans, except for isolated and unquiet Greece. The major crisis in India is impending. It will become increasingly difficult to exert the British influence in Iran via the Arab States.

By favouring the independence of the Arab States, Britain is sapping its control over the land routes leading to the Persian Gulf. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq have no real power, but they can very well blackmail their British partner, and they are doing it. Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon are already demanding the evacuation of the British garrisons. This general crisis in the Middle East will be certainly felt in the dispute over Iran—and not in the British favour.

But the crisis goes even deeper, Great Britain cannot defend its Empire positions by digging in the social swamp of the Middle East. Socially, economically, politically, the Middle East is probably the most backward area of the world today. If the Middle East is assigned the role of middle link in the British Empire, it will be a very unreliable link indeed.

The entire Middle East today is brittle politically and socially. The feudal landlords and the big speculators of Iran are now inefficient allies for Britain. In order to get rid of the strong-minded Riza Shah, Britain has brought in a weak government in Iran which is much more amenable to Soviet pressure. By supporting the present set of weak rulers in Middle East, Britain is weakening her own vital Empire positions.

Louis Fischer on Pakistan

Pakistan has been pushed to the forefront as a major political issue today. It started as a bluff, then

it became a bargaining counter and now Muslim League politicians and their British patrons are swearing by it. Impartial observers of international repute, who had shrewdness enough to see through the game, have given their verdict on it which certainly will not be palatable to the League leaders. We give here significant portions from a penetrating analysis of Pakistan by the celebrated journalist Louis Fischer. Writing in the *Hindu*, Fischer says :

One question stands out in the minds of outside observers : What about the Muslims? Will Mohamed Ali Jinnah, in his capacity as President of the Muslim League, insist on Pakistan? Mr. Jinnah is right in remarking that the Muslims in India are not an ordinary "minority." Mr. Herbert Morrison told the House of Commons on November 14, 1945, that the "approximate number of Muslims in India was 92 millions." Quite a minority! Mr. Jinnah claims that they are a separate nation and should, therefore, have a separate national home—Pakistan.

Since my visit to India in 1943, I had the profound conviction that the Muslim issue was neither national nor religious; it is social and economic. The Muslim League consists overwhelmingly of large landlords. They know that the first step an Independent India would take would be land reform. Hindu industrialists want independence because the British have naturally retarded Indian industrialisation in order to keep India as a market for British goods. The Muslim landed proprietor does not want independence because the presence of the British tends to block land reform. Muslim peasants accordingly could have no sympathy for the upper class Muslim League.

Mr. Jinnah needs a device which would form a bridge between the Muslim landlords and the Muslim peasants. He found it in Muslim nationality, in Pakistan and in Muslim Zionism. He first proclaimed it in 1940. Pakistan would be a poor, reactionary and landlord-ridden State. Pakistan would be another Iran. *I can see why Muslim feudals would desire it. I cannot see why Muslim peasants and intellectuals and businessmen would desire it.*

Fischer had a talk with Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan on Pakistan. He says that the Frontier Gandhi was one of the most impressive men he had encountered in India. He lives in a village near Peshawar with the peasants and like a peasant. He was rich but renounced his wealth. Fischer says :

I asked him what he thought of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan. "I judge it by those who support it. In my province," he replied, "it is supported by rich Khans, wealthy Nawabs and reactionary Mullahs. Pakistan will give strength to those Muslims who oppress my peasant people."

"Will it strengthen Islam?" I asked. "Mr. Jinnah is a bad Muslim" he asserted angrily. "He is not a devout follower of the Prophet."

Mr. Jinnah tells the Muslim peasants that they are Muslims first and therefore ought to constitute a Muslim Nation. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others tell the Muslim peasants that they are peasants economically, Muslims religiously and Indians politically. Hitler told the Germans that they were Germans only. He hoped Nationalism would make them forget their class enemies and hate racial enemies.

Fischer gives his verdict that world cannot tolerate Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah's religious racialism is equally dangerous as Nazi racialism. Jinnah tells the Muslim peasants to forget the sins of the Muslim landlord and hate their Hindu neighbour. Two Indias, according to him, would mean a hundred headaches for the world. Weakened by division and friction, India would become an arena where big powers would intrigue and manoeuvre against one another as they do in Europe and China. Civilisation is based on the ability to live with those who are different. Racial, religious and social intolerances are uncivilised and undemocratic.

Brailsford on Jinnah's Pakistan

Like Fischer, another foreign journalist, Brailsford gives his outspoken view on Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan. Writing in the *Hindu*, he says :

If it is to succeed in bringing the Congress and the League together, the Cabinet Mission faces a task of incredible difficulty. The violent and abusive speeches at the League's Convention in Delhi have made reconciliation barely thinkable. There is, however, one ground of plain common sense on which it is easy to base the case for unity. In handing over power the British Government has the duty to think first of all of India's safety. No responsible British soldier would guarantee it if Pakistan came into being as Mr. Jinnah defines it. Strategically, it is an impossible conception. Broken into two zones, with the whole width of Hindustan between them, it defies every maxim of military science. The cost, moreover, of Indian defence would be swollen immensely, if the Indian army were broken into two and divided between the two States. The British soldiers are unanimous in holding the opinion that the safety of India can be assured only if it is defended by one army under a single command.

How far this argument will modify the views of the Muslim leaders, I cannot predict. To me it looks like the central issue. The army may turn out to be the greatest asset for unity. To break it into two would be an act of folly which no British Government will lightly commit.

Speaking only for myself, I should argue for a bold use of this asset. The army, with its organisation and equipment, morally belongs to the whole of India. It should be handed over only to a Government that will preserve it intact and use it for the safety of the whole peninsula. If that were made clear, we should be nearer to the creation of an Indian Union.

Brailsford wants one point to be cleared up in advance. He says that Mr. Jinnah must be aware of the strategical weakness of Pakistan. On what, then, does he rely? Brailsford's guess is that he may be thinking of claiming Dominion Status for it, while the rest of India chooses independence. Brailsford declares that it would be, from the British standpoint, a fatal solution. It would only add to Britain's military burdens. It would involve her in all the disputes of the peninsula and ruin the hope of friendly relationships between the U.K. and an independent India. This idea dates from the dead past. He says that the tactics of trading on Hindu-Muslim divisions was abandoned when Labour came to power, but India still has doubts.

Caste and Pakistan

Two letters have recently been published in the *Indian Social Reformer*. One was addressed to Mr. Jinnah by an American missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Ogden, appealing to him to work for the unity of India as American statesmen have been doing to make one nation of the diverse elements of the population drawn from all the nationalities of Europe divided by race, language and history. The other was from Sant Ram of Lahore who for many years has been carrying on propaganda for the abolition of the caste system among the Hindus through the Jat Pat Torak Mandal of which he is the Secretary. Summing up these letters, the *Indian Social Reformer* has expressed its views on the question with which we fully agree and which we believe worth reproduction :

While Mr. Ogden appeals to Mr. Jinnah to work for Indian Unity, Mr. Sant Ram maintains that Mr. Jinnah's movement for Pakistan is justified by the caste system of the Hindus and implies that the abolition of caste among Hindus would automatically lead to the abandonment of the demand for Pakistan. The radical reform of caste as it has come to be, has been going on for many years due to the efforts of reformers like Mr. Sant Ram, of English education, of the growth of nationalism and chiefly owing to the system having ceased to serve its original purpose. Surely, caste as it is observed today except among very conservative people is a thin shadow of what it was when Mr. Sant Ram founded his excellent society. If caste is the actuating cause of the demand for Pakistan, it is strange that the demand should come when caste is on its last legs. It is also strange that it should come when caste among Muslims exists and no effort whatever is being made to get rid of it. In the last Sunday issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Pearl Buck writes of the existence of caste in the United States. Britain has been sometimes spoken of as being more caste-ridden than India. The famous sociologist, Prof. Patrick Geddes, indeed, held that caste was present in all organised societies in some form or other and that, corresponding to the four main Hindu castes, they had in England, the culture caste of the universities, the courage caste of the public schools, the business caste of city men and working caste of factory labourers. An enthusiast for caste reform it is but natural that Mr. Sant Ram should press into service the demand for Pakistan as an argument for abolition of caste, but we cannot help thinking, with great sympathy for his object, that it is far-fetched. On the other hand, the operation of fissiparous forces in our midst, is the very reason why political constitution should be framed so as to counteract these tendencies. Pakistan must be resisted because it adds to and aggravates them. So should the narrow provincialisms for the same reason. India one and indivisible is the vision which, held steadily before our minds, will most effectively counteract the divisive forces and help India to realise her world destiny.

University Courses on Journalism

Presiding over the fifth annual Conference of the Tamil Nad Journalists' Federation, which met at

Madras, Mr. N. Raghunath Aiyar, Assistant Editor of the *Hindu*, criticised the way in which courses of journalism were being introduced in the Indian universities. His criticism deserves attention and close study by the University authorities. The relevant portion is given below :

The training of journalists was best undertaken by a professional organisation like the Tamil Nad Journalists' Federation in concert with the newspapers. The President criticised the Madras University's decision to institute a Diploma in Journalism for men trained under its own auspices. The University had fixed a University degree as the minimum general educational qualification, but this need not be insisted upon in cases where a meticulous knowledge of literary English was not a desideratum, provided the candidate had the required cultural standard. The one-year course proposed by the University was too short to serve any useful purpose. The course of studies outlined was not only far too ambitious but mixed up professional and technical subjects and general cultural studies in a confusing way. For teaching most of the professional and technical subjects the University had no resources of its own ; it would have to rely on such part-time service of professional journalists as it could secure, and the bare six months' training in the office of a newspaper it required would prove an empty formality. The training to be useful should last for at least two years. To guard against an excess of production it would be best to confine it to those who, after their apprenticeship was over, were likely to be absorbed by the newspaper which deputed them for training, either in its headquarters or in its mofussil staff. Evening classes organised by the professional organisation and conducted by men who did the day to day work on a newspaper would be the best way of correlating theory and practice. The University could also help by organising extension lectures on cultural and academic subjects. The newspapers, he was sure, would be only too ready to give financial assistance for such work if the Federation came forward to undertake it.

The newspaper man's true University, however, was the newspaper itself. The novice learnt best by watching senior craftsmen at work and playing the sedulous ape. Senior men in the profession had therefore a great responsibility ; if the guild idea had still any validity in the modern world it was in the newspaper office where a vocation was pursued which was partly an art and partly a science.

Housing Plan for Workers

The Draft Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Standing Labour Committee of the Tripartite Labour Conference of Madras, to consider matters relating to housing of workers and make recommendations thereon, has been completed and will shortly be released for publication. In the meantime, a summary of the recommendations is available. Mr. V. V. Giri, a member of the Sub-Committee, has given the following account :

The housing conditions of the industrial workers in India, especially those of the lowest paid staff, are a disgrace to a civilisation. Some of them live in 'slums' provided by private enterprise under insanitary environments and some spend their lives

with their families under the shade of trees or on pavements of cities. The accommodation provided to workers by certain employers is a one-room tenement and sometimes, if not often, such tenements house three to four families in each unit. Good housing, therefore, is an indispensable necessity for their health and above all for the efficiency of industry as a whole. While enquiry commissions and committees were appointed by the Government during the last two decades without any substantial results, this Sub-Committee has clinched the issue in a short but interesting report. It dealt with various questions such as the minimum standards required for workers' houses, the manner in which the building fund has to be raised, the basis on which the workers must be required to pay rent, the facilities which the Central and Provincial Governments and local authorities are required to grant for making the scheme a success, etc.

Mr. Giri, proceeding, said that the building of about twenty lakhs of houses, during a period of eight or ten years, at a minimum cost of about Rs. 1,350 per tenement even at the present high cost of materials is quite possible and practicable provided the local authorities co-operate. Of course, the fullest use of large-scale methods of production and the manufacture of standardised parts on a big enough scale, duly programmed to ensure advantages of a mass production, should be provided for. This can only be accomplished if a national building programme is properly planned with a definite time-table.

The scheme now envisaged is based on the creation of a National Housing Board consisting of representatives of the Central and Provincial Governments and those of employers and workers. The Governments, both Central and Provincial, have to pay subsidies in the shape of interest-free loans which are to be redeemed by the building authority in a specified period through a sinking fund. The employers also have to contribute to the fund by paying a certain amount per month per house and the workers have to pay an economic rent not exceeding 10 per cent of their pay. The National Board, while responsible to the Central Government, shall have liberty of action and be responsible for co-ordination of schemes and become the machinery through which materials and supplies will be released.

While condemning one-room tenements, it is felt by the Committee that a house for an industrial worker and his family should comprise at least two rooms, a kitchen, an independent bath room, a lavatory, verandahs, both front and back, and a courtyard and all other modern arrangements with respect to lighting, sanitation and drainage necessary to make the locality healthy. The workers' dwellings must be situated in open spaces and they must look like garden cities with playgrounds, co-operative stores and schools for children. Such colonies should not have more than a certain number of houses.

Mr. Giri believes, as also we do, that the housing scheme envisaged by the Sub-Committee will certainly be an accomplished fact if there is the fullest co-operation among all the parties concerned, namely, the Central Government, Provincial Governments, local bodies, and workers' and employers' organisations.

The Soviet Fourth Five-Year Plan

This year, the Soviet Union is going to shape its post-war economy on the basis of the fourth Five-Year Plan. The precise outlines of this Plan will be made known at the forthcoming Congress of the newly elected Soviets, but the main problems which the plan will seek to solve have already been determined. Recent statements by the members of the Soviet Government and discussions in the Russian Press have thrown some light on the guiding principles of this Plan. In the main, the plan aims at the reconstruction of the devastated areas and at conversion from war to peace. On the administrative level, the process of conversion has been reflected by the abolition, in recent months, of the wartime Commissariats and their replacement by new Economic Departments. For example, the Commissariat for Tank Building has been changed into a Commissariat for Transport Machine Building; the Commissariat for Ammunition has given place to the Commissariat for Agricultural Machines. A special committee for the Assessment and Distribution of Labour has been formed under the Council of Commissars. The overhaul of the Commissariats shows the importance attached by the Government to industrial building—several new Building Commissariats have come into being. The *Soviet Information Bureau* has published the outlines of the plan.

According to the Fourth Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union's agricultural production is to increase by 1950 to 27 per cent above the 1940 level while the annual grain harvest is to be brought up to 127,000,000 tons. This means that in 1950 the USSR will produce 50 per cent more of grain than was growing in the United States before the war and two and a half times as much as was produced by pre-war Germany, France and Italy taken together.

The aims are great also as regards the yields. For instance, it is planned to ensure increase in grain yields greater than was achieved during the first two Five-Year Plans and much greater than the increase in yields in other countries of Europe after World War I.

In industrial crops, too, an extensive programme has been outlined. Sugar-beet production, for instance, is to be raised to 26,000,000 tons annually by the end of the five year period. When this goal is reached the Soviet Union will grow nearly as much sugar-beet as the total grown in Germany, France and the United States before the war.

By 1950 the USSR plans to produce 3,100,000 tons of raw unginced cotton annually, or only slightly less than the pre-war figures for British India.

As regards flax fibre the Soviet Union's output by the end of the five year period will exceed several times over the total pre-war production of this industrial raw material in all countries of Europe taken together.

In fulfilment of the sweeping tasks in agriculture outlined by the few Five-Year Plan two factors will play the decisive role.

The first of these factors is the possibility of further increasing the productivity of labour, a possibility that is guaranteed by the very nature of the system of collective tillage of soil. It is a well-known fact that, even in the most difficult period of the war when up to 40 per cent of the USSR's cultivated area was occupied by the enemy and collective farms had less able-bodied workers, machines and fertilisers, the

country did not experience a serious shortage of grain or other foodstuffs. This is explained by the fact that, even in those difficult conditions, many collective farms substantially increased the productivity of agriculture, thanks to the improved organisation of farm work and selfless enthusiastic labour of collective farmers.

The Osakarovka collective farm in the Karaganda region of the Kazakh USSR has several thousand hectares under crops. In the course of the four war-years this land was tilled considerably more productively than before the war. Whereas the average grain production amounted to 4.3 tons per able bodied member of the farm during the last four pre-war years, the figure rose to 8.8 tons during the four war-years.

These results the farm achieved with the same number of farm implements and tractors it had before the war. The secret of this success was improved organisation of farm-work and scientific farming which led to increase in productivity of farmers' labour.

The experience of the Osakarovka farm is typical of thousands of collective farms during the war.

It goes without saying that immeasurably greater results may be achieved by providing the farms more farm machines and implements, particularly in view of the fact that the Germans destroyed a sizable part of the farm machinery in the areas that fell into their hands. And this is precisely what the Five-Year Plan provides in the course of 1946-1950: industry is scheduled to supply agriculture with 325,000 new tractors. It should be remembered that in 1937 the USSR had 365,000 tractors. All told, Soviet agriculture will be supplied in the course of the current five-year period with new perfected agricultural machinery totalling 4,500,000,000 million rubles in value. About one thousand additional machine and tractor stations and hundreds of repair shops and machine shops are to be built. The supply of all kinds of mineral fertilizers will increase greatly.

A substantial effect on the development of agriculture will be had by restoration and further development in the irrigation systems. It is to be remembered in this connection that the irrigated lands are the main producers of cotton and a number of other industrial crops. During the war, however, the number of irrigation systems deteriorated and the irrigated area drifted. This happened in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Transcaucasus and elsewhere. In the course of the present five-year period the old irrigation systems will be restored and new ones built.

Highly important are the provisions outlined in the five-year programme for livestock raising. The war interrupted the extensive work that was underway in the country to promote this branch of farming and dealt it enormous losses, particularly in the areas that were occupied by the enemy.

To ensure the achievement of goals set in the improvement of living standards of the population, substantial expansion of output of meat, fats, milk, eggs, wool, leather etc., is vitally essential. The plan, therefore, calls for a 29 per cent increase over the pre-war in the number of cattle heads to 25,900,000 heads; 62 per cent in the number of sheep and goats to 68,100,000 heads and 35 per cent increase in hogs—to 11,100,000 heads on the collective farms by the end of the five-year period. Substantial increase is also provided for as regards horses and oxen on the collective farms.

Increase in the number of livestock heads and their productivity is ensured by expanding fodder supply. Silage, for instance, has to be doubled in quantity on the collective farms and a sizable increase is provided for in the use of industrial by-products as cattle feed.

Year-round grazing is to be practised on a greater scale than ever before especially in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The natural pastureslands available in these areas will substantially augment the fodder resources available during the current five-year period.

Alongside all this the number of heads of pedigree cattle is slated for further rise; crossbreeding is to be practised on a wider scale than before and other measures will be carried out to improve the herds.

These are the salient features of the sweeping program outlined for agriculture in the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

Conditions in India may only be compared. Given a Plan and a true National Government, India has the potentialities of becoming one of the three strongest economic powers in the world.

Post-War Educational Reconstruction in Russia

Having done its duty to the country during the war, Soviet higher schools are now turning attention to tackling far-reaching aims of peace-time development outlined in Stalin's election speech of February 9:

Initial steps to restore and extend the existing chair of higher and technical schools were taken while the war was still on. Today specialists are being trained in 783 higher schools attended by 562,000 students which is equivalent to the 1940 figure. The network of technical schools and other secondary special schools has substantially expanded. There are now 3,164 of these with a student body upwards of 940,000 or 100,000 more than the pre-war contingent.

Post-war expansion will be effected, first and foremost, in the training of specialists for new fields of science and engineering. The principal role in this respect will be played by technical and other secondary special schools. At the present time, for instance, there are between fifty and sixty technicians to every one hundred engineers in building, iron and steel and coal industries. Under the Five-Year Plan the proportion of technicians in some branches of industry is to be increased. It is proposed, during the five-year period, to graduate 120,000 engineers and 347,000 technicians for industry and constructions; 47,000 persons with higher and 198,000 with secondary education for agriculture and 98,000 doctors and 284,000 medical personal with secondary education.

Development of science is one of the principal requisites for further progress of the Soviet state. In order to raise steel production to 60,000,000 tons a year, Soviet metallurgy must be developed not merely by extending the present methods of production but by introducing new methods that utilize the latest domestic and foreign scientific achievements. The same applies to the boosting of oil and coal output, raising of grain and cotton yields and productivity of livestock.

In his speech of February 9, J. V. Stalin set the Soviet scientific the important and difficult task of

overtaking and surpassing within a short time the achievements of science in other countries.

What are the problems confronting the Soviet higher school in connection with the development of science?

Proper planning of scientific research is one of the primary tasks in this sphere. Some people claim that it is impossible to plan scientific work. There are brilliant scientific discoveries, it is argued, and no plan can foresee which may revolutionize a given branch of science and upset all the accepted theories and views. True, discoveries of this kind cannot be planned in advance. But planning of research makes it possible to concentrate efforts on the most important problems in a given field.

Science, at its present stage of development, requires combined efforts of a large group of investigators in different fields for effective solution of major problems. To build a modern airplane you need, besides designers, mathematicians, physicists, metallurgists, specialists in engine manufacture, etc.

The higher educational institutions, whose faculty includes scientists in different specialties, offer favourable conditions for such large-scale teamwork. Our Soviet universities and colleges, with their fifty thousand professors and lecturers, have solved a good number of complicated scientific problems in this manner. The mining institute in Leningrad, for example, worked out new methods on concentrating and processing of non-ferrous metals which were widely used in the Urals.

No less an important factor in planning scientific work is the co-ordination of research of higher schools and of scientific institutions. Before long, regular information on research work will be available.

The application of completed researches will be promoted on a wider scale.

During the new Five-Year Plan period Soviet higher schools will intensify training of scientific personnel, primarily in these branches lagging behind the practical needs and level of contemporary science.

Last but not the least, there is the problem of supplying our higher schools and scientific research institutes with the latest apparatus, machinery and equipment. The Soviet Government has already taken steps in this direction by setting up special administrations to supervise the production of laboratory equipment, precision instruments and chemical reagents.

The Soviet Union has made great progress in the field of economy and culture. It now aims to advance to the first place in the world in culture, science and engineering.

Can Burma Govern Herself?

Writing in the British weekly *Spectator*, Mr. Aubrey Buxton has shown an intelligent Britisher's grave concern over the future of Burma. Being acutely conscious of the liquidation of the British Empire which is already almost a settled affair, Mr. Buxton has advised his imperialist countrymen not to ignore the voice of Burmese nationalism for the interests of the empire itself. He says:

If Burma, through excessive sentiment, should secede, it might be the signal for all nations in South-East Asia to cast off all association with the West. Thus it is vital to us that Burma should become a success as a Dominion.

Though Mr. Buxton has not been able to rid himself wholly of the imperialist myth, which is clear in this statement, his illuminating essay contains some few points which are not only worthwhile to consider seriously but also extremely sensible and realistic. Mr. Henderson might well have pondered over them while speaking during the debate on the political and economic situation in Burma at the House of Commons a few weeks ago.

The right of Burmese self-government, Mr. Buxton points out, is denied mainly on the ground of violent disturbances, riots, murders and general political tension that still prevail in the country. But to expect the Burmese to govern themselves in a totally peaceful way is to ignore not only Burmese character, but Burmese history. Geographically sealed off on all sides, cut off from all foreign contacts till very recently, the Burmese have been naturally rather turbulent in nature. It is only with the British advent that the outer world burst upon Burma with a devastating impact. Burma's progress during the last sixty-one years of British rule, so far as peace and security is concerned, has been quite remarkable. The absence of political assassinations and terrorist activities proves that the Burmese can learn the way of a peaceful civilized nation.

Some would still object to particular cases of violence and barbarism in recent Burmese history. Mr. Buxton meets this objection with these questions :

How long is it since an English king murdered his wives ? How long is it since men were hanged in England for stealing pheasants ? How long is it since England was torn by political intrigue, violence and civil war ? And may one ask, how the English, in those days, would have received the suggestion that they were not fit to be independent ? (We must not be narrow-minded. There are, after all more ways than one of being civilised. To-day there is such a thing as 'bath-night' in this country. This would shock the Burmese ; even centuries ago, when our kings and queens did not wash at all, every Burmese had a bath every day).

The Burmese people may be grateful, the author points out, for what the British had given them ; but "no amount of roads, railways, schools and so on can outweigh the thought that they are under foreign domination." If Siam can be independent, there is no reason why Burma would not be able to look after herself in her own way. Briefly outlining the history of Burmese politics from the pre-war days of corruption and intrigue to the present ones of fervent nationalist ardour, Mr. Buxton observes that the patriotism of the extreme nationalists are genuine and incorruptible, even if their actions might be misguided.

Mr. Buxton's observations merit close consideration, and his views will be shared by all progressive minds even if they may not be inspired by his vision of a British Commonwealth with Burma as a dominion. Burma to-day wants full independence and she deserves it. In the recent debate at the Commons, Mr. Henderson said that if all went well in Burma it was hoped that a legislature would have been elected and a ministry formed before June, 1947. Although he admit-

ted that there was no difference between the Burmese people and Britain on the question of full self-government for Burma with a status equal to that enjoyed by Britain, he also maintained that the realisation of full self-government must come by an orderly and peaceful transfer ; and then again further qualified his assertion by bringing in the issue of the Commonwealth and Dominions. He explained the policy of development towards self-government by describing the two major phases in it. After a ministerial government had been established on the results of a general election, the different parties and sections must agree in drawing up a suitable constitution.

The British Government is still assuming the self-righteous pose of moral responsibility while the forces of history are betraying the imperialist intrigues. Still their policy envisages no change of principle. As Mr. Gallachar said in reply to Mr. Henderson, it was utterly nonsensical to talk about free elections when agents of big monopoly capitalists were spreading corruption in Burma. Thousands of Burmese died without knowing what life was because of the exploitation of the monopolists. The Burmese should be left free to build up their own lives and country in their own way.

Trends in Turkish Literature

It is extremely unfortunate that even in these days of wide international contacts, we know really very little of the socio-cultural trends of our neighbouring countries. Our knowledge of English literature is quite extensive and our concern for it even greater in some cases than our own literature. While admitting the very high merit of English literature upon which we have been nurtured for generations, it must also be said that we should try to understand at least the fundamental facts about the literature of the neighbouring Asiatic nations, particularly in view of the growing Asiatic communion in socio-political aspirations. We give here a brief resume of a lecture given in French by the Turkish Ambassador Rusen Esref Unaydin at the Turkish Halkevi on February 8, 1945, with a view to acquainting our readers with the background of modern Turkish literature.

Cultural studies and artistic production grew round two reviews called *Yeni Mecma* (New Review) and *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Land) which were the organs of literary expression during the constitutional era in Turkish history. Modern authors, whose work has appeared in these two reviews, have helped to rejuvenate and to bring fresh splendour to Turkish poetry and prose.

The first World War was unfavourable to the Turkish Empire. But after the victory of Turkish arms the history of the country began to flow in a new channel. A new era came into being with the new state. Vast horizons were opening up and the dynamic inspiration of the new changes also expressed itself in cultural and literary movements. The most important reform was the alteration in the characters of the Turkish alphabet. The Roman script was more suited to the genius of the Turkish language, and it has made the phraseology succinct and clear. Linguistic research and historical studies, much encouraged by Atatürk, have produced significant results.

Translations from the literature of the world have entered on a new era. Authors translated include Andre Gide, Andre Maurois, Pierre Loti, Anatole France,

Maupassant, Flaubert, Zola, Goethe, Dickens, Shakespeare, Tolstoi, Dostoevski, Chekhov, Gorki, Turgeniev and Stendhal. Renaissance and pre-Renaissance authors like Petrarch and Dante have also been translated, and masterpieces of the Hellenic and Latin literature have also been reproduced in the Turkish language.

Turkish literature today is represented by eminent novelists, essay writers, critics, poets and playwrights, such as Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri, Falihi Rifki Atay and Abdulkhak Sinasi Hissar. Literary criticism also has found its able expositors in men like Hassan Aali Yucel.

It is most refreshing to be acquainted with this survey of the main streams of renaissance Turkish literature as given by R. E. Unaydin. The phenomenon proves the all-round success of the Turkish regeneration, and is thus significant not only to students of art and culture but also to social reformers and political leaders.

Srinivasa Sastri

Srinivasa Sastri is dead; "the silver-tongued orator of the British Empire" is silent for ever. Though he died at quite a ripe old age, his death has created a void in national life which can hardly be filled. Even the other day when he expressed his weighty denouncement of the Union Government's latest anti-Indian measure, we could not think that the blow would come so soon.

Sastriji, a true disciple of Gopalkrishna Gokhale, began his life as a school-teacher. And he remained a teacher all his life in more senses than one. His association with the education of the country came to an end only with his death when he finished his career as the Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University. His rare mastery of the English tongue was only the least of his varied gifts, but the perfection he attained was almost unique for a man not born to that language.

Sastriji's public career was dominated by the beliefs and doctrines of liberalism. He joined the Servants of India Society in 1907, became its President in 1915 and remained in that position till 1927. A leading light in Indian constitutional discussions, a member of the Madras Legislative Council and the Imperial Legislative Council, a notable Privy Councillor, Representative to the Government of India to various dominions, Indian Agent in South Africa—Sastriji played a number of highly important roles in the course of his long and fruitful life.

When the whole country was throbbing with the stirrings of ardent nationalism, Sastriji with a few noted compatriots held fast to his liberal faith. The strength of that faith has much dwindled in the nation at large, and even Sastriji himself considerably changed in his later political attitude. Nurtured as he was upon a faith in conciliation and constitutionalism, it was no mean development for him to attack unsparingly the policy of the British Government after the August days of 1942. On the whole, his political views are a perfect specimen of sound reasonableness within the framework of liberal thought.

His whole life was a pattern of honesty, strength and brilliance. His integrity earned for him the rarest distinctions in life, and it is to the memory of that greatness of character that his countrymen will ever pay their homage.

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The following notes have been sent by Dr. Taraknath Das from New York:

Mutiny and Hunger in India

The whole world is watching happenings in India. The following is the editorial published in the *New York Times* of February 22, 1946:

MUTINY AND HUNGER

The revolt of Indian seamen in Bombay, described by Vice-Admiral Sir John Godfrey as 'a state of open mutiny,' underlines the urgency of the mission of three Cabinet Ministers which the British Government is sending to India. It is noteworthy that the rising of the sailors of the Indian Royal Navy, like the walk-out of the textile workers of Allahabad, began as a hunger strike against the drastic cut in the food ration which Lord Wavell was obliged to announce on February 16. When 100,000,000 people are threatened with famine in a country where discontent against the British Government is endemic, the combination produces a crisis of the first magnitude.

The scale of the Indian problem, highlighted by the rioting and blood-shed which are now reported to be subsiding, dwarfs the troubles in Egypt, Greece and the Levant, disturbing and symptomatic as these whirlpools are on the British imperial route. The outbreaks in Cairo are purely and violently nationalist, but India is not so much a national as a continental problem, involving a population greater than that of Europe or the Western Hemisphere and almost as many racial, religious and administrative divisions. Europe, indeed, is rapidly becoming what India is—a sub-continent of Asia—and there are many signs to indicate that the storm center is moving from one area to the other. It is certain, at any rate, that India will be the scene of one of the decisive struggles of the post-war period. Equally certain is that the statesmanship of the British Labor party faces a major political test. Sir Stafford Cripps is one of the three Ministers who will make a new attempt to secure agreement on a plan of self-government, but this attempt is launched in a much worse atmosphere than his unsuccessful mission of 1942. The war is over, the Moslem League and the Congress party are more uncompromising than ever, Great Britain is in a state of uneasy transition. The whole picture this time, moreover, is overshadowed by hunger. In this merging of crises, economic desperation intensifies political violence. It is hard to decide which is more dangerous, but without a heroic effort to stave off wholesale starvation appeals to reason are likely to be vain.

In greater or less degree, this is true of all the post-war settlements. The first emergency of today is a shortage of food, and while no one will claim that a strict rationing and sharing of the world's stocks of wheat will reconcile Jinnah and Gandhi or ease the tensions in Greece and Egypt, France, Italy and Hungary, neither will any one deny that hunger in these countries aggravates every other problem. It is hardly too much to say that hunger is one of the great Powers that will dictate the shape of the peace.

One thing must not be overlooked that mutiny may tighten the bond of slavery. It may lead to disastrous chaos.

To be sure, the causes of discontent must be removed. Indian sailors and soldiers should not be discriminated against by their alien master, because of their race and color.

Indian people must not starve. Britain, which does

not produce half of the required food for her people, did not have a famine even in war time. Why should there be a famine in India? India's sterling balance should be used to buy grain from Argentina, Canada and other lands.

Indian leaders should not allow irresponsible agitators to create chaos in India. A chaos in India may become a burial ground for Freedom.

Scientific Efficiency of the Japanese

The New York Sun of January 13, 1946, published the following news-item which will interest Indian leaders:

Tokyo, March 13 (A. P.)—Japanese torpedoes were better than either the American or the British, for they carried larger explosive charges, had more range and greater speed, and left no air bubble trains. Capt. Allan L. Dunning of Granby, Conn., who directed a United States Navy technical mission to study the war secrets of the Japanese Navy, announced this finding upon the completion of his project today.

[Navy officials and correspondents knew of the superiority of the Japanese torpedo since very early in the war, but were not permitted to hint at the fact.]

Dunning said the Allies gained little new information from their study. His records have been sent to Pearl Harbor, however, for evaluation.

One eye-opener, he said, was Japan's huge aircraft-carrying submarines. The Japanese told him they had made reconnaissance flights over the Hawaiian Islands in planes catapulted from submarines that could carry three planes each.

"The Japanese researchers had technical horizons as great as our own, but they were unable to co-ordinate production with their findings," Dunning said, adding that in one laboratory they were making oil from rubber, exactly reversing a rubber-from-oil process developed in the United States. On the other hand, Dunning said, Germany gave little help to the Japanese Navy and most of the information arrived too late to benefit the Japanese. There were no records, he added, that the Japanese ever received any assistance from Russia.

Before the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) the Japanese could not build war-ships and large passenger steamers. Before the Sino-Japanese War (1904-05) the Japanese bought their best naval vessels from Great Britain. On the authority of the late Marquis Okuma, who told me during a conversation in 1915 that the Japanese Naval arsenals were supplying naval guns for the British navy. It was well-known that Japan supplied arms and ammunitions both to Britain and Russia in their struggle against Central Powers. After the Washington Conference (1922) when the Japanese navy was limited, Japanese naval experts specialised in submarines and "carriers." It is well-known that the late Admiral Yamamoto was the staunchest advocate of building "plane-carriers" and at the beginning of the World War II Japan used the weapon of "torpedo-planes" effectively.

What the Japanese could develop in the scientific field and in the field of National Defense—India—with proper Indian leadership can also attain.

Oil Interests in the Middle East May Cause A World Conflict Affecting India

American and British oil interests in the Persian Gulf area are making rapid progress in bringing crude

oil production up to refinery requirements, according to advices to the companies concerned. Demand for petroleum products for the rehabilitation of Europe, for British post-war industry and for supply of North African, Near East and Middle East markets, it is said, is supporting record refinery operations.

Arabian American Oil Company, jointly owned by Standard Oil Co. of California and Texas Co., has just completed a forty-mile, twelve-inch pipe line from the Abqaiq field, in Saudi Arabia, to the company's main headquarters at Dhahran. Another line of similar size is under construction from Dhahran to the company's new Ras Tanura refinery.

Previously, all the marketed crude oil output of Saudi Arabia has come from the Dammam discovery field in the Dhahran area. Production from this field has been running at 95,000 barrels daily, part going to the Ras Tanura plant and the remainder to the refinery of Bahrain Petroleum Company on Bahrain Island. The two refineries have been processing about 150,000 barrels daily. The Ras Tanura plant, designed for capacity of 50,000 barrels a day, has been processing about 80,000 daily.

The Abqaiq field, forty miles south-west of Dhahran, was proved up in February, 1941, an initial well being completed at 6,180 feet. Five wells have now been completed in the field, and oil men believe that output from these, in conjunction with production from the Dammam field, will be sufficient to supply the needs of the Ras Tanura and Bahrain refineries.

Officials of Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., jointly owned by Anglo-Iranian, Ltd., and Gulf Exploration Co., the latter a subsidiary of Gulf Oil Corp., predict that crude oil shipments from the Burgan field in the Kuwait concession will be initiated in May.

Commercial production was scheduled to start in March, but delays have been occasioned by lack of loading tanks and other construction equipment. Production is indicated at 30,000 barrels daily. The company's Abadan refinery is approximately 120 miles from the Burgan field.

Kuwait's oil wells were cemented to seal production early in 1942, when it was feared that the Nazi army would invade the area. Drilling rigs are currently at work reconditioning the wells, which number nine. A tenth well is projected. A production average of 5,000 barrels daily from each well is indicated, according to officials. Proven reserves of the Burgan field are estimated at a minimum of 5,000,000,000 barrels.

The above picture of increasing activities of the Anglo-American oil interests in the Middle and the Near East has a serious bearing on world politics of to-day and tomorrow.

Soviet Russia's efforts to get control over Persia has a serious side of economic warfare against the Anglo-American Powers. Soviet Russia will not only get control over the oil resources of Northern Persia, but a government, controlled by Soviet Russia, will try to oust Anglo-American interests from this region which is bound to produce serious consequences in which India is sure to be involved. Thus Indian statesmen should think of developing India's national defense now. Well-educated Indian youths should dare to join the Indian National Defense Forces to develop it to the status of one of the best forces for defense in the world.

BATTLE OF PANIPAT : THE VICTOR'S DESPATCHES

By SRI JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E., D.Litt.

THE momentous third battle of Panipat (in January, 1761) changed the fate of India, but unfortunately the historical inquirer is puzzled by the absence of any official despatch on it from either side. The silence of the Marathas can be easily understood, as all their chiefs except one perished on that fatal field or in the long-drawn murderous pursuit, and they had to abandon all their official papers after their rout. In their language only a few brief reminiscences and a few private letters survive to throw light on the final battle, though the thirteen months of movement before it are richly illustrated by the historical letters discovered by Rajwade. One Deccani has no doubt left a very full account of the preceding negotiations and the battle, but it was written in the Persian language. The author was a Deshasth Brahman named Kashiraj Shivaram, a civil officer of the Nawab of Oudh, who was present in the field. I have published a new English translation of his book in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X (1934).

The most interesting and intelligent account of the long campaign and of the changing phases of the battle is given in Persian by Sayyid Nuruddin Husain Khan (an agent of the ex-Wazir Ghaziuddin, Imad-ul-mulk), in his *Life of Najib-ud-daula*, which I have translated into English in the *Islamic Culture* of Haidarabad (1933-34). Muhammad Jafar Shamlu, a participant in the battle wrote his recollections of it thirty years later, and these can be read in English in Elliot's *History of India*, viii, 145-157.

Not a single letter from the side of the victors was hitherto known to have survived. But recently Khan Sahib Sayyid Husain Askari, M.A., has very generously placed in my hands a unique Persian manuscript which gives Ahmad Shah Durrani's own account of his policy and movements throughout the campaign and his tactics during the battle. It is a thin book of 36 folios, with a gap (probably one folio) between 34 b and 35 a and all the leaves after 36 b missing. It lacks the author's preface and colophon which we find in regular Persian letter-books. Each page carries 15 lines, three inches in length. In the MS. as it stands there are 44 letters, out of which 15 were written by the Durrani Shah or his Wazir Shah Wali Khan, and four by Najib-ud-daulah, to Sawai Madho Singh, the Rajah of Jaipur and his minister Har Sahai. There are also some letters relating to Ahmad Khan Bangash (the lame Nawab of Farrukhabad) with the terms of Durrani's alliance with him and a florid description of the visit paid by him to the Durrani Shah at Aligarh on 31st March, 1760, besides letters from the Emperor Shah Alam II (then a wanderer) and from and to the Indian Ruhela chiefs.

Those letters which are historically the most important are translated below, but a short sketch of Ahmad Shah's movements with dates, must be first given in order to help the reader.

AHMAD SHAH DURRANI'S MOVEMENTS IN INDIA—1759-1761

Early in September 1759, Sabaji Sindhia (the Maratha governor of Multan and Lahore) defeats Jahan Khan (the Durrani general) and drives him across the river Indus. Soon afterwards Ahmad Shah Durrani himself invades the Punjab, takes Lahore, and expels

Sabaji, who reaches Dattaji Sindhia's camp at Shukartal (near the right bank of the Ganges, 16 miles east of the city of Musaffarnagar) on 8th November. The remnant of the Maratha garrison in the Panjab arrive there on 23rd November.

20th November, Ahmad Shah crosses the Beas at Govind-wal; on 10th December, crosses the Satlej at Rupar; on 15th December, his vanguard occupies the Banur and Chhat district (16 miles north of Ambala City), and seize Ambala and Sarhind.

8th December, Dattaji Sindhia raises the siege of Shukartal and marches towards Karnal; crosses the Jamuna at Ramra-ghat, east of Panipat, (c 20th), 23rd (or 24th) December, the Afghan vanguard defeats Dattaji's vanguard near Thaneshwar. C. 25th Ahmad Shah crosses the Jamuna at Buriya and proceeds to Saharanpur, thence marches to Loni (opposite Delhi).

9th January, 1760, Dattaji slain at Bararighat, Marathas evacuate Delhi. On 14th January, Ahmad Shah reaches southern suburb of Delhi, is joined by the Ruhela chiefs, and on 1st February, places his own governor (Yaqub Ali) in Delhi. On 27th January, Ahmad Shah leaves Delhi suburb and begins march towards Jaipur, against Malhar Holkar, is near Shergarh (Nu Jhil) on 3rd February, at Dig on 5th, at Narnol on 17th, at Rewari on 19th, and outside Delhi again on 29th February.

Ahmad Shah crosses over to Patparganj on 1st March, surprises Malhar's vanguard near Sikandrabad on 4th and reaches Aligarh on 5th, (its fort captured c. 9th April).

14th January, 1761—Battle of Panipat.

I.

From Ahmad Shah Durrani to Madho Singh, Rajah of Jaipur, written on 20th November, 1759:

"At this time Najib-ud-daula Bahadur, Amir-ul-umara, the Mir Bakshi of the empire of Hindustan, has brought to my notice your friendship and devotion towards me. Let your mind be composed that, God willing, I shall gratify your desires in proportion to your devotion. During the long time that I was busily engaged in regulating the affairs of Persia, the wicked race of Deccanis seized the opportunity, came and subdued the entire country of Hindustan, and wrought extreme harm at every place. When the details of the movements of this despicable race reached me, I turned my reins towards Hindustan. Today, the 29th Rabi-ul-awwal (20th November, 1759) I have crossed [the Beas] at the ferry of Govind-wal. I shall continue to march in the same (eastward) direction. The worthless Patil (Sabaji Sindhia), after taking to flight from Rohtas, has arrived near Janko [i.e., Dattaji Sindhia], and it is highly probable that the wretched Janko too will flee away.

"You are faithful to me; do you join Rajah Bijay Singh [of Jodhpur] and bar the path of this wicked tribe, so that not one of them may reach the Deccan in safety. God willing, they will be as grass before the merciless swords of my victorious phasis (warriors of the true faith), and you will be exalted in proportion to your splendid and devoted services."

Govind-wal, 16 miles west of Kapurthala, but on the right bank of the Beas. Sabaji Sindhia was the Maratha governor and commander of the Panjab on behalf of Dattaji Sindhia. (See Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 211, 216.)

II

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh,
written on 10th December, 1759 :

"God's blessings be on you ! Your face has been brightened inasmuch as you are engaged in fighting the abandoned Deccania. I too have turned in this direction for suppressing these wicked people, and have today the 10th December, 1759 arrived at Khizirabad, a pargana of Rupar [across the Satlej]. God willing, in a few days I shall destroy the cursed infidel Janko and go in your direction. You should then come and meet me ; I shall, out of my royal grace, grant the desires of this devoted ally. If there be any Deccani force in your quarter, you should with perfect composure of mind disperse them all, so that these wretches may really cease to exist in the realm of Hindustan."

III

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh,
written on 30th December, 1759 :

"Received your letter reporting that you had sent onward my letter in praise of the devotion and friendliness of Rajah Bijay Singh of Jodhpur, and that Malhar Maratha was still engaged in hostility to you, but that when Janko is defeated, Malhar too will take to flight. At present I am sending a separate letter to Rajah Bijay Singh, honouring him and asking him to assist you. Most likely he will do so. Praise be Allah ! On Sunday the 2nd Jamadi-ul-awwal [Sunday was the 3rd Jamadi-ul-awwal—23rd December, 1759], an army of twenty thousand brave horsemen of Ghaziuddin Khan and the Maratha named Janko, were dragged by their hair by Death to oppose my victorious troops. A battle ensued ; my soldiers fell upon them like tigers on a flock of sheep ; many of the enemy were killed, some taken prisoner, and a few escaped with their bare lives with the utmost difficulty ; the heads of the slain were brought to me. Ghaziuddin and Janko, in terror of my *ghazis*, have fled away like jackals ; a party of my troops has been detached to pursue them, and they too will be dispersed and suppressed, so that the face of this country may be cleared of this worthless bramble [the Maratha invaders]. You should, in perfect peace of mind, turn to the chastisement of Malhar, so that he too may not escape. Rewards are promised to you."

IV

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh,
written on 17th February, 1760 :

"Received your humble letter reporting the arrival of my letter addressed to you and your

Khizirabad, a place in the Rupar sub-division, ten miles south-east of Rupar town (which latter is on the east bank of the Satlej). It should not be confounded with another Khizirabad, which was a village some miles south-east of Delhi.

Janko—After the murder of Jayappa Sindhia at Nagor (1755), his government was conducted in the name of his minor son Jankoji, but the real head of the Sindhia army and administration was Jayappa's brother Dattaji Sindhia, who is the person really meant by the term of Janko in these letters.

The battle of 23rd December, 1759 took place near Thansewar. For a full description of it, see my *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. II, p. 218, where the date given is the 24th of December ; but a letter from the Durrani Wazir Shah Wali Khan to Madho Singh in this MS. states that the battle took place on Thursday, the 27th December, and near the bank of the Jamuna. The former date and place are more reliable because supported by the Maratha records. Bahadur Khan Baloch was in Ghaziuddin (Delhi Wazir's) army.

rendering thanks for it, and assuring me that when I have made a few marches, Malhar too will be defeated and put to flight, and repeating your professions of devotion and friendship to me.

"Janko Maratha, bent on causing disorder, with a force of his wicked tribe, engaged in fighting the Afghan clans [of Rohilkhand, at Shukartall] and trampled down God's creatures. All the time letters from this true friend were coming to me. I [therefore] marched with my army into this country in the very hot season and alighted at Buriya near Jahanabad, when that evil-minded person [Janko] came up with his troops to oppose my victorious army. A battle took place. By the first charge my men drove the enemy away from before them, many of the latter being slain or taken prisoner and only a few escaping.

"The Afghan clans [of Rohilkhand] being now fully released from their oppression, came and joined my camp. At Jahanabad, too, news reached me that Malhar Maratha also had a large army under him and was staying in that country causing disturbances. On receiving this news, I did not halt at Jahanabad, but advanced towards that region, alighting at Nu-Jhil. The report of the arrival of my army here having reached that wretch [Malhar] he marched away from his halting-place, traversing twenty kos in one night and fled away. On the 17th February, 1760, when I am at Narnol, it is not known for certain where he has gone.

"You ought to remember your duty to close the path of Malhar through your territory immediately on the receipt of this letter. God willing, I shall spend the summer season also in this country, and when the monsoons are over, I shall with divine assent march into the Deccan at the head of a countless host and a vast force of artillery and give Malhar and other mischief-makers of that country their due punishment, so that in future none of them can cherish the idea of waywardness.

"Compose your mind in every way, remain constant in your fidelity and friendship to me, and at the proper time you and other well-wishers will be rewarded according to your wishes."

V

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh :

"Know, my faithful friend that you will see your desires gratified by my God-given Government, because as I had regard for your brother [Ishwari Singh], so towards you also I am gracious and kindly disposed. Know for a verity that "the word of a king is the king of words." It is my intention to bestow abounding favours on this obedient person [Madho Singh]. I have cherished friendliness for all the Rajputs from of old, and I regard all of them as old devoted friends of my Government, and I shall continue to so regard them. God willing, they would all share my favours and become grateful for my benevolence. It will be specially so in your case, because your devotion and loyalty has been reported

Buriya, on the right bank of the Jamuna, 18 miles north-west of Saharanpur and 22 miles south-east of Ambala.

Nu-Jhil, on the left bank of the Jamuna, and opposite to Sher-garh (20 miles north of Mathura) on the right bank of the same river. Here Ahmad Shah arrived on 4th February, 1760. *Narnol* (mis-spelt in the MS.) is 25 miles south-west of Rewari and about 90 miles south-west of Delhi.

Ishwari Singh, the predecessor of Madho Singh on the throne of Jaipur, had fled away with his contingent, instead of fighting Ahmad Shah Durrani, when the latter was attacked by the Delhi imperial army at Manupur, on the 11th March, 1748. (See *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I.)

to me by Najib-ud-daulah and is being repeatedly brought to my notice by him. If Allah wills it, you can hope to receive from my Government even a greater degree of honour and rank than what you enjoyed under the Padishahs of Hindustan. Prove your friendliness by action so that you may succeed in getting all of your desires gratified by my Government."

VI

Ahmad Shah Durrani to Rajah Madho Singh :

"On hearing of the occurrences in the city of Delhi, I marched with my army from Anup-Shahar and alighted at Shahdara. But as it was the season of rains and heavy flood, it was impossible for me to cross the river here. The wicked enemy, seizing this opportunity, started for Panipat and Karnal and advancing beyond Karnal, they overthrew Abdus Samad Khan and other [Afghans] at Kunjpura. From Shahdara I started for the purpose of punishing these insolent foes, crossed the Jamuna [at Baghat, on 25th October, 1760] and marched day after day. We arrived at the caravansarai of Gharanda, an outpost of the enemy. My *ghazis* in a twinkling of the eye broke up their post and put all the garrison to the sword. Thence I marched to Panipat and dismounted. The Deccanis, too, came to Panipat, entrenched and sat down. Every day our holy warriors fought the enemy. Govind Pandit was slain outside Ghazi-ud-din-nagar with 7,000 Maratha horsemen [on 17th December]. Then we invested the enemy on all sides; every day we dispersed them, set their trenches on fire, and sent many of them to the lowest Hell. All the above details you must have heard.

"At last on Wednesday, the 14th January, 1761, the infidel host with their artillery, cavalry and infantry, came out of their trenches for fighting and showed audacity by making repeated assaults on our *ghazis*—who are like the *Ashab* of the Faith. The scouts of our army came and reported the facts about the foe to me. During the last two or three months that we lay facing each other, everyday the enemy used to make sorties from their entrenchments on all four sides, severe fighting used to follow, and the enemy, after being beaten and giving up most of their men to slaughter used to flee away to their camp. So, it was imagined by me that on this day too the same thing would happen as in the past.

"But as soon as this news reached me, I took horse for the purpose of suppressing their violence, and threw the dust of the hoofs of my swift horses into the eyes of the foe. Arrived in the field, I surveyed the position. It was then seen that the enemy were in motion on the battle-field in a body of two hundred thousand horse and foot and engaged in firing their guns and rockets. For a space of six *kos* they were drawn up in line behind line, stepping

forward, and with great haste manifesting their determination to fight and discharge their muskets.

"I then drew up my *ghazis* in two wings. Right and Left, rank behind rank, kept each rank firmly in its proper place, and ordered that the artillery and the foot-musketeers with my personal guns, should advance and fight the enemy bravely.

"I also ordered my Wasir Shah Wali Khan Durrani to take post with his own regiment (*dasta*) in support of my artillery at the station assigned to our guns. As soon as the Wasir reached this position, the flame of fighting blazed up and raged on all sides. The clamour of drums and trumpets rose up and filled the breasts of the valiant heroes with enthusiasm. In a twinkling the multitude of athletes strong in fighting and tigers capable of tearing up dragons, fell upon each other. They threw themselves on the centre of the enemy's formation like a lightning flash consuming a cornfield, and performed such deeds of heroism as no man had seen before this battle and no ear had heard of. If Rustam and Asfandiyar had been present in this field, they would not have turned their heads away in contempt but would have bit their fingers of astonishment with their teeth. The enemy too distinguished themselves and fought so well that it was beyond the capacity of other [races]. The blood-shedding fists of the heroes on both sides became equally red with blood.

"Gradually the fighting passed from the exchange of cannon, swivel, and rocket fire to the discharge of muskets. [Six lines of verse omitted.] Then it proceeded beyond musketry-fire to the stage of combat with swords and arrows. From the use of swords even, it passed on to the plying of daggers and knives. They grasped each other by the neck and crushed their opponents' breasts. Those dauntless blood-shedders [the Marathas] also did not fall short in fighting and doing glorious deeds.

"As divine grace is always my aid, suddenly the breeze of victory began to blow and, as willed by the Eternal Lord, the wretched Deccanis suffered an utter defeat. Viswas Rai, the son of Nana [Sahib Peshwa] and the Bhau, who had been fighting in front of my Wasir, were slain, and many other *sardars* also on their side fell. Ibrahim Khan Gardi and his brother were captured wounded. Bapu Pandit [Hingane] also was taken prisoner. Forty to fifty thousand troopers and infantrymen of the rebel army became as grass before our pitiless swords, the rest turned their faces away in flight. I ordered a party of my troops to pursue the fugitives; they killed about fifteen to twenty thousand of the enemy. It is not known whether Malhar and Janko have been slain or what else has happened to them. All the enemy's artillery, elephants, and other property have been seized by my men. The whole of Hindustan has come into my possession. The enemies of my God-gifted kingdom have received the due punishment for their acts. The plant of the hope of my well-wishers, has, by order of the Creator of Day and Night, become green and flourishing.

"Now is the time that devoted friends of my Court should take away their shares from this dinner table of gracious gifts. My Wasir has again and again reported your devotion to me. It is fitting that you should come and see me as soon as possible, in order that the foundations may be laid for the proper regulation of the administration of the spacious empire of Hindustan under my eyes. As I have called to my presence all the nobles, Nawabs and Rajahs of this empire, you too should attend, and you will, God willing, be honoured and exalted more than before."

Sarai of Gharanda (10 miles north of Panipat) is evidently a copyist's error for *Sarai Sambhalke* (17 miles north of Sonpat) where the Maratha advanced patrols were defeated on 28th October, with two to three thousand casualties in the two armies taken together. (*Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 204.) But after the battle of Panipat, a party of fugitive Maratha horsemen, who had taken shelter in the sarai of Sonpat, were totally destroyed by the Durrani pursuers, as Md. Jafar Shamlu describes. (*Elliot and Dowson*, viii, 157.)

Ashab, the first three Khalifs of Islam who were great conquerors. *Dasta* means a regiment, varying in strength from one thousand to several thousands.

THE MOTION PICTURE INDUSTRY

A New Reorientation

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

THE motion picture which chooses to call itself an "industry" because of its wide use of the mechanical apparatus, is comparatively one of the youngest amongst Indian industries. That our industrial pattern should more or less blindly follow the Western model, was perhaps inevitable. The early initiative in the field of all mechanical industry came from the West, mainly from England. We were not only under its physical grip but also under its psychological domination. It is only the last half century that has been seeing the gradual unloosening of that grip. But the glamour has not passed. We have been so mentally and materially obsessed by the sense of power that has emanated from the West, that in spite of all our past traditions to the contrary and our tall talk of our special moral standards, we meekly bow to power and be content to follow the pattern. To us it signifies the desirable, the objective to be attained. Hence our susceptibility to its influences is not only inescapable but becomes subtly welcome. In many respects our knowledge of the West is superficial. Those who have lived abroad over a long period as those who make fleeting trips, come so completely under the West's fascination that it exercises almost an abnormal lure because of the contrast with India. From every angle and every standard to them India falls short and suffers by comparison. The West rules the world, therefore if India is to rule even her own destiny, it should become a prototype of the West—is the inevitable conclusion they come to. Few care to probe deep into the social core of the Western structures, to sound the amplitude and vitality of their human values. If one did that, one would find every time that they were found wanting, that their content was almost as poor and inadequate as of that in this country, that basically the Westerners have no more solved their fundamental problems than we have. Although it is gradually dawning on us that the magnitude of industrial and technical development is not a sound criterion for evaluating human fulfilment or happiness, still that oppressive fascination continues its grip on us.

The effects of the last world war are, however, largely changing the face of life in the West. Deep inroads have already been cut into its rigid body and the social forces of progress are rising to the surface to create a new pattern. The conviction that Democracy must represent an adjustment between the values of freedom and society is today a living experience and not mere vanilla-flavoured homiletics.

All forces that go to the moulding of a society are of equally vital importance. All cultural expressions are an integral part of the life-throb of a people. Hence the importance of the social content of any of the cultural phases, be it the film or the drama, painting or sculpture.

In the making of our pictures we have naturally been greatly influenced by Hollywood which has been called the home of the movies. It has more or less represented to us the goal to work for and to strive to attain. The high efficiency of Hollywood studios, the amazing strides in technical development, the universal popularity of Hollywood pictures, these factors have set the standard for us. Their poor social content, their general reactionary outlook on national problems, their unreal character, their divorce from the day-to-day life of the American people, their failure to express the nation's normal ambitions and struggles, these have been generally lost sight of. In fact often the ignoble social role of many Hollywood productions in alluringly dramatising anti-social elements, lending heroism to gangsterism and the garb of idolatry to crooks, high-lighting with colour and music the meanest and most unsavoury of human weaknesses, has been one of the social tragedies of American life. We have not hesitated to blindly copy even the vulgar printed rags of Hollywood pungent with stinking gossip and hold them up as "Film journalism" and proudly quote the opinions of Hollywood figures in praise of Indian Hollywoodism! Hollywood has thus become almost the last word in movie pictures lock, stock and barrel.

Traditionally Hollywood has regarded the film as a fantasy, a medium with only one purpose, to provide enjoyment or entertainment for its audiences. Consequently the average Hollywood producer has never been moved by any other social urge and therefore felt no greater obligation towards society beyond that. Even where important topics of the day are presented, either out of confusion or ignorance, either the emphasis is on the wrong end or facts are turned and twisted. If ever greater integrity of presentation was upon any of them, the reply has been a brusque "it is after all only a movie," in other words a make-believe which is not supposed to have any relationship with the realities of everyday life, except for occasional lapses like the *Grapes of Wrath*.

The exigencies of war have, however, brought a new reorientation to all social expressions including the film. Even the hard-boiled Hollywood producers have been forced into a slow but nevertheless a growing realisation that the film is after all a social document, that cover cannot be taken under the cloak of "escapism." But it needed all the brutality, the stark naked ruthless unsheathed sword to bring this elementary fact home to these cynical leaders of this so-called industry.

The first dynamite that made the hardened Hollywood top strata crack was the ingenious use made of American pictures abroad by the Nazis, especially the gangster pictures, some of which were re-edited for the education of Europeans on the sub-

ject of American people and their rulers. "Are these the 'liberties' you look to?" the hapless people of war-torn, Nazi-dominated Europe were asked. Hollywood producers who had scorned documentaries and refused to give credence to the social value of pictures, relegating them to the "unreal" now sat up to see their childish make-believes accepted overseas as documentary portrayals of American life. At the same time the pictures utterly failed to reach out to the American public who were psychologically as well as materially unprepared to meet the debacle initiated by Pearl Harbour and followed up by the collapse which followed all along the line in South East Asia. The pictures produced at this period failed at both ends neither able to hold up the fighting line by their sheer inability to mobilise the public for an all-out effort, nor the home-front by not being able to speak straight to the average man—and in a war it is the average man that is the hero, for it is on his industry and loyalty that the entire war effort rests. On the contrary the home-front came to be kind of parodied and given comedy treatment. Red Cross and air-raid workers were ridiculed, in fact all civil defence activities were to a larger or lesser degree the butt-end of jokes. It was but adding insult to injury to distribute such films abroad in countries where the home-front was taking as fierce or even more fierce beating than the war-front. Nor were the pictures of the enemy any better. At a time when the people needed to know above all else a sober evaluation of the enemy's strength and weakness to merely portray them as crude monsters or tricky crooks fit to be just ridiculed, was not getting anybody anywhere. Childish tales of spies and fifth-columnists were the order of the day. Of the 486 pictures put out by Hollywood in 1942, more than a quarter were war films, 65 per cent of which and 15 per cent of all pictures produced were spy stories! It was the easy way out to capitalise on war and exploit war sentiment and assume that anything, sufficiently "thrilling" built into a war theme will go down. Hollywood tripped up badly, however, when it started depicting the "lighter side" of army life. These pictures began to cause deep resentment amongst the G. I. men. It is said that at the front when some of these pictures were shown, the service men would just walk out in wrath. Men caught up in the grim tentacles did not very much enjoy seeing themselves "caricaturised" or so at least these scenes with the "comedy" G. I. men seemed. There were continuous floods of protest in the press. Foreign audiences got a very poor conception of American reaction to war, whether at home or abroad. While all Europe was on starvation diet, they saw the American public fed on sumptuous rations—food, food everywhere; whilst they went about struggling in tatters, the American fashion-shows seemed to be making colourful displays, the chief characters in the film shown undergoing sartorial changes six times a day. The resentment against Uncle Sam kept steadily rising. Hollywood had come to be conditioned over decades to put out fantasies, and it was now failing hopelessly to act as vehicle for conveying information. Even later when efforts were made to use a different form, by giving a documentary touch as for instance in *Wake Island*, *Wilson*, etc., even the real people and real events seemed to have a flavour of unreality clinging to them. They were "stories" first and every-

thing else afterwards. The Hollywood technique of fantasy-facts, could not be shattered in a day and it is said that for quite sometime the American audiences kept on getting confused unable to distinguish between factual and fictional happenings. In the words of Dorothy B. Jones, a commentator on Hollywood and its productions: "From December, 1941 to December, 1942, 1,321 features were released. The main story of three in every ten of these films revolved around the war. Yet of a total of some 370 war pictures, only a few dozen can have accomplished anything of significance for the war effort at home or raise the morale abroad. What is behind this failure of the motion picture industry to fulfil its obligations to the nation at war? What is its future role in the construction of peace?"

To begin with, the movies, like most others, were unprepared for the important work they had to do. For years Hollywood had been producing six or seven hundred films a year, the vast majority of which were comedies, musicals, wild western adventures, murder mysteries, and similar well-worn formulas. For years producers had stoutly maintained that the American public wanted, above all else, to be "entertained". It is small wonder, then, that faced with the task of making films which would educate the public about the war, Hollywood movie-makers did not know where to begin. They lacked the experience. They lacked the know-how—and like the rest of America, they themselves lacked real understanding of the war.

But this cycle of melodrama had to spend itself out and as the seriousness and tempo of the war heightened up, more earnest exploring was called for to meet the situation. Amongst those who made a determined bid for a reorientation, were some of the Hollywood writers and a few individual artists, producers, directors, story editors, etc. But the dominating group was that of the writers. They had been first stirred by the heavy depression in the early thirties and even before the outbreak of war, the more successful members of this group had occasionally been allowed to make a film or two which were marked out for their social content as being of national significance. But on the whole what they had been able to achieve was too meagre and inadequate to what social problems and conditions demanded; and although their salaries ran into astronomical figures and they held top places as experts in the industry, their initiative was curbed, their field of production circumscribed. A sense of hopelessness had come to settle on them like the evening mist which only the warm flood of a ray could help lift. These men and women saw immediately the opportunity offered by the war for the realisation of their dreams and saw at the same time unable even decadent Hollywood play a vital and progressive role in winning the war and securing the peace.

1943 thus saw the emergence of a new class of pictures, distinguished by a more realistic and more seriously intentioned screen treatment of the national problems. A new prestige came to be lent to such pictures as *Hitler's Children*, *This Land is Mine*, *North Star*, *Watch on the Rhine*, stories of anti-Fascist struggles. For the first time attempts were made to examine the Nazi ideology in its correct perspective. Then came pictures like *The Human Comedy*, a

homely portrayal of American small town life; *Joe Smith*, the life of an average American production worker, dramatising the values of the little things of life; *The Ox-Bow Incident* aimed to turn the spotlight on the question of civil liberties; *Power of the Press*, meant to dramatise the responsibility entailed by freedom of the press. Feature films have certain advantages of their own. For their very freedom from factual details enables them to achieve a clarity of theme that can state a point more easily than the documentary. In addition imaginary characters give the audience an unbiased start and is, therefore, an asset in helping them understand the intricacies of a problem. A spirit of reality can thus be conveyed without tying oneself up with a specific set of facts.

One week after Pearl Harbour, these Hollywood elements met to dedicate their talents to what they called "furnishing morale-building material," and an organisation known as the Hollywood Writers' Mobilisation was established. This body not only acted as an agency to the Government to provide talent, it came to exercise considerable influence on the new scripts that were being written by giving them a new reorientation. In October, 1943, the Mobilisation in conjunction with the University of California at Los Angeles, sponsored a Writers' Congress which was attended by about 1,300 people. Although the immediate pressure of war provided the occasion, the writers assembled laid down that the film could not continue to think it could remain isolated from the day-to-day social problems. This conference was followed up by the initiation of a series of seminars by the Mobilisation, in which the writers discussed the problem of portrayal in relation to the social questions. The popularity of these seminars was evidenced by their large attendance. They proved without doubt a source of information and a stimulus to constructive thinking and gradually a new form of social expression promised to emerge as writers set out to clarify their thought processes in reference to current affairs. Amongst those who took the lead in this new movement were Orson Welles, Katherine Hepburn, Edward Robinson, The Warners, Dudley Nichols, Dutton Trumbo, Henry Koch and a host of other top artists.

This has also meant a fundamental change in the old stereotyped attitude towards foreigners and minorities. Just as during the war it became necessary to stop identifying the enemy as the guttural-tongued German or the slant-eyed Japanese, it became equally imperative to cease portraying the Negro as the domestic-help, the Chinese as a laundryman, the Amer-Indian as the wildman in feathers, the Mexican as the Rustler stealing cattle on a ranch, and so on. These cartoonist pictures had to be replaced by new portraits that showed each primarily as a human being not so very different from the average white American, men and women whom the audience can accept as members of their own society, not some sort of outlandish individuals who had no counterpart in their own social organism. One notices today several evidences of an increasing maturity in the Hollywood

film industry. With the spread of the new attitude towards pictures, various talent groups have stepped forward to accept their social and political responsibilities towards society in general and the motion picture colony in particular. There has also come a broadened concept of film audiences as a living society. Moreover, the old days of easy monopoly have gone. Practically every country has today come to appreciate the power of the screen and is anxious to have it serve its own national interests. There is thus a livelier effort to develop a national film industry while at the same time watch the effect of foreign, particularly American pictures on the mind of its people in their relationship to native traditions, philosophies and needs. Thus each country is becoming more acutely aware of its social obligations and equally sensitive to propaganda machineries. It seems that the American film industry has come to a difficult pass on its onward march in the international career. For today the world calls for a new and high degree of international knowledge and a wider, more broad-based and at the same time more sympathetic treatment of native themes. It has been found that on more than one occasion, the diplomatic relationship between the United States and the Latin American countries became strained due to pictures like *Down Argentine Way* produced by Hollywood. Thus international knowledge has to go hand in hand with good-will, for good-will alone cannot make for good neighbourliness. There is the instance of the war picture *The Chetniks* portraying the heroes of the Yugoslav "two-timer" Mihailovich, typical of American ignorance of Yugoslav war-torn resistance period. In the past Hollywood has been led by its salesmen who have done very well for it so far as dollar bills go. But the need of tomorrow is not the satisfaction of yesterday. Today the call is for those who will go behind the mere problem of sales and seek for the core of international relations, of understanding and trust based on common interests. For as in the political field so in the film-world, a comity of nations can only be brought about by considered and creative co-operation in the pursuit of common values and ideas.

True, to say there has been one long uninterrupted revolution in the Hollywood picture-world would be wishful thinking. As a matter of fact, as the war began to come to a close and plans for reconversion got set afoot, there was a swing back to the semi-familiar pre-war formulas, and the stereotyped light musicals, murder mysteries and similar escapist pictures went into production again. Still the change is there, definite and visible. For this new influence is not going to merely exert itself through just production, but also through those artists who have become more socially conscious and aware of their responsibilities. The Writers' Mobilisation for instance will function as a cultural centre for motion-picture writers interested in the social and political implications of the film and will further the exchange of ideas with script writers of other nations.



I MEET LOUIS BROMFIELD

By S. CHANDRASEKHAR, M.A., Ph.D.

New York City

I

"INDIAN villages are the key to India; not the politicians in New Delhi," declared Louis Bromfield, famous American novelist and author of two novels about India. His picturesque Ohio farm, where we met, is called Malabar Farms in memory of his years in India, and it resembles an Indian village indeed—but a rather Utopian and modern one.

I drove through miles of beautiful countryside to meet Mr. Bromfield at his charming and secluded thirty-room house. I found the man as genial and spontaneous as his setting. He readily gave me his views on the questions that are all important to India. The future of the world, he believes, lies in the hands of India and China, because of their superiority in land, resources, and population over other countries; whereas Britain has reached the zenith of her power and will soon begin to decline. "India will have to acquire freedom through gradual disintegration of the British," Mr. Bromfield said. "It will be a rapid evolution and not a revolution. It is inevitable that Britain will soon be out of the picture in world politics."

I asked Mr. Bromfield for his opinion of the future of Indian industry. "Industrialization of India," he answered, "will advance in proportion to the advancement of Indian agriculture. India cannot advance industrially if her agriculture does not progress simultaneously. Since Indian industry cannot seek a foreign market, it will have to look at home for consumers. Who will these consumers be? Peasants—for the overwhelming majority of the Indian population is composed of peasants. And their purchasing power is so low that they cannot even afford to buy a shirt."

"Improving Indian agriculture, however, means raising the standard of living of the Indian peasant. Then the peasant will have the purchasing power to buy India-manufactured goods. Thus industrialization will follow close upon improved agriculture."

Mr. Bromfield discussed Indian agriculture enthusiastically, for he himself is a farmer as well as a writer—not a gentleman farmer, as many consider him to be, but a "dirt farmer," working on the land himself during the day and writing at night. His large farm is run on a co-operative basis—all of the profits over the first five per cent, which is paid on the capital he invested in the farm, is divided among the employees. The dozen tenant families not only live on his farm but of it. So he was naturally interested in the improvement of agriculture in India.

"India needs modern and mechanized forms of agriculture," Mr. Bromfield continued. "She must change from the wooden plough to the steel tractor. And the health of the average Indian must be improved to the point where he at least has the stamina and strength to work the land efficiently. Then transport conditions must be improved—good roads must be built—so that the farmer can bring his produce to market."

"Before India can even talk of industrialization, she must make her agricultural methods five thousand times more efficient. And the improvement of

agriculture will help solve another problem—overpopulation. For an increase in the standard of living tends to lower the birth rate."

"Do you believe in birth control?" I wanted to know.

"I am not against birth control," Mr. Bromfield explained, "but it will not solve the Indian problem. It reduces the number of poor people without raising the standard of living. That is not enough."

"Why Russia has come out of this war strong," he went on with enthusiasm, "is because of her limitless manpower, large land area, and great resources. I do not see why India cannot become like Russia in the near future."

II

Farming and writing have always been the two primary interests in Mr. Bromfield's life. He was born nearly fifty years ago—on December 17, 1896, to be exact—on a farm in Mansfield, Ohio, near where Malabar Farms is now located. He wanted to be a farmer, and so he enrolled at the Cornell University School of Agriculture when he was sixteen. But the urge to write proved to be too strong, and so he left Cornell after one term to enter the Columbia University School of Journalism in 1914. When America entered the First World War he gave up school and joined the American Expeditionary Forces. For two years he served in every major sector from Switzerland to the sea; his military activities in France winning him the Croix de Guerre.

Returning to the United States, Mr. Bromfield became one of the original members of the staff of *Time Magazine*. A year before his first novel, *The Green Bay Tree*, was published, he married Mary Appleton Wood—in 1923. In 1925 they sailed for France where they settled on a farm near the little village of Senlis—thirty miles north of Paris. They remained abroad for the next fourteen years and all of his three daughters—Mary, Ellen, and Hope—were born in France.

From 1924 until the present Mr. Bromfield has been writing steadily at the rate of a book a year. His total output to date comes to more than twenty books, most of them highly successful if not best sellers. An interlude of residence in India gave him material for two of his novels—*The Rains Came* and *Night in Bombay*. Both proved to be immensely popular, for they had everything that an American reader expects of India—incredible Indians, blundering Britons, spendthrift Americans; earthquakes, floods, plagues, and other disasters; and what not, together with clever social commentary and a rare insight into Indian mores. *The Rains Came*, which is Mr. Bromfield's favorite and most successful work, was made into a Hollywood motion picture—popular in America and rather impossible in India. Many of Mr. Bromfield's subsequent novels seem to have been slanted toward Hollywood—his *Mrs. Parkington* was recently made into a record-breaking picture. Besides being a best-selling writer, Mr. Bromfield is a Pulitzer Prize winner—he received the prize for his third novel, *Early Autumn*. He has also written a number of short

stories which were recently brought together in one volume under the title of *The World We Live In*.

III

Mr. Bromfield and I had a lengthy discussion on politics. He himself was formerly an ardent New Dealer, but during the last election he became critical of Roosevelt's agricultural policies; and so he voted for Dewey on the Republican ticket. It was rumored that Bromfield himself had hoped to be Secretary (Minister) of Agriculture—the post which Roosevelt gave to Henry Wallace, now Secretary (Minister) of Commerce. It was, however, the effect Britain's change of government would have on India that absorbed us most.

"Labour Government is not the solution for India," Mr. Bromfield told me. "Every workingman in England has to have a job, and to them that means that they have to be imperialists. The change in government in London may appear to be for India's benefit but actually, although the British workingman may be socialistic as regards the country's domestic policy, when it comes to her foreign policy he remains just as much a Tory as ever.

"Britain still has to exploit raw materials from her colonies, bring them back to England, manufacture them into commodities, and export them again to the colonial markets. This means she needs sea routes, which means the empire life-line, which in turn means the continuance of imperialism all over the world. Look at Hongkong."

"But," Mr. Bromfield concluded, "the British Empire is an economic anomaly. It has to go. The United States pouring money into England won't help England. It is like eternally helping a poor relative; he gets hungrier and hungrier. England has become a second class power and nothing will help her."

"What do you think of Pakistan?" I inquired.

"I have met Mr. Jinnah socially both in Bombay and New Delhi, but we never discussed politics—at any rate, not Pakistan," answered Mr. Bromfield warily. "On the whole, however, I think Pakistan

can't work, because Moslems are scattered all over India, even though they are in a majority in a few provinces. It will be impossible even if you attempt to transfer populations—and that has been tried in Europe and found to be not feasible. And, above all, from what I know of India, Pakistan, if effected, would be the poorest territory in the world."

While discussing the obstacles to Indian freedom we talked of India's minorities, the question of defense, and the problem of India's Maharajahs. He said that he had met a few Maharajahs during his sojourn in India, but he feels that "the Maharajahs are doomed. They have a brilliant future only as great Indian patriots, scholars, or industrialists; but certainly not as Maharajahs, for their days will soon be over. Look at the European Maharajahs. Their abilities as rulers are very questionable, but they have a great future as great individuals developing their talents for the benefit of their country."

This led naturally to European affairs, on which Mr. Bromfield touched but slightly. Of France, his home for some fifteen years, he said: "No Frenchman will leave France; French emigration is an unheard of thing." He also predicted that France would conquer Germany culturally, and pointed out that even in America the culture is more truly representative of the French than the British. "In fact," he said, "our judicial system is the only British thing we have."

Before I took leave of Bromfield he took me to his magnificent, book-lined study to give me an autographed copy of his latest book, *Pleasant Valley*. Although it is partially autobiographical, describing his life as a "dirt farmer," Mr. Bromfield says he does not plan to write an actual autobiography until he reached the age of sixty-five. From the huge bay window in the room I could see the endless greenness of his spreading thousand acres, reminding me again that Bromfield is just as much a farmer as he is a writer. As we shook hands, my eye caught the little figure of Ganesha, the Hindu God of Luck, in a niche over the doorway. Bromfield noticed the direction of my glance. "God of Success, you know," he smiled.

—O:—

THIS FREEDOM

By A. C.

THE Muslims are not a new force in Indian politics. Ever since the Muslims of Arabic, Turkish and Iranian descent began their long chain of invasions of India, ever since the Muslim rulers of various parts of India began their work of Muslimising India, they have been a strong force in Indian politics and Indian life. No matter whether they are now of pure or part Arabic-Iranian-Turkish blood, no matter whether their own traditions, culture and way of living have undergone fundamental changes, they remain a body of men, with extra-territorial loyalties and an outlook on life which is not indigenously Indian. (This is true of a large number of Muslims, though not of all Muslims.) They are really afraid of becoming Indians, although they may be so in blood, language, food, clothing, vocation and what not. Mahomed Ali Jinnah has said in so many words that he is not an Indian. The question is

what is he then? Is he an Arab, a Turk or an Iranian? He is not any of these, but is according to him, a Muslim, belonging to the Muslim Nation of Pakistan. India. The trouble is that this Nation has not existed before Jinnah, nor has their homeland Pakistan. But Jinnah says all or most Muslims of India want to belong to that Nation and that Land. They must, therefore, have their own Nation and Land in India and unless they were granted this simple demand, they would devastate everything to the best of their power and ability. The difficulty is that no part of India is purely Muslim. In some places there is a high Muslim majority, in others they are 50-50 with Hindus and in most places they are a definite minority. They say that they must have all the places, where they are in a majority or are equal with Hindus, as Pakistan, and to round off things nicely, they must have a few more areas,

which are predominantly Hindu, thrown in for the sake of peace.

The point is that where they are in a definite majority they can have their own Government, provided such Government conform to the accepted codes of civilised governance, in the natural course of things. Where they are 50-50 they have to guarantee to the other side that they shall not try to play any selfish tricks to feed their own interests or even their vanity. For if they did that, the slightly less numerous but almost equal minority will deal with them in a manner which will not make for peace. Where they are a minority they cannot by any means establish Muslim Raj, for the simple reason that the majority will not have it.

In any scheme of self-government for India, the various linguistic-racial groups will have full freedom to set up their own Government in their own area. Working on this principle any large enough area will be free to choose and make its own Government. Assam and Western Bengal, for instance, are predominantly non-Muslim. In their history too the Muslims have never been in political power in these areas. The hope, therefore, that either the British or the rest of India will make a gift of Western Bengal or Assam to the Muslims can only be based on the assumption that the British or the other Hindu areas of India have a moral or political right to make such a gift. They have no such right. The British cannot establish any kind of Government anywhere in India without the sanction of the people of the particular region. If they tried that, they shall be resisted. The other Hindu areas cannot make such a gift for the simple reason that Western Bengal and Assam are not the property of the people of, say, Bombay or U.P. to dispose of as they liked and to suit their convenience. The people of Western Bengal or Assam have as much right to their own freedom as the people of Bombay or the members of the Muslim Nation have to theirs. In other words, if the British or any part of India tried to decide the fate of any other part of India, they shall be resisted.

The only way for the Muslim Nation, therefore, to build Pakistan anywhere in India excepting where they are unquestionably and outstandingly in a majority will be by the use of force.

The U.N.O. has been set up to prevent War. In future no nation will be allowed to establish its "Rights" by virtue of might. If this be the real purpose of the U.N.O., the Muslims of Eastern Bengal or Western Punjab or of N.-W.F. Province or Sind will have to make War on Assam and Western Bengal to build up Pakistan and they will have to fight the U.N.O. along with the people of these areas to achieve their end.

We all know how absurd that proposition is. Mr. Jinnah can ask himself one simple question as he moves his eyes over the map of India. "Who is giving away *What* to whom?" And while answering that question he must remember that he is now in conference to settle a question of Freedom for those peoples of the Earth who have not been free for some time. He is not on a battle-field where he can decide things by force. He can no more force a Government on any group of men than they can on him. He may like to have Calcutta for his Pakistan, but the people of Calcutta may not like it. His able assistant Suhrawardy may wish to rule over all the areas where Bengali is spoken; but the people of those areas definitely have a say in

the matter. Whether the idea of Pakistan is a sound one or not does not matter. If in an area an overwhelming majority of people want a certain form of Government, they can surely have it. But no one can impose his own folly or wisdom on some one else without the other's approval. That is the basis of all Freedom.

The people of those districts where Hindus are in a definite majority can never be included in Pakistan, no matter what British Province these districts are in. The same is true of Muslim majority districts. I say district, because a district has a large enough population to be counted as effective in any political issue. The ease with which the Muslim talkers are settling the political fate of 25 or 30 million people according to their own sweet will, truly savours of Chengiz Khan (who incidentally was not a Muslim) who has been mentioned by Sir F. K. Noon in this connection. But the Great Khan fought the armies of less capable despots and not Nations. Maybe a nation of 30 million Bengalis who have produced Surendranath Banerjea, C. R. Das, Rabindranath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Subhas Chandra Bose and an endless number of political fighters during the last half a century, will not surrender to anybody's will so tamely. Chances are that the fate of Pakistan will be decided on the fields of Western Bengal if any liberties are taken with the freedom of the people here by the British, the Hindus of the rest of India or the Muslim Nation. The Bengalis have no reputation as swashbuckling mercenaries, but they have a fair enough name as undaunted fighters for freedom.

Mr. Jinnah's latest demand of Calcutta as a Muslim port and a corridor right across India to link up his kingdom, is only another example of an ever-shifting outlook on politics. A man who loves freedom and does not believe in interfering with the freedom of others cannot demand control over the homes of other people in this off-hand fashion. He has also mentioned his friendly relations with Afghanistan and other Muslim States of Asia who will do his job for him. One can begin to see the slowly unfolding pattern of a two-fold conspiratorial design through the mist of all this apparently senseless outbursts. On the one side there is some scheme afoot to crush some power against whom all the Muslims will combine on the side of Britain. On the other hand, India shall be in the grip of this Muslim combine and may, *Inshallah*, develop into a hundred per cent Pakistan in the near future. This is the not long-forgotten dream of the decadent despots of middle Asia—Pan-Islamism. Up to a certain point the British Imperial diplomacy may thrive on this. If they could gain the support and sympathy of a large bunch of sturdy men, who are sufficiently fanatical to overlook the modern ideals of freedom and progress, one may even hope to meet the challenge of Russia. The question is: Will the youth of Asia subscribe to a scheme of this nature? Will the Indians—Hindus and Muslims, lend themselves to be used as pawns on the British Imperial chess-board to that extent? Will they agree to march backwards a couple of hundred years to satisfy the desires of men to whom humanity and the purer ideals of democracy mean nothing?

I should say, no. Nobody is going to tolerate such things in this age. If in Sind or Baluchistan the majority of Muslims agree to heap upon the non-Muslim

minority disabilities or indignities of any kind whatsoever, if in Bihar or Madras the Hindus do the same to non-Hindu minorities, then one would have to admit that India's fight for freedom has been a mockery and a tragic failure. The future of India depends on the establishment of Justice, Equity and Truth as the foundation of her new freedom. There may be Muslims who hope to see *Quasis* occupying the High Courts of India and there may be Hindus who wish to re-establish Brahminism with its sordid paraphernalia in the cities and villages of Hindusthan; but neither must be allowed. The Rajahs and Nawabs may like to continue to vegetate in pomp and splendour, the Baniyas may dream of building up endless trusts and monopolies; but no, all these degenerate ambitions

must be sacrificed willingly or shattered. A free India means a land in which all men have equal rights and privileges, where all men hold their heads high, where no man is made to feel small or suffer any disability on grounds of religion, caste, dogma, race, colour or such other unrealities which have vitiated human existence in the past.

If the Muslims of India, where they are in a majority, wish to change the names of their cities and villages or larger areas they may do so; but not a single individual anywhere in India must be put under any disadvantage for reasons which have no basis in Justice, Equity or established fact. If that is allowed then India will be exchanging her present slavery for another which will be far worse and thoroughly evil.

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THE TRANSITION BUDGET OF INDIA

By NIKHIL RANJAN BANERJEE, M.A.

THE Indian Budget, the Finance Member claims, has been so framed as to meet the basic needs of India in transition from war to peace economy. Not alone were economic contingencies forestalled, but the political side of the question did equally engage his attention—as the one self-vaunting expression leads him to assert that the Budget, as framed, would be an important augury for his successor, Indian or British, more probably Indian than British, for, he sees the political metamorphosis in the offing, and makes for the latter the Membership a bed of roses.

Whether, or not, the future budgetary business would be a cold weather theme does matter little for, his successor, Indian presumably, has, as he says, no reason to be found lacking in the qualities of clearing the Augean stable of Indian finance. We here propose to confine ourselves to a consideration of how far the Budget as introduced is appropriate to the peculiar circumstances of the time and whether the claims put forward by its architect is borne out by facts.

Even to a casual reader of the Indian Budget it would be deemed as an epitome of efforts to make the best of a bad job. But who has made the job bad for us? When, however, in spite of himself, the Finance Member touches upon the fringe of the problem, an all-out effort to camouflage the real issue, if not misrepresent it, becomes clearly marked. But, at the same time, it must be admitted that in this year's budget an attempt has been made to remedy certain flagrant defects in certain directions, while in respect of others, it breaks altogether new ground.

To take the first thing first, improvement under this head has been sought in two respects, (1) to make the burden of taxation more equitable by some alterations in the scheme of income-tax and in the sphere of certain indirect taxes as well; (2) to give a filip to, or rather, remove the shackles on the development of the industrial life of the country which is calculated to take in the slack caused by demobilisation.

So far as the income-tax is concerned, thank Heaven, that even in this late hour the idea has dawned upon the authorities that it was the members of the smaller income groups (earned income, of course) who had to bear the brunt of the war, and as such, their share of the burden should, a bit, be reduced. Accordingly, the slab of Rs. 3,500 and the upper one were dealt with.

But it must be said that the revelation that they have had was the imperfect one, and the counsel that prevailed on the authorities was the counsel of the partisans. For, on any showing, it was the income group of the lowest slab that suffered most; and though there are not many who would envy the position of the two upper income groups, few would have been surprised if the tax-free limit was scaled up a little, particularly in view of the marked obduracy of the price-level not to fall and the impending food crisis. The loss in revenue due to relaxation on this count could be easily made good by a tightening of the belt a little in respect of another source which remains virtually untapped—I mean the Death duties, and taxes on properties in general. It is true, that in India, unearned income has been distinguished from the earned, a system of taxation devised which hits the former harder than the latter, and the whole business brought, so the Finance Member claims, to its logical conclusion by having the surcharges initiated to this discrimination.

Taken in the right perspective and with the situation which obtains in other countries before our mind, it will be realised that this falls short of what is needed. While in other countries the question of Capital Levy as a means of liquidating the forced savings is being given a serious thought to, it becomes, on the face of it, extremely ludicrous, that the case for even the Daltoniac plan of terminable annuities¹ or the plan of Rignano² in relation to India should thus have been slurred over. Indeed the time has come for a review of the whole position of Income-tax *vis-à-vis* Inheritance-tax, more so because, in the context of the Indian situation the question has gathered a fresh momentum. I do not propose to enter here upon an elaborate discussion of the subject, but shall be content simply by pointing out certain aspects of the question in broad lineaments. Even when it comes to a comparison of the Inheritance-tax, pure and simple, and neither jammed in Rignano's or Daltoniac plans nor insured against, i.e., between inheritance-tax made progressive according to size only and the income-tax also so made progressive, the issue is no longer in doubt. In the first place, Marco's caveat³ against the

1 Expounded in his book *Inequality of Income*.

2 Expounded in his book *Una Reforma Socialista del Diritto Successorio*.

progressive taxation in general falls to the ground, because here, unlike in the case of income-tax, the Effort Supply curve is conspicuous by its absence. In the second place, even a very steeply progressive inheritance-tax will not have that deterrent effect on the incentive to invest as distinct from the motive to accumulate which a correspondingly steeply progressive income-tax is wont to have. Thus writes Prof. Meade :

"In their effect on employment, progressive death duties are to be preferred to a progressive income-tax. For the incentive to spend money on capital development at any given rate of interest should, as we have argued, be little affected by death duties."

This unusual period of bottlenecks aside, what would be vitally necessary in the deflationary dispensation of the immediate future, is an all-round predominance of the economics of consumption, and the consequent reduction in the propensity to save.³ When there still exist certain inflationary pockets, and bottlenecks have been in more than one direction, savings have got to be tapped in order to prevent further lopsided development of the economic life; and rightly enough does the Budget incorporate certain provisions designed to secure that end in view. At the same time, if, as a result of the severe cut in defence expenditure having worked out its full effect, or ensuing large-scale demobilisation, the deflationary forces get under way in future then measures calculated to augment the propensity to consume while not impairing the incentive to invest would be the desideratum. Viewed thus, the tax on property, innocuous in its effect on incentive to invest, is the tax *par excellence*. Administrative difficulties, lack of statistical data, etc., should no longer be allowed to baulk the attempt to do the thing in the desired direction.

Coming to the consideration of measures under head (2) of our classification, the first important thing that strikes us is the marked contrast between the features of the transitional economy of India and those of the Western countries. While in the West the problem is mainly that of a switch-over from the war-time industries to the peace-time ones, with no fear of a prolonged unemployment to embarrass its course, in India, the authorities are working under the shadow of a depression whose magnitude becomes larger and larger as the sun of economic tempo reclines on the Western sky and the spell of war activities dies down into helpless inertia. The whole problem of the transition economy in the West resolves itself into a question of adaptation, the course of which may be clogged by the emergence of certain factors, e.g., (1) structural changes in production, (2) the cataclysmic character of post-war demand, (3) availability and ownership of resources, etc.⁴ But all these can do no more than make unemployment a passing phase—a mere incidence of a conversion.⁵ But in India the war-boom is of a rather different nature, created as it is by an infinitely large proportion of new employment in a land hitherto of the unemployed and it is no wonder, therefore, that as soon as the wieldy hand of the war-lord is withdrawn the

activities sag, things return to their old grooves, and depression engulfs the whole of India. Taken in this perspective, the need of energising the economic system of India cannot be over-emphasised. It is probably with this idea before his mind that the Finance Member proceeded to incorporate in his Budget certain innovations which, according to him, are calculated to rouse the economic life from stupor. These measures to name them, are (a) The abolition of the Excess Profit Tax, (b) Refund of the E. P. T., (c) Depreciation allowances of 10 per cent on new buildings and 20 per cent on new plants, (d) Relief from customs duties on raw materials imported for industry, e.g., plants and machinery, (e) Reduction in the combined rate of income-tax and super-tax by one and three-fourth annas, (f) Steepening of the rate of super-tax on dividend above a datum line.

Nobody, perhaps, will deny that these are improvements in the desired direction. The excess profit tax has been a blight on the capital development of the country inasmuch as, it is a positive encouragement to inefficiency; and the loss in revenue sustained due to its withdrawal will be made good by increased advances through ways and means. If the Building Industry can alone work out Indian salvation, then the improvement under this head is a master-stroke. But a bit jejune, perhaps, is the allowance on plant establishment in a land where by the tricky manipulation of the sterling-balance it has been made a tantalising disillusionment. The rest of the measures speak for themselves.

But, what after all, does this amount to? It is no more than a mere lip-service to the problem of Indian industrialisation. When the fear of an impending depression stalks over the country and a great lee-way has to be made in the direction of Indian industrialisation if the country is to be saved from that cataclysm, then such tinkering with the vital problem is really exasperating. The Hon. Member's Sphinx-like silence on the issue of tariff measures as a protection to Indian industries may be attributed to either his complacent belief in the future of Indian industries or his attempt to side-track the issue willy-nilly.

Thanks to this war, India was converted overnight into a base for supplying nearly 70 per cent of those infinite varieties of materials required for the prosecution of war, and many industries have sprung up which otherwise would have remained dormant. These industries were taken out of the faggot of other countries and planted in Indian hot-house of war and, hence, their attempt to recover the ground thus lost is a question of months only. Moreover, it is wrong to suppose that these countries will be baulked in their attempt to do this owing to their pre-occupation with setting their houses in order. For, their change-over, as we have seen, may at worst, be stinted by some jolts and jerks due to temporary maladjustments; but the complete overthrow of economy out of gear bringing in its trails depression of a persistent character, which is likely to mark the Indian adjustment, is far from happening in America. And as a matter of fact, the country like Great Britain, with the Anglo-U.S. loan agreement before her, has been hard put to it to increase her foreign trade by £75 millions for her very existence. Clearly enough, these war-creatures will not be able to hold their own unless being sufficiently buttressed up. The same is, perhaps, true of the nation-building industries, e.g., automobiles, aeroplanes, locomotives, ship-building, etc., introduction of some of which was held

³ Antonio De Viti De Marco : *Prima Principii dell Economia*.

⁴ J. E. Meade : *Finansaria. An Introduction to Economic Analysis* and *Policy*.

⁵ Keynes : *General Theory*.

⁶ Report of the Committee of the League of Nations on Transition from War to Peace Economy (Part I).

⁷ *Ibid.*

back until very recently. We shall return to the discussion of this particular matter shortly. In view of the imperative character of protection in the transition economy of India, it is difficult to believe that the Hon. Member failed to appreciate their significance. We are then reduced to fall back upon the second explanation. Here we come upon interesting phases of their policy and get at the true meaning underlying his reticence. Here it becomes all the more manifest that they have taken for granted certain circumstances and then proceeds within the circumscribed limit to work out the economic destiny of India. The situation has been made impossible for India for her having been made an unwilling partner to the Sterling Block, by not delinking her currency, her being a creditor country notwithstanding, Imperial preference, blocked sterling balances, and all that. In the international sphere also there are also certain factors which do not portend well for India. The repercussion that the Anglo-U.S. loan agreement will have on India may not be unmixed evil. But that would really be a sorry business for India if her hands already tied, are forced to make any commitments to the Bretton-Woods Monetary Agreement as it now stands.

We cannot enter into an elaborate discussion of the subject here which, we are afraid, will take us far afield. But this must be pointed out that it is not for a country, with promises of an infinite growth of industrial life but the resources lying unexploited for the time being, to participate in a common economic milieu with an industrially advanced country. It is this common measure meted out to the diametrically opposite countries, that List, the father of the protectionists, inveighed against, and his suggestion to accord some measure of protection to this sort of industries did not fail to find favour with even the best of the classical exponents, John Stuart Mill.

The Hon. Member might have pointed out that a Tariff Board has been set up to look into the question of industries and to suggest measures for their safety. But the thing is that only a certain specific industries have been marked out for their consideration while the question of general tariff policy, and even that of certain very important industries from the nation-building point of view, has been kept beyond their purview. Worse still, perhaps, is the fact that by the time their suggestions, assuming them to be constructive in nature, sees the light of day, the fate of the industries may well-nigh be sealed. The Hon. Member should have on his own initiative and subject to revision by the Tariff Board when that Baby would be in a position to do so, incorporated in his budget certain duties designed to give relief to the struggling industries. His argument in regard to blocked sterling-balances is not convincing. Granted that these countries are not in a position to supply plants and machineries at present, what valid argument can there be against sending *en masse* technical experts from Great Britain where there is a surfeit of it, and also from Germany in payment of the latter's 2 per cent reparations to India? Then, again, so far as the Empire Dollar Pool is concerned, with the plight of South Indian automobile and air-plane industry still fresh in our mind, our understanding refuses to acquiesce in what the Finance Member says. It requires no more than average intelligence to understand, therefore, that what has been done is a mere tinkering with the problem, cutting

the *t's* and dotting the *s's* while leaving the main issues undisturbed, lest any infringement on the sacrosanct sphere, they might have feared, would recoil on the British vested interests and jeopardise their position in India, that nucleus of British economic imperialism.

The same dilettantism which marked their policy in regard to industrialisation also marks their effort at planning. In recent years, there has been a good deal of prostitution of planning. A control here, an operation there, a supervision in a third place and a patronage in a fourth, have all been crystallised into planning, and made to pass for it accordingly. India is no exception to this uncanny development. In order to save the country from being thrown into the abyss of a depression, and to keep the level of employment up to the mark the authorities have come forward with a plan, the main features of which are to deal with certain specific questions separately and in a disconcerted fashion. Road-building, establishment of Industrial Finance Corporation, development of tele-communication in the federal sphere and certain measures in the provincial sphere as well form the main plank in their programme. If such sporadic, piecemeal, erratic, measures become planning, then words as *laissez-faire*, *laissez-passer*, would not have found their way into the Dictionary. There is no half-way house in planning. It must be thorough, otherwise, it is nothing. When thorough, it brings cosmos; when partial, it ends in chaos. Space does not permit me to enter upon an elaborate discussion of it here. But those who have any doubt as to that will do well to remember the stupid failure of the control measures in India at their inception, and the causes underlying it. The economic life is so inter-twined, its different aspects so scrupulously juxtaposed, that even a minor ruffle at one end percolates itself throughout the entire system with an amazingly hectic speed. Even in such matters as price-control, writes Profs. Bye and Hewett:

"Once it is begun there is no way of stopping it. . . . One cannot thrust the ramrod of maximum prices into the delicate mechanism of industry in but a few arbitrarily selected places."

Not to speak of these erratic, piecemeal measures which are an apology of planning,—planning, within the capitalist fold, however concerted and full-fledged it might be, is sure to give rise to what is known as the Fascist planning. For, under planning, within the capitalist fold, the role of the capitalists is relegated to a minor importance, while their claim to shares of national dividend is fully ensured. This anomaly the labour naturally resents with the result that the State, as the guardian of the system, has to come forward as an arbitrator, and arbitrate invariably it would against the labour whoever dared to dispute its dispensation. This is fascism, pure and simple. Economic planning must have for its end, to speak in the words of the Webbs "mass production for community consumption." Production and distribution should both be simultaneously tackled in order to ensure to the teeming millions of India the bare physiological needs of life at least. Hence our emphasis on Death duties, Inheritance-tax and vigorous exploitation of taxes on property in general. Only by our concerted action on all these fronts can we hope to see rise from the welter of disrupting forces a "Brave New India."

8 Bye & Hewett : *Applied Economics*.

9 Dickinson : *Economics and Socialism*.

A TALE OF THE GAMMA-MEN

By RAJSHEKHAR BOSE

(Translated from Bengali by Prof. Sathari Mitra, Carmichael College, Rangpur)

THIS story relates to a period thirty years after the complete extinction of man. It may be questioned, since we are all dead, who writes this story and who reads? There is no need for worry. Authors and readers transcend time and space. They can look into the present, past and future and have access into the remotest corners of the universe. But let us proceed with the story.

For a long time there had been strained relation among the big nations of the world, and gradually the tension became so acute that there remained no hope of settlement among them. Dwijendralal's song:

We are the judges of Iran by divine call,

Those who grumble at our judgment are villains all. had been translated and adopted by every nation as its national anthem. At last the political leaders of various countries held consultations with their own wise men and each nation came to the conclusion that it was impossible to live in safety, security and tranquillity unless the others were wiped out from the face of the earth. With that end in view each nation used the Annihilium bomb against the others. In comparison with this latest product of science the old uranium bomb was merely a pillow stuffed with cotton.

Each nation had thought that it would be first in the race and would be able to carry out its design and annihilate the rest before the others could complete their research and organize production. But as ill luck would have it, no nation lagged behind, and having come to know the design of others through espionage, let loose the Annihilium bomb against one another on the same day and at the same auspicious moment.

No country, civilized, semi-civilized or uncivilized, escaped destruction, and in a moment the whole human race with all its achievements, the beasts, birds, insects and even plant life were completely destroyed. But life is a tenacious and persistent stuff. In the sea, in caves, in desert islands and in a few other inaccessible places some plant life and lower animals escaped destruction. We are, however, not concerned with all the survivors. Let us proceed with the lot of those who are the subjects of this history.

In the huge underground sewers of big cities like London, Paris, New York, Peking and Calcutta, there lived millions of rats. The greater part of them had of course been annihilated by the bombs, but a few young male and female rats survived accidentally. Not only that, but the gamma rays emanated by the bombs wrought in their generic traits a profound change which biologists call mutation. In a few generations they lost their tails and fur, their forelegs developed into hands, their hind legs became so strong that they began to stand erect and walk about; their brains increased in size, and their squeak gave place to distinct and articulate speech. In short they acquired all human traits and were endowed with a keen intellect and capacity for rapid progress. Further, from the very

beginning, the rats in one respect had an advantage over the human species—they multiplied very rapidly. Now that power put on a more accelerated pace. I do not want to insult these new talented tailless bipeds by calling them rats, they should rather be regarded as human beings. But to distinguish these newly evolved children of the gamma ray from the old human species like ourselves, I shall call them Gamma-men.

It will now be necessary to enter into a little calculation. It is well-known that historians roughly allow 25 years for a generation. Thus, in 18,000 years, there are 720 generations of men. What were our No. 720 forefathers like? Anthropologists tell us that they belonged to the old stone age. They did not know agriculture or cooking, went about naked, lived in caves and ate raw meat. Just fancy what tremendous progress in all branches of knowledge has been made in the course of only 720 generations! Now, while we require 25 years for a generation, only 15 days sufficed for the Gamma-men, they could start procreating a fortnight after their birth. Thus, in 30 years after the extinction of *Homo Sapiens* there were 720 generations of the Gamma-men. In other words, 30 years of the Gamma-men's existence equal 18,000 years of human history. If you cannot believe you may figure it up.

In this long period of 30 years the Gamma-men quickly reached the zenith of civilisation. They learned all the sciences and arts and became as wealthy and powerful as their predecessors. But all branches of Gamma-men were not equally civilized or equally powerful. Among them were to be found class and race distinctions and differences in political opinion. Some of their states were big and powerful, others small and weak. There were empires with ruling races and subject nations. There also existed keen struggle, hatred, envy, rivalry and inter-state economic warfare. Wars and aggressions were also not infrequent. After repeated internecine wars good sense at last dawned on the foresighted intellectuals among the Gamma-men. They thought: What is the good of these wars? Is it not possible to agree among ourselves and live together in peace and harmony? Our present civilization is incomparably great. We have unravelled many secrets of the universe. We have brought under control the stupendous forces of nature and harnessed them to our use. We have eradicated many of our social evils and bodily ills. We have acquired profound knowledge in philosophy and ethics. If our political leaders and the leading men of thought would but lay their heads together it would be certainly possible to reconcile our conflicting national interests.

At the insistent demand of the wise men of all nations, the political leaders called a World Conference. To it came from various countries all the eminent politicians, philosophers, scientists and others. Many attended in the visitors' gallery to see the pageant and the fun. As the actual Gammanite names of the various

speakers would be difficult to pronounce, names which are pleasant to hear and easy to utter have been substituted.

Mr. Chung Ling, the wise President of the Conference, in his opening speech, explained to the delegates the urgent need of establishing world peace and goodwill among the nations, failing which, he added, there was no hope for Gammankind.

After the address of the President, Count Notenoff, the delegate from a moderately rich state, said, 'The inequitable distribution and division of world's territory and resources are the root causes of world unrest. A few big states have in the past through dishonest means obtained vast empires and established extensive colonies. They have thereby secured control over prodigious amounts of raw materials and domination over huge masses of docile and subservient subject-races. At the same time we have not only been prevented from expanding but have been deprived of even living space. If future wars are to be prevented we must be given a half-share in the world's wealth.'

Then rose Lord Grabearth, the delegate from a mighty and extensive empire. He said, 'As we possess the longest and most varied experience in the governance of empires, it is desirable for the peace of the world that these areas should continue to be under our control. The stronger my state is the greater would be the security of the other nations. As for raw materials, we are prepared to part with a little on suitable terms. But I would request you not to cast greedy eyes on those uncivilized and semi-civilized countries which are under our care. We are merely the trustees for these people and should only be too glad to get rid of our burden as soon as they become fit to manage their own affairs. We do not seek to harm anybody. If danger comes, it will be from the country of my friend General Keepoff. In his country there is no private or independent enterprise, everything is done by the State. There is no place there for the aristocracy and capitalist magnates who are the head and front of society. The bad example of his country is spoiling our working classes. In a short time you will see the vile principles and cheap products of his country flooding the world. Our social structure, religion and industry will be ruined. The first step towards world peace is the reformation of General Keepoff's country.'

Then rose General Keepoff. Twirling his thick bushy moustache he said, 'Gentlemen, you all know that my friend Lord Grabearth is a great liar. It is his country that has kept the rest of the world under its heels. His state has repeatedly fomented internal revolt in my country through bribery. The day of reckoning will come soon, then we will have our revenge. I do not want to say anything more now.'

Abaldasji, the popular leader of a dependent country, then said, 'The plea of trusteeship put forward by Lord Grabearth is downright hypocrisy. So long as his lordship's countrymen arrogate to themselves the power of judging our competence for self-government, we shall never be let off from bondage. The sole duty of this conference is to abolish all empires and acknowledge the freedom of all nations. Dependent countries are the root cause of hatred and jealousy.'

Nischint Maharaj, the great yogi, had so long been sitting with eyes closed in meditation. He now broke his silence and caressingly stroking Abaldas's back, said, 'Set your mind at ease my son, have trust in me.

Through my penance you will all attain salvation in due course. I am continually exchanging thoughts with the great sages living on the summit of Mt. Everest. They are all at one with me.'

Dharmadasji, the *karmayogi* or man of action, said, 'Nothing will come out of these trite words. For world peace, it is first of all imperative to reform and purify the character and conduct of all, and then only can emerge a true social conscience. My scheme is very simple. Let all eschew animal food and take to a vegetarian diet, shun all luxury, and lead a life of strict continence for a month (which, by the way, equals in effect 50 years of human existence). The result will be that in this period the aged will die a natural death and no children will be born, so that world population will be reduced by half. Thus, war, famine, epidemics and the other positive checks to population will not be necessary. In a perfectly moral way the needs of the remaining population will be fully satisfied.'

Pandit Satyakamji next said, 'I am fully convinced that nothing can be achieved through supernatural influence or arguments. A vegetarian diet, denial of luxury and a spell of celibacy are all useless. They are against our natural instincts and defy enforcement through international laws and regulations. If the delegates assembled here will only lay bare their hearts and honestly tell us about their policies, it will be easy to find out means for adjustment and the establishment of world peace. We have been able to make enormous progress in science but have failed to modify or improve the Gammanite character in the slightest degree. The reason is simple. Inanimate nature does not deceive, consequently experiments and observations lead to definite and truthful results. But our political leaders cannot move a single step without falsehood. No means can be devised for establishing world peace unless they open their hearts and show all their cards. How can there be any diagnosis and treatment unless all the symptoms of the disease are known?'

Lord Grabearth pursed up his lips and said, 'If a person does not want to give out the secrets of his mind, how can you compel him to speak the truth?'

General Keepoff said, 'Why, by administering drugs. Ever heard of sodium-pentothal? Under its influence one is forced to blurt out the truth. In my country, the drug is administered to rebels to secure confession, and then bang bang go the guns. We do not waste our time in long drawn-out legal proceedings or our money on counsels' fees.'

The renowned old physician Dr. Bhiringaraj Nandi said, 'Fools and idiots all! Pentothal stupefies. The victim tells the truth no doubt, but his critical faculty and judgment are destroyed. This is not an opium den; we are not assembled here to exchange befuddled confidences but to solve grave and urgent problems of international politics. Pentothal will not do. What is wanted is injection of Veractin which I have prepared from the Indian hemp. It is harmless but infallible. It does not deaden judgment; but no matter how crafty and subtle you are it will drag out your innermost thoughts. It has no permanent effect; in an hour its influence passes off and then you are again your old self and free to pursue your campaign of lies. I have got the drug in my pocket and if the President will only permit, I can in a moment convert all here into truthful beings.'

Count Notenoff asked, 'Has it been actually tried?'

Dr. Nandi replied, 'Of course. I have tested it on a large number of rats and guinea pigs.'

General Keepoff burst out into a guffaw and said, 'Do truth and falsehood exist among rats? Do you know their language to understand what's what?'

Dr. Nandi replied, 'Certainly I do. I have only to observe their reactions. If they wag their tails to the left, their motive is bad and they are trying to hide their real intentions. If they wag their tails to the right, it is clear that they are responding honestly and their intentions are good. Moreover, I have tried the drug on a student of mine. Poor fellow, his wife has applied for divorce.'

The President, Mr. Chung Ling said, 'There is no necessity for scepticism about the results. Let us have a demonstration here and now. Gentlemen, I call for volunteers. Will any of you come forward for the sake of science?'

Dharamdas came up to Dr. Nandi and stretching out his arm said, 'Let me have the injection, Doctor.'

Nandi at once took out from his pocket a big magazine syringe and injected about 15 drops of his Veracitin into Dharamdas's arm. Allowing 2 minutes for the drug to take effect, the President said, 'Now Mr. Dharamdas, open your heart and tell us your thoughts.'

Dharamdas said, 'A vegetarian diet, plain living and strict continence. But I confess that I have failed to live up to my ideals and have had several slips.'

General Keepoff smilingly said, 'It is useless to experiment on these cranks. Even in their normal state they do not indulge in many lies. They profess and preach what they honestly believe. Come, try your injection on me. Truth or falsehood is a matter of indifference to me.'

Lord Grabearth became greatly perturbed and catching hold of Keepoff's hand said, 'Stop, sir. You do not know what you are doing. Don't you be a party to this silly affair. No one with a grain of self-respect can submit to this humiliating experiment. To hide our thoughts is our natural right, and we are not going to give it up at the instance of a quack. I do admit that blatant and crude lies are barbarous, but in their subtle and refined form they constitute a valuable weapon, which if judiciously applied can bring the whole world under one's feet. We are not going to give up such a potent weapon. Refined lie is the foundation and cover of civilized society, on it are based social customs and politics. Have you no sense of shame Keepoff? To bare our minds before this Conference would be as indecent as baring our bodies.'

General Keepoff was not deterred. He forcibly extracted his arm from Grabearth's grip and extended it to Dr. Nandi, who forthwith gave him the injection. Then clasping Grabearth in his embrace, Keepoff said, 'Quick, Doctor, give him a dose too, and a stiff one.' Dr. Nandi pushed in a double dose into Grabearth's arm. Writhing in the thick and hairy hands of Keepoff, Grabearth cried, 'What outrage is this! You have transgressed all international law. Mr. President, you have miserably failed to maintain order and discipline in this Conference, you are worthless. Get up Sir, get my Foreign Minister on the phone for me.'

General Keepoff said, 'A very bad and obstinate patient. The disease has gone deep into his bones. Doctor, give him another double dose.' Nandi complied with alacrity. Then gradually Grabearth became quiet

and softly said, 'Why single out only two of us? Give a dose to that wicked goonda Notenoff too.'

Notenoff clenched his fists and attacked Grabearth. But Keepoff intervened, and having clasped Notenoff, cried out, 'Stop, stop! Why are you so much afraid of telling the truth? However much we might try to dissemble, we well understand each other's motives and designs. No great harm can result from our speaking out the truth.'

Notenoff whispered, 'I don't care a damn if you know it all. I object on other grounds. Domestic trouble is more dangerous than international complications.'

Just at this moment Countess Notenoff from her seat in the visitors' gallery cried out, 'Give him the injection by force. The Count is an inveterate liar. He has been deceiving me all along.'

Taking advantage of the hubbub, Dr. Nandi crawled forward on all fours and injected his drug in Notenoff's hind part. The Countess cried out, 'Now confess who are your paramours.'

President Chung Ling said, 'No hurry Countess. The Count's mistresses will not fly the country. Let us now proceed with our business. Now, Lord Grabearth, Count Notenoff, General Keepoff, let us hear you one by one. Please relate frankly the actual policy of your States.'

Lord Grabearth said, 'Our aim is very simple. The only policy we believe in is: Might is right. Charity and philanthropy are quite good principles for practice at home and among kinsmen, but they have no place in international affairs. We want to exploit to the utmost, all, be they civilised or uncivilized, weak or strong. Who thinks of the woes of the calf when milking the cow? Do you consider the case of the victims when for food or other purposes you slaughter cows, sheep, tigers, snakes, rats and mosquitoes? Even plants have life. Can you practise non-violence by subsisting on stones? We want to have the best of everything and to get the best out of life. For that we are ready to perform all sorts of nasty deeds. But we are not free to do as we like. We have to reckon with powerful rivals and our own softness of heart which fools call conscience. Then there are weak-minded sanctimonious people—both among us as also in other nationalities—whom it is difficult to bluff always. To keep them quiet we have to make some concessions at times. I am firmly convinced that the aim of this conference will never be realized. I may be compelled to make slight concessions out of fear of my opponents, but I can never agree to any permanent agreement. What we may be compelled to concede today, we mean to regain at the earliest possible opportunity. You understand the laws of evolution, the struggle for existence and all that. I need not elaborate.'

Notenoff said, 'Our doctrine is exactly the same, though there might be slight differences in our methods. We come from the best stock. A time is bound to come when we shall be the sole masters of the world, and we are out to achieve our end by all means, fair or foul.'

Keepoff said, 'I am generally of the same mind as you, though there is a gulf of difference between our methods and yours. Fortunately, we have a vast country, and so the necessity of exploiting others has not yet arisen. But we are trying our hand so that we might not be found wanting when the need arises.'

Abaldas thumping his head with his palms in despair, said, 'Woe betide us! Even falsehood was more bearable than this frank avowal. I thought that puffed

with the arrogance of power these people have lost their conscience, but there was a slender hope that their moral instincts would again survive. Well, Lord Grabearth, will you answer a question? There is no denying the fact that we of the dependent nations of the world are slowly but gradually gaining in strength. Whatever you may say to the contrary, there are still honest persons in all nations and they support our cause. We shall one day shake off our shackles. But meanwhile rancour and hatred against you are growing in our hearts. Don't you realize what a fate awaits you when nemesis comes? If you come to a fair agreement with us now and make even large sacrifices on that account, we shall not leave you entirely in the lurch. Why doesn't this simple fact penetrate your head?

Grabearth said, 'It does. But why should we forgo the whole now in the hope of retaining a morsel in some remote future? We do not care what befalls our great-great-grand-children.'

Abaldas heaved a deep sigh and sat down. Nischint Maharaj again stroked his back and said, 'No fear, my son! I am here by you.'

Dharamdas said, 'Of what avail has this injection been? All that has been said under its influence was long known to us. In our holy books, the thoughts of the unrighteous have been described thus: I have gained this today, I shall achieve that end too; this is what I have, and I shall possess those riches as well. I have slain that enemy, and shall slay others as well. I am the master, the enjoyer of the good things of the earth, I succeed in whatever I attempt, I am powerful, I am happy. I am high born, there is none comparable with me.' (From the Gita).

The President then turned his gaze on the delegates and said, 'We have heard the representatives of the major States. Let us now discuss the ways for establishing lasting peace on earth.'

Grabearth, Notenoff and Keepoff all cried out together: 'We are quite happy as we are. Peace and goodwill are empty nonsense. We don't want to be harmless creatures without fangs and claws. We want to spend our lives in the joy of looting and fighting.'

Then, another member, who had so long been sitting silent in a back-seat, stood up. He was Professor Byombajra Shastri, the great philosopher-cum-scientist whose degrees and titles were too long even for a whole quire of foolscap paper. He said, 'I have discovered a way for establishing world peace.'

Dr. Nandi asked, 'Have you too an injection?'

Prof. Shastri replied, 'No sir. It would be impossible to treat the millions of the inhabitants of the globe in that way. The best way is to use my latest invention—the Peace Bomb. Under its benign influence peace will reign everywhere. The rays which emanate from this bomb are a thousand times subtler than cosmic rays. Contact with these purifies the heart, roots out greed, anger and all the passions, and frees the soul from the bondage of the flesh.'

Grabearth exclaimed: 'Silence Professor! You must not divulge secrets here. You have carried out the

research with our money and our resources. Whatever you have to state you must report in confidence to our Prime Minister.'

Notenoff jumped to his feet and said, 'What? It is we who have borne all the expenses. The Bomb belongs to us exclusively.'

Keepoff said, 'You are a set of damned liars! My State has long been helping the Professor in his researches, we have the sole right to the invention.'

Byombajra lifted up his arms in a gesture of peace and said, 'Don't be impatient. Everybody has a right to my bomb, you will all be benefited. Abaldasji, it would put an end to the factious spirit of your people and cure all your ills.' Saying this he began to unpack a small bundle.

There was a great stir and noise in the Conference as Grabearth, Notenoff, Keepoff and the other delegates began a tussle for the possession of the bundle.

Dharmadas said, 'Quick, Byombajraji! Do let off your bomb.'

But there was no necessity for this exhortation. In the tussle the bomb slipped from the Professor's hands, fell on the floor and burst. No noise was heard, no flash of light seen. Before the waves of sound and light could reach the sense organs, the whole race of Gamma-men had lost its faculty of perception.

After being stupefied for a time, Grabearth said, 'Prof. Shastri's bomb is an excellent stuff. I feel as if all of us have attained liberty, equality and fraternity. Notenoff, Keepoff, I do love you dearly. Abaldas, you too are very near and dear to me. Gentlemen, listen to the international anthem I have just composed:

*We are brothers of one spot,
There's no variance in our lot.*

Now let us embrace each other.'

Nischint Maharaj patted Abaldas on his back and proudly said, 'Didn't I say so?'

The conference overflowed with brotherly feeling. After a time, Notenoff said, 'Come brothers! Let us now divide the world's coal, oil, wheat, cattle, sheep, pigs, cotton, sugar, rubber, iron, gold, etc. Equal share for everyone—what do you say?'

Byombajra said with a smile, 'There is no need. You have shuffled off your mortal coils and are now suspended in the void. You can now go straight to hell, or you can be reborn, or just evaporate into nothingness according to your individual choice.'

Keepoff said, 'Do you mean to say that we have become ghosts? I don't believe in ghosts.'

Byombajra said, 'You needn't. Your disbelief does not affect the other ghosts.'

Mother Earth bereft of offspring will rest awhile and will become pregnant again. She does not lament the loss of wicked and worthless sons. Time is boundless, the Earth is colossal too; she is slow-marching and will not turn impatient at the rolling of a million years. She will conceive again and again in the hope of being the parent of a worthier progeny.



LANDSCAPE PAINTING IN THE SANTINIKETAN SCHOOL

A New Development

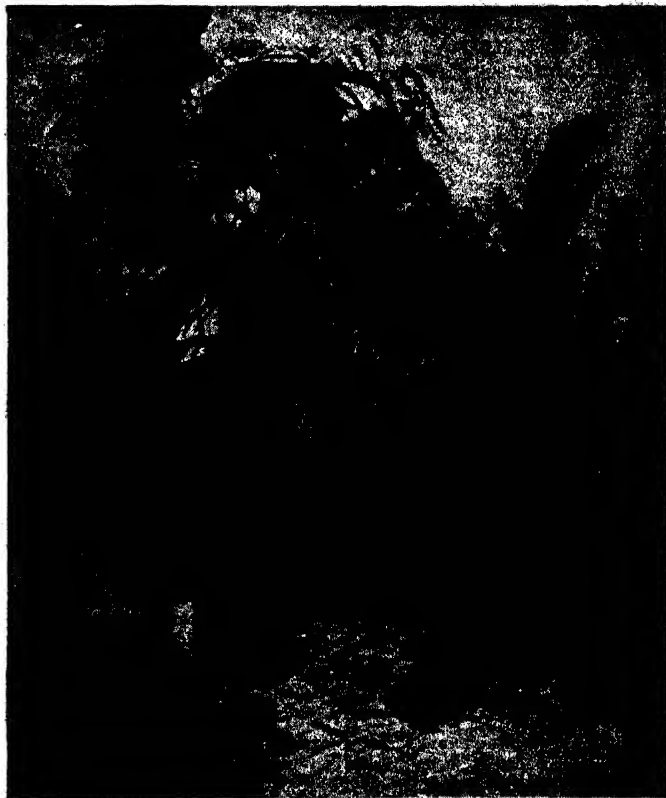
By KAUNDINYA

A new leaf appears to have been turned at the Kalabhavan, the Department of Fine Arts in the University of Tagore. The towering personality of Tagore and his incessant productions in all phases of literature appear to have over-shadowed the other activities of Visva-Bharati. It is very seldom realised that very solid work has been put in by the Department known as Vidya-Bhavan, whose scholars under the able direction of Pandit Bidhusekhar Sastri have made valuable contributions to Tibetan studies. The direction of Acharya Nandalal

Bose in the Department of Fine Arts has produced equally rich and perhaps more abundant fruits. The new movement in Indian Art initiated by Dr. A. N. Tagore half a century ago, received a new orientation when Nandalal Bose migrated to Santiniketan. A new environment led to a new orientation. Prof. Bose and his disciples, hitherto confined principally to themes from the Indian mythology, gradually turned their faces away from imaginative topics and began to react to the natural sights and scenes of Santiniketan. It reminds one of the great French landscape-painter, Corot, and his sojourn to Ville d'Avray from his studio in Paris. But Corot's excursions to the country were temporary trips while Prof. Bose's migration to Birbhum was a permanent one. Everybody predicted that the New Indian School, in its new environment, was destined to put forth a branch of landscape painting. But there were no immediate signs for such a happening. Bose himself had no burning passion for nature-scenes as such, though trees and flowers have frequently figured in many of his compositions. He had to wait for the advent of an artist with the necessary leaning for a devout worship of Nature. Masoji tried his

hands for a time at nature-scenes, but he left Santiniketan, and the dream of an Indian landscape school was frustrated for the moment. Then came Ramendra Chakravorty (the Late Principal of the Government School of Art, now banished to Delhi, by the vagaries of the Public Service Commission) who took assiduously to study village-scenes and, incidentally, landscape subjects. But his great success in figure subjects deferred

the hopes for the immediate birth of an Indian Barbizon, for Chakravorty, happily for himself and unhappily for Indian landscape-painting, strayed to figure painting though he has frequently come back to nature-scenes, as in his delightful *Sketches of Europe*. It is very little known to those who ought to know that Mr. Bireswar Sen has richly contributed to the art of landscape. Some of his tiny water-colours are mystic and mysterious renderings of glimpses into the secrets of Nature. But, yet it cannot be claimed



Landscape—*Sirish, Palas, Tal* (Tempera on paper)
By Benode Behari Mukherjee.

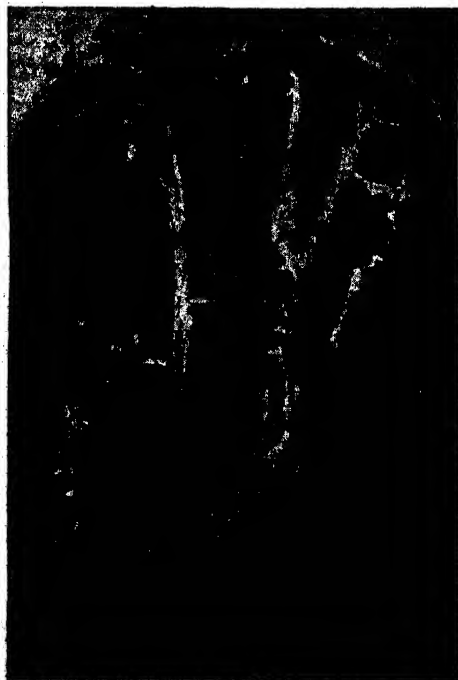
that Indian landscape painting had won any devoted worker before the advent of Benode Behari Mukherjee, one of the talented disciples of Prof. Bose. And it was a happy thought on the part of the Agramic Sangha of Santiniketan to arrange for a small exhibition at Calcutta (March last) of about fifty selected examples of landscapes by Mukherjee in various mediums. It was indeed a revelation. The birth of a

new school of Indian landscape was not announced before and the evidence of its birth was indeed a pleasant surprise. Here is an Indian artist, a devoted admirer of Nature, actually dedicated to a devout calling—the sacred vocation of interpreting the beauties of Indian landscapes to Indian connoisseurs. To be a real patriot one must be trained to admire "everything Indian." And Indian artists alone can teach us how to love our motherland and the beauties of her visual treasures. Yet Benode Mukherjee's renderings of Birbhum landscape and the beauty-spots of Santiniketan are no mere topographical studies of sentimental values to the dwellers or the visitors of the famous seat of education and culture. Mukherjee has looked with transfiguring eyes and has

criticism has come from orthodox nationalists who have bitterly complained that Mukherjee has missed, deliberately or otherwise, the many valuable lessons that the traditions of Indian landscape art of the old schools had to teach him in abundance, and in this respect he has flouted the great landscape paintings of not only the old Buddhist schools but also of the medieval, and the later schools of Kangra and of the Moghul miniaturists. There is apparently much force in this criticism and it has been pleaded that the history of Indian painting has left no continuous or easily accessible records of its contribution to landscape painting as such. The frescoes of Ajanta are full of representations of plant life, as effective decorative backgrounds to the illustrations of the Jatakas, but



Forest by B. B. Mukherjee



Forest by B. B. Mukherjee

given us visions which take his themes to planes far above their recognizable values. In order to build up his technique and the language of his interpretation he has sought inspiration from diverse sources and in different traditions. His schooling in the methods and manners of Chinese and Japanese artists has been obvious, but he has not disdained to profit by the study of the modern masters of Europe. Yet very uncharitable criticisms have been made of his so-called exaggerated debt to the manners of Van Gogh and Cezanne, particularly in his studies of sun-flowers. But his many original and charming studies of Indian plant-life have demonstrated his native gift of giving creative interpretations of the forms of Nature. He has direct vision and he has no need to borrow the language of others, however eminent. Yet another

there is very little record of the monk-artists' worship of Nature for its own sake. In European Art, landscape as such does not emerge very much before the advent of the Dutch school, though charming nature-pieces are glimpsed in the background of most masters of the Italian Renaissance. And even in the miniatures of the Kangra school, landscape does not figure independently. But it has to be admitted that Mukherjee's 'experiments' (many of them have indeed passed that stage) do not show any contact with the masters of Kangra whose magnificent contributions to flower-painting and the transcendental use of trees, plants, and blossoms cannot be neglected with impunity. But, after all, the productions of a modern artist have to be judged by the actual merits of his works and not by a consideration of what he has

borrowed or failed to borrow from earlier masters. It is perhaps unfair to judge the specimens exhibited in the show as final and finished efforts of what Mr. Mukherjee has set out to accomplish. They must be regarded as promises rather than fulfillments. But many of them are happy examples of considerable present achievement. But even to evaluate the artist's successful experiments it is necessary to consider the general position of landscape in the history of painting. Landscape, as an inevitable expression of the Romantic spirit, is the characteristic art of the nineteenth century. Its pursuit called the artist away from society, and encouraged an unconditioned individualism. It corresponded to elevated and solitary states of the soul. The mystic Wordsworth had made the case plain before the eighteenth century ran out:

*"One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can."*

So by one of those substitutions of genres, landscape painting largely usurped the function of the old historic style, enlisting the most elevated talents and evoking all the deeper emotions. There was, of course, a fallacy in the idea that man, essentially a social creature, can best fulfil himself in solitary communion with Nature. Such a notion shows how far the art of painting was losing social significance. From the strictly doctrinal Indian point of view, to be ensnared by the superficial aspects of Nature is to ignore the fundamental realities behind the illusions (*Maya*) of visual appearances. To rend the "veil" is to contact the basic realities. To be confined to the four corners of a natural scene as reflected on the retinal image is to be enslaved by the skin-dip beauty of Nature. A master-painter of landscape must over-step the limits of his visual image and unmask the illusion. A very instructive approach to natural scenes, without a slavish imitation of its

superficial features is indicated in the meditative soliloquies of Corot, the French master, recorded in a letter (which we quote here):

"We see too much. There is nothing left to the imagination. I will rest! I will doze and dream of my morning scene. I will dream of my picture; and later on, I will paint my dream. . . . The sun has sunk. Everything is fast fading, yet we know that everything is still there. All is vague, for Nature is falling asleep. . . . The Illusion is over. The sun having gone to rest, the inner sun, the sun of the soul, the sun of art—arises. Good! my picture is finished."

Corot is evidently not concerned with the passing mood of Nature or a transient disclosure of it. He has been obviously attempting to over-ride, to transcend the "illusion" of Nature, instead of submitting to its blandishments, in the manner of the average mediocre painter, usually satisfied with an accurate recognizable likeness of Dame Nature. The real master attempts to dig below the surface, and to reveal the remote, the impenetrable, the inscrutable mystery of Nature. This appears to have been the motif of the Chinese masters and a few of the moderns in Europe—Turner, Constable, Cezanne, and Van Gogh. It is unfair to claim that Benode Mukherjee has yet succeeded in dissecting the mysteries of Nature; but he has the correct attitude and he sometimes refused to be held in chain by the transient attractions of the beauties of Nature. There is as yet nothing in his renderings to dazzle, astonish, or infuriate anybody. He seems yet to lack the terrible intensity of conviction which turned Van Gogh, originally an art-vagabond, into a glorious artist with a feverish intensity of emotional reactions to Nature. But Mr. Mukherjee's landscapes are full of promises, and he appears to have sown the seeds of a truly national school of Indian landscape.

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THE WORKING OF A SMALL-TOWN GOVERNMENT

In the United States the privilege of local self-government is regarded as one of the chief merits of the political system, as one of the inalienable rights of the people and the purest form of functioning democracy.

Local government units permit the people of each locality who are most familiar with their own local conditions and needs to regulate their own affairs. Direct participation in local government stimulates, moreover, an interest in public affairs, thus serving as a training school in the political education of its citizens and giving to the nation a more active and valuable member of society.

Villages and towns vary greatly in the United States, both in size and precise form of administration. In addition to these units there are administrative units called townships, which are subdivisions of counties. These townships vary in size from one square mile to forty square miles. They are often more important as governmental units than counties, and in the New England states they actually perform county functions.

In New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan and other states, township government involves less

direct participation than in New England, and boards of elected officials do the work of directing the affairs of the townships. In such states the larger administrative areas—counties—have great responsibilities. In general, all townships are subject to limitations imposed by the states, and do not have state charters of incorporation.

There are approximately 9,678 incorporated cities, towns, boroughs and villages with populations under 1,000 in the United States. The legislative powers of the incorporated village or borough are usually in the hands of a board of trustees, with a village president or mayor; and the executive power is in the hands of the village president or mayor, supported by varying officials such as a treasurer, a chief of police or marshal, etc.

In order to become incorporated as village, town, or city, the community in most states must petition the state for the authority to set up its own local government. The grant is given in the form of a charter. This urban unit is then free to carry on its self-government and to formulate such rules and regulations as suit its

local needs, in so far as these do not conflict with the rights and laws of the larger units of which it is a part, of the county, state or nation. In some states which have by their constitution or by legislative enactment, granted home rule, the municipality draws up its own charter and has the people vote on it. The municipality is always subject to the control of the state legislature.

Each of the 48 states has, under the American system, the right to rule itself in its own way, within a republican form of government, and within the limitations of the U.S. Constitution. The states grant local government powers not only to incorporated urban communities, but also to their territorial subdivisions known as counties, of which there are more than 3,000 in the United States. Thus the inhabitants of the United States may express their will and find a common protection in three levels—local, state and national.



The annual meeting of a small town in the United States. Local governmental decisions are made directly by the assembled citizens at a town meeting

In their government, types of local government range from the direct government by town meetings, as in New England, to the representative system of delegating authority to elected representatives.

The number and types of officials chosen under the latter system must also vary greatly, not only in accordance with the size of the community, but by reason of geographic conditions and of occupational and economic differences.

A small rural municipality has fewer requirements than one located on a harbor and which engages in shipping and foreign trade. A town on a main highway has need of more traffic officers than a narrow valley town with few cross-streets.

Many towns in the mid-western states which were settled by pioneers from New England have retained, to a certain degree, the town meeting system, whereas in the South and Far West, the town meeting is non-existent.

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE

In a mid-western township of some 4,000 inhabitants, the system of local government is carried on in such a manner as follows:

An open town meeting is called annually for the election of officers and committees. Procedure requires that formal notice must be given of the time and place of the meeting, with an outline of the business to be transacted, and that this notice be posted in conspicuous places and printed in the town papers a certain number of days before the meeting.

Since this town does not possess a town hall, since schools are in session, making the high-school auditorium inaccessible, and since no one of the three denominational churches offers adequate facilities, the meeting is to be held in a hall, called the Lodge Hall which serves as the gathering place for many political and social affairs, such as dances, masonic meetings, veterans reunions, and home-coming week festivities.

It is spring, and farmers living within the township drive in with their families to spend the day. Most of

them bring a lunch basket, preferring—the day being warm—to eat outdoors in the *Grove* on the river's edge at the outskirts of the town. Relatives and acquaintances gather here in groups for a visit together before attending the afternoon meeting.

Almost everyone, regardless of age, attends the meeting, and all qualified voters arrive at their decisions on general problems through open discussion and open voting, either by a majority showing of hands or by the vocal response of *Aye* and *Nay*. In the matter of the election of officers, written ballots are taken up.

The meeting is called to order by the town clerk who reads the warrant. A presiding officer, or moderator, is then elected and business proceeds according to parliamentary rules.

The first order of the day is the election of town officers for the ensuing year. Following that,

appropriations are discussed and agreed upon for the payment of public expenses, such as the salaries of officers, the care of roads, street-paving, street lighting, appropriations for education, for the public library, for a so-called "community chest" or charity fund (though most charitable institutions, such as those for orphans, the aged, the mentally infirm, come under the control and support of county or state), and for such specific cases as the erection of a new public building or the replacement of a damaged bridge. Problems of epidemics and health laws, of water supply, and fire protection may also come up for discussion.

This town, while retaining in framework the town meeting system, tends toward the representative form of government, vesting less authority in its town meeting and leaving more decisions to be taken by its elected officers as the need occurs throughout the year.

OFFICERS OF A TOWN

The officers elected at this annual meeting are:

A town clerk whose principal duties are to keep the records of town meetings and of meetings of the councilmen; to prepare vital statistics; record deeds,

mortgages and other legal documents; to issue marriage licenses and keep registers of births, marriages and deaths. He is frequently re-elected from year to

the proper officers the portion which goes to the state and to the county; he also keeps account of all other receipts and disbursements and makes his annual report to the town meeting.

Two constables who serve as peace officers, pursuing and arresting criminals, and executing warrants issued by the justice of the peace.

A justice of the peace whose duties are to administer summary justice in minor cases and commit others to court trial.

Library trustees who appoint the librarian; authorize the purchase of books and other expenditures; and who are usually re-elected from year to year.



The moderator of an annual town meeting counts the ballots cast for town government officials for the coming year, and thus becomes an authority on the town history, on precedents and genealogy.

A tax assessor who prepares the list of tax-payers in the town; evaluates property; collects the taxes and turns the funds over to the town treasurer.



Here at an election station, citizens of a small town sign the election register preparatory to casting their secret ballots for state and national legislators, U.S. President and other governmental officials.

A town treasurer who receives and takes care of all taxes collected from the payers and turns over to



This voter in a small U.S. town has marked his ballot with his choice for county and state officials in the privacy of the walled booth

A school board of five members, frequently re-elected, whose duty it is to establish and visit schools; to select teachers; to determine teachers' salaries and promotions; to prescribe courses of instruction; and to appoint truant officers.

A board of selectmen whose duty it is in the intervals between the annual meetings to look after all community affairs which are not specifically taken care of by the other elected officials, and to appoint such minor officials as they see fit, such as an overseer of the poor, who shall care for paupers, investigate the dependent and needy class and determine who is entitled to receive public aid; a poundkeeper, who shall pick up and keep stray animals until they are claimed by their owners; a road-surveyor, a park commissioner, a health officer whose principal duties

are to control epidemics by enforcing quarantines, by requiring water analysis, drainage and food inspection, and seeing that all health laws are enforced.

This board of selectmen, or as it is also called town council, may look after the upkeep of the town waterworks; may investigate fire protection and appoint firemen; may authorize contracts for street-lighting; may decide upon the granting of liquor licenses and upon the keeping and sale of fire-arms; may appoint a keeper of the cemetery; may regulate such traffic matters as bicycling on the sidewalk, and animals running at large; may take action on a great variety of matters of local interest. If important

appropriations or decisions are involved, the council may call for a special town meeting and put the question to a general vote.

In addition to the management of purely local affairs of the community, the town acts as an agent of the state government for the carrying out of certain state laws and policies. It not only assesses and collects state, as well as local taxes, but it enforces the health laws of the state, and acts for the state in many other ways. Thus the governmental organizations overlap and merge at many points, the common good of the greatest number being always the determining factor.—*USIS*.

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TECHNIQUE OF DANCE IN SOUTH INDIA

By V. R. CHITRA

ACCORDING to the accepted canons, the complete curriculum of an ancient Indian gentleman's education and

vulgarity. Tradition enforces the knowledge of seventy-two Kalas (Arts) to make a man perfect in his

education and sixty-four for ladies of a similar degree. These included, at one time, besides the ordinary types of learning and writing, art of self-defence, art of dalliance, art of dancing and even the art of stealing. Amongst these, dance played no insignificant part and was held in high esteem.

The art of acting and dancing—which in India as elsewhere—is closely associated with drama and music, is very ancient, though to-day we see very little of the old Indian type of dancing, as it was originally meant to be. Being attributed to divine origin, this divine source is claimed not only for those elements of Hindu culture that strive to express the spiritual aspirations of man, such as poetry, music, but also such apparently lighter matters as erotics. An explanation of this tendency can easily be found in the mode of life of the Hindu, as he lived at the dawn of history, occupied with his sacrificial rites and rituals, his ceremonial offerings and prayers and viewing neither duty nor pleasure save in relation to his religious background. It is hence not quite surprising, that Natya Sastra, the science of dancing, claimed a divine origin and that it was fathered by no less a deity than Brahma himself—the creator of all that constitutes the Universe.

Bharata, the author of Natya Sastra, narrates that at the request of Indra and other gods for a pastime befitting the inhabitants of the celestial region, Brahma,

distilled the essence of the four Vedas, taking the Pathya—the words from the Rig-Veda, the music from the Sama-Veda, the gesture and gesticulations from the



Nataraja (bronze image) showing the exquisite dance of Siva

as a matter of that of a cultured lady too—included a number of arts, now mostly lost; others became strange and many degraded themselves to absurd depths of

Yajur-Veda and the Rasa—the favour—from the Atharva-Veda and compounded them into the gracious

Vedas. This fifth Veda was thereafter bestowed by the Creator on Bharata and his hundred sons and disciples, who in due course passed it on to the mortals on earth.

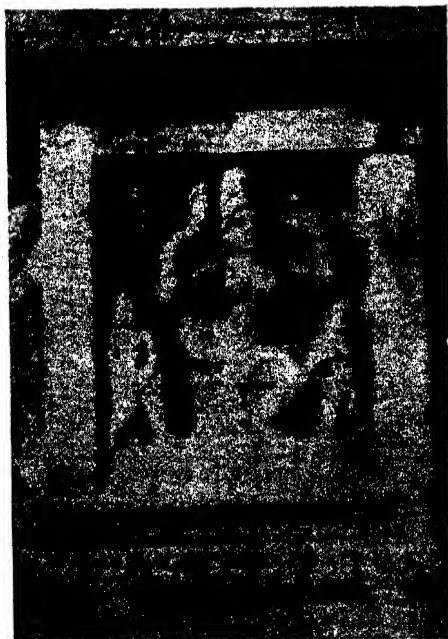
Thus it is no doubt apparent that dancing played a prominent part in the Vedic rituals relating to the offering of sacrifices to the gods, the consecration of kings, the performances of festivals in temples and other auspicious occasions. Bharata himself observes :

"All the activities of the gods, whether in house or garden, spring from a natural disposition of the mind ; but all the activities of men result from the conscious working of the will ; therefore it is that the details of activities to be done by men are to be carefully presented."

This art of dancing never gets a status equivalent to the most rigid canons as laid by the Vedas. It is a divine art, with the greatest gods of the Hindu Pantheon as the fathers of the revival style of dancing. Each of these divine dances is symbolical, pregnant with meaning that only the adept can know.



A sculptural dance-pose in the Chidambaram temple



Another sculptural dance-pose

art of his new creation—the Natya Veda, endowing it with all the sanctity and dignity attaching to the four



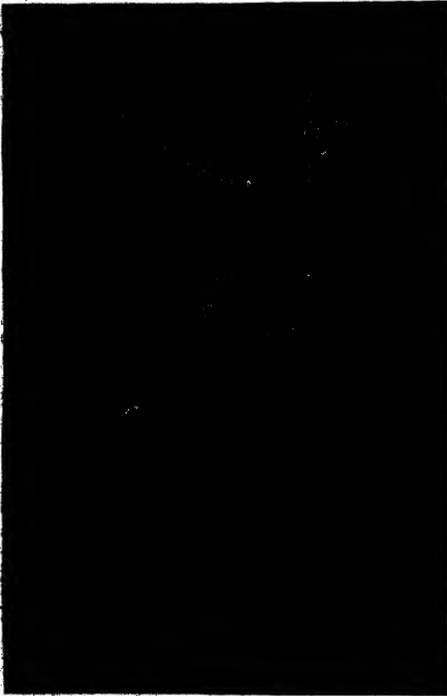
Another sculptural dance-pose

Of the gods that originated the several styles of dancing, the most prolific is the great Siva and the most popular and the much beloved is Krishna, the Eternal Lover. The mythology connected with the dance of Siva is well-known. In short according to the Patanjali myth—the story is that Siva wanted the assistance of Vishnu to put down the arrogance of a few of the heretic Rishis living in the forest of Tarakam and convert them. Vishnu consented to accompany Siva on this proselytising mission. Together they went, Siva disguised as a good-looking mendicant and Vishnu as his young beautiful consort. The Rishis suspecting them as objects to detract their piety and the chastity of their wives, immediately raised an *abhichara homa* to destroy the intruders. A fierce tiger emerged out of the

fire and Siva tore its skin and wore the same as his mantle. The Rishis then sent a huge serpent, which Siva seized and coiled it round his neck. Thereafter the mighty God began his mystic dance. Undismayed, the Rishis sent the demon Muyulagan, whom Siva crushed under his sacred feet and continued his hectic dance, which was witnessed by all the gods. The heretics thereafter acknowledged Siva as their Lord. After the successful completion of their mission, Siva and Vishnu returned to their heavenly abode. Adisesha, the serpent couch of Vishnu, was so enchanted with Vishnu's recital of the great dance of Siva, that he prayed to Siva to grant him the beatific vision of the dance once again. Accordingly, Siva revealed this dance to Adisesha at Tillai (Chidambaram), which is now preserved for all of us to see and enjoy.

and with the joy of the dance, its simple yet beautiful and enchanting melody and rhythm is so stirring as to move even the most stone-hearted mortal.

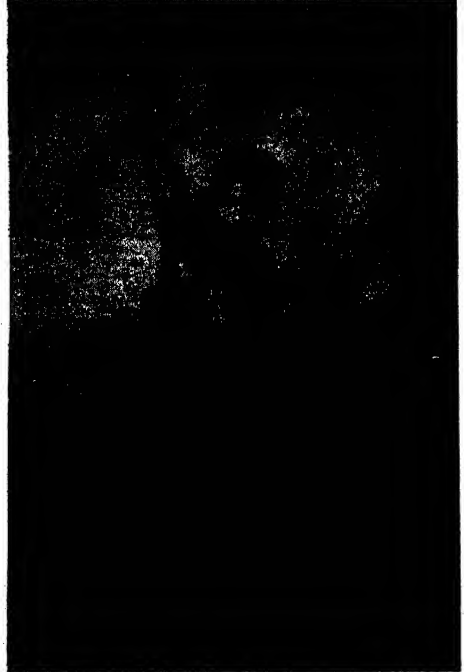
Dancing in India is thus a symbolical art. It is of two kinds—one consisting in the simple movements of the body to keep time with the music, and the other, the musical theme in itself. Hence it formed part of the rituals to be observed in the earthly abode of the gods, namely the temples. Every Hindu temple has, even to-day, its troupe of dancers—the Devadasis—women dedicated to the service of the gods, even as in heaven the nymphs are supposed to discharge that office. Hence the Devadasis were originally intended for the exclusive service of the God—as it is ordained that *rajapachara* or the paying of royal honour is to be given to the deity installed in temples.



The young artiste—Baby Kamala—attempting to imitate the divine dance of Siva.

This great dance of Siva has also its symbolic significance and Tantra-Tattva, a semi-mystic Tantric work describes at length the meaning of this wonderful dance of the Lord of Dancing, which is not possible within the scope of this short article to elucidate.

Equally significant are the dances of Sri Krishna, which are much more popular. Once the dance occasioned the subjugation of the great serpent Kaliya and in the Rasamandala he danced with the Gopis and cowherds of Brindavan. If Siva is the Lord of Dance, Krishna, who became the Avatar of Vishnu, is the Prince of Poets and Sovereign of Song. So His immortal flute enticed the Gopis away from their homes and husbands;



A dance-pose of Bharata Natyam

However this institution of Devadasis has now-a-days fallen into disgrace, thanks to some unsavoury associations entwined with it. It is impossible to deny that there is much in these institutions that would disgust the puritanical conscience. Nor is it only to-day that the evil has attracted public notice. However the association of the prostitute with the arts of music and dancing has been fatal to the latter, so far as it concerns the regular cultivation of them by more leisured and more devoted people. This does not mean that dancing and music are not the finest of the Fine Arts; and that the art, as even now practised, have not much in them that is exalting to the utmost.

In the days of the Moguls, the art of dancing became an integral part of the pomp of royalty—

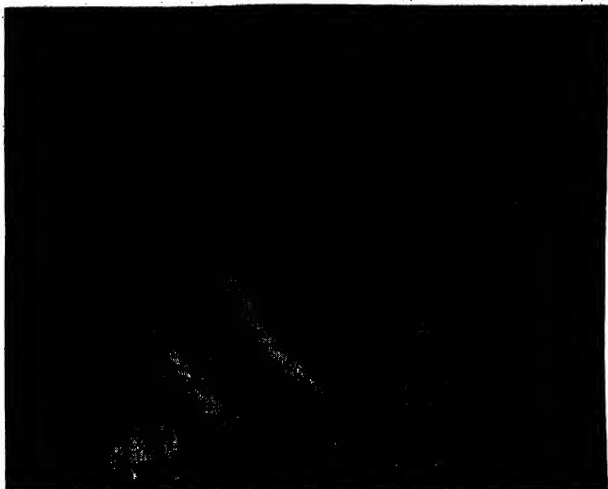
descending in the scale of respectability—because the patrons perceived only the bodily movements displaying the physical charms, the mortal beauty of the dancer and knew nothing of the inner meaning of her art.

rightly mentioned as the leaders of this new school of regeneration. Abanindranath Tagore founded the new school of painting; and drama and dance soon followed it under the guidance of Rabindranath. To-day sharing

the new creative life in India, dancing has resumed its right place as a vital art and has become a subject of aesthetical study and enjoyment not only among the professional classes but among the cultured and aristocratic members of our society.

In passing, credit must be given to such enlightened men, like Uday Shankar and others, who have devoted their lives to the cultivation and betterment of this art. Thus revived and publicized throughout the world, the art of dance has been given a renewed life and vigour. Among the South Indian exponents, it is worth mentioning the names of such talented artistes, as Srimatis Balasaraswati, Varalakshmi and Bhanumati and others, who have infused by their worthy exposition new blood into this art.

Too long has this enchanted realm of classical dance been hidden from the majority of people. It has now emerged out again and with every



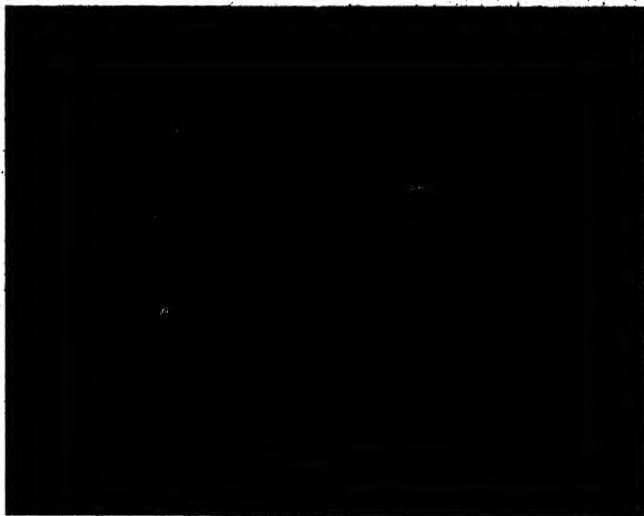
Two of the youthful exponents of Bharata Natyam

The art nevertheless continued to be preserved in a form, which has not even now lost all its ancient grandeur, grace and beauty.

The *Tandava Lakshana*—an elaborate treatise laying down clear-cut rules for dancing poses—describes in minute details the requisites of this art. It narrates in detail for example the thirteen poses of the head, thirty-six kinds of glances, nine different movements of the eye-balls and all the various *Nritya Hasta* (hand) poses and so on. The minute analytical way by which this art is detailed in this ancient treatise has given this work a unique place in the history of Hindu dancing.

Of the most ancient types still preserved, we have the Bharata Natyam of South India, the Kathakali of Malabar, the Garba of Gujarat, the Manipuri of North Bengal and the Kathak of the United Provinces.

Perhaps twenty years ago, interest in his branch of Fine Art was mainly confined to the professional and hereditary dancers. But a change—a Renaissance set in, in the early years of this century, and the Neo-Bengal movement for the revival of our old Arts on the basis of ancient traditions set the ball rolling. The great Gurudeva—Poet Rabindranath—and his family can be



Another pair of amateur exponents of Bharata Natyam

generation producing talented exponents and with elderly patrons giving an impetus to this great art, it is for the young generation to preserve this heritage untainted by passing fashions and keep this ancient and glorious art alive and worthy of its divine nature.

REVEALING THE PAST

By H. N. BALVIR

ARCHAEOLOGY, as defined in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, is "the scientific study of the remains of ancient human activity." Or, as Dr. Gordon Childe puts it :

"Archaeology attempts to furnish a sort of history of human activity provided always that the actions have produced concrete results and left recognizable material traces."

It is generally believed that such a study has no use for men ; and, it has, no doubt, no immediate use. But to believe that it has no use at all is an erroneous conception. A truly cultured man possesses a broad, rational and liberal outlook, to acquire which he has to study other people's viewpoint on life, and its multifarious activities, as expressed in objects—material or otherwise. And as, 'They know not the present, who only the present know,' such a study shall have to cross the bounds of the present and extend to a wide spatial span. But to understand and appreciate the material relics one should get acquainted with the various sources of stimuli that inspired their authors to create them. Therefore, an attempt should be made to learn about the actual political, social, economic and cultural setting in which those people had their being. And herein comes the Archaeologist. It is his job to discover and reconstruct that setting, and consequently, make an intelligent critical appreciation of those material manifestations of mind possible.

The methods of Archaeology involve work both at the field and in the study. The former broadly comprises exploration, excavation and restoration while to the latter falls the task of interpretation. To get a vivid picture of Archaeological methods we should visualize an archaeologist at his work.

The aim being to discover the course of human civilisation, his job is to throw light on some obscure or controversial link in that course. After selecting some such link he proceeds to seek for material. But where to seek for it ?

Here the exploration begins. The epics, the inscriptions, the travellers' accounts and the literature have usually mentioned some prominent places of their times. He, therefore, attempts to find out from these sources a place that existed in the period of his search. When the name of such a place is found its identity in the present world is surmised on the basis of topographical indications afforded by those works. He, then, proceeds to the place and begins exploring the surface as well as making the enquiries from the neighbouring villagers. He studies the one inch map of the locality also to get some enlightenment by the lie of the land. If his labours are rewarded by some village folklore or some antiquity dating back to the period of his research, he feels definite that the place shall provide him with the material.

Sometimes it also happens that during a pleasure walk the explorer unexpectedly comes across some arresting object lying on the ground or half-buried in it. He tries to find out its date by comparing it to those of its type already known. If the find proves to be of remote origin, it naturally arouses curiosity as to how it happened to come at that place. He, therefore, explores the surface and may find some other indications too. Minor clues have sometimes led to major discoveries.

Moreover, in India most of the excavated sites have not yet been fully treated, and he can find ample room to excavate near those earlier ones with good hopes of enriching the knowledge.

Howsoever he may find the site, but rarely does he get full material for his thesis laid bare on the ground. The ancient sites, when fallen on evil days, were neglected or deserted. They gradually crumbled to debris and were lost to view by the drifting sand which covered them. In such mounds of accumulations lies buried much of the history of the site. Hence, the Archaeologist has to undertake the work of unearthing the hidden material. This is technically called 'Excavation.'

As excavation involves disturbing the soil and debris deposits on and round the buried structure, there is always a danger of disturbing and destroying the historical and archaeological evidence. An error committed once in excavation can never be made good. Therefore, the imperativeness of careful digging can never be over-emphasized. The digging, in the light of the growing experience, has assumed the shape of science in itself, and this so much so that much of the result and value of an excavation depends upon the scientific training of the excavator.

Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, the present Director-General of Archaeology, has taken some steps in training the interested scholars in the scientific methods of excavation and its allied subjects through specially conducted courses at some camp-schools.

The archaeologist after getting to the site recruits some local labour as pickmen, shovelmens and basket-carriers. Now, if the site happens to be an extensive one he has to choose his point of attack. Here many indications help him in making a decision, e.g., in summer the grass withers more quickly where the soil lies thin over the buried tops of stonewalls. Thus the luxuriance and scarcity of the field-growth may indicate the direction of the walls of the buried structure.

Now a word about the basic principles of excavation. The principle can aptly be described in the words of Dr. Wheeler who says :

"The keyword of excavation is 'stratification'—a word which means nothing more or less than the relationship of one deposit to another, in the soil. This means that the history of our civilization is built up not only in our documents nor even in the bricks and mortar of our ancient buildings, but that it is enshrined also in the soil which may on its surface bear no vestige of antiquity."

Thus, Dr. Wheeler means to emphasize that the stratified soil near the walls of the buried structure is more, or at least as important as the walls themselves. The wall may be plain, or at the most show a few recognizable repairs, but its muteness is counteracted by its neighbour, the soil, which speaks volumes for the day-to-day history of the wall. An example shall make it clear. Imagine any walled structure. It had its floor somewhere when it was built. The occupants of the house lived, moved and cooked their food on that floor. With the passing of the time the house decayed, fell or was pulled down for rebuilding. The debris on the floor was left as a filling over which pebbles were laid to form the new floor. Now this floor became the

habitation level or the 'occupation layer.' Thus many occupation layers are formed, and it is obvious that the relics emerging from these successive hearths, if grouped layer by layer, will form "an index-series illustrating something of the culture of the settlement in correct chronological sequence." It is in this capacity of giving correct sequence of things that the value of stratification lies.

It now becomes clear that throughout his excavation the field archaeologist has to lay great emphasis on first tracing and then following the trend of the layers. He, therefore, digs in several squares of about 3 ft. X 3 ft., technically called 'trial pits'. The so-called trial pits or control pits are dug on each site to enable the supervisor to determine the stratification ahead of the coolies. It is essential that the supervisor should dig these pits deep enough to enable him to be at least a layer ahead of the main digging. On the sides of these small control pits he marks the different layers by either noticing the differences in colour or feeling the softness or hardness of the soil. The pit is then widened, the earth being taken off layer by layer, and the small objects coming out of each layer are kept separately. The process may sound easy, but it is difficult in practice. It requires an intelligent, alert and constant supervision over the labour. As the layers are neither parallel straight lines nor the transition from one to the other always easy to detect, the ordinary pickman cannot be left alone to continue with his work. He is made to dig foot by foot removing very little earth each time—the supervisor constantly checking the course of the layer. The whole work proceeds on a slow pace. It is why even after consuming great labour, much time and money the final output of work on the whole is small in area and volume.

The finds, i.e., the coins, beads, terracottas, metallic objects and potterysherds are kept properly labelled—each label giving the object's actual location, its depth below surface and other relevant information. It should be realized that any find has value just because of the conditions in which it was found. Therefore, before it is removed or the soil near its findspot disturbed, the excavator must make a careful study of the spot. Sometimes, even photograph is taken of the object *in situ*. These antiquities, after the elementary 'field dressing', are sent to the chemical laboratory of the camp to be cleaned, restored and preserved; after which they go to the proper scholars for being studied.

The archaeologist continues to go deeper and deeper till he reaches the virgin soil—the soil barren of any finds and thus indicating that there never was any habitation below that level. On every evening he also writes a report on day's work recording every worthwhile observation.

Reaching virgin soil in depth, and as wide in area as his funds permitted, he stops. And the task that faces him now is that of interpreting the structure and drawing inferences from it and the finds about the culture of the place. It was for this ultimate task that he had taken so much pains while excavating.

He, therefore, turns to the structures, and then to the finds.

"An ancient building is important not merely as illustrating the history of architecture", says Sir Leonard Woolley, "but as a setting for the lives of men and women. If we do not know in what surroundings people moved, we shall understand very

little of their attitude towards life. Moreover, sometimes the picture of the past life that a building gives is extraordinarily vivid. It is the business of the Archaeologist to find out not only what was the building he digs up and what it looked like before it was buried, but also through what vicissitudes it passed for these may reflect the fortunes of a family or even of a nation."

An instinct may tell that a particular building is a temple or a house, but to know more definitely he has to resort to the building's layout. Therefore, the building is surveyed and a plan is drawn. This drawing may look like a labyrinth, formed of meaningless lines and circles, and it is due to the overlapping of the structures of various periods of constructions which he has laid bare in digging up to the virgin soil. To make sense out of this jumbled confusion, alterations and eliminations in the building done in one period have to be separated from those done in another. For this the layers are studied. All the structures having their floor levels in the same layer can reasonably be supposed to be contemporary. Structures of different periods, thus separated, are traced over from the drawn plan. We now get many tracings—each showing the plans of the buildings at one period. The tracing of the bottom level shows the plan of the buildings in inception, the rest showing its later biography.

How is this biography read? Take an illustration. Suppose a burnt stratum appears and above these ashes there appear new forms of pottery which do not resemble the predeceasing types. This implies a sudden foreign contact, which in the light of the burnt stratum—a sign of destruction—points to foreign conquest; and if the new pottery can be traced the identity of the conquerors can be established.

Though by the study of the layers the fortune of the site can be guessed to a fairly reasonable extent, yet for more knowledge about the culture as also for dating purposes, he has to fall back on the finds.

Finds like the coins or dated inscriptions directly give the date. But others have to be dated first, and then the date of the site inferred.

The study of the finds falls under three headings: (1) Typology, (2) Association and (3) Distribution.

By 'Typology' is meant the shape or type of the find. Suppose a pot with a black slip is found in layer 4 at a site; and if we know that similar pots were found at a site that belonged to Mauryan times, we can conveniently declare layer 4, with all its contents, to be contemporaneous with Mauryan times.

By 'association' is meant that an object if found with certain other dateable object, the former can also be dated with the help of the latter. For example, some Indian pottery is found with potsherds of Roman pottery at seacoast in South India. As a chronological history of Roman pottery has been prepared, the date of these Roman potsherds can be known, and the same date can be assigned to the Indian pottery found in association with those pieces of Roman pottery.

By 'distribution' is meant that if a certain variety of bead, found at Taxila, is found at some other place also, some sort of commercial relation among all such places can be supposed to exist. This may have been due to their belonging to the same empire. The extent of the empire thus known, by marking all those places on a map, may reveal the name and date of the empire and therefore of the find.

The finds can thus be dated, and once dated, they give the date of the site or the layer from which they came out.

When a dated sequence of the site is known, a further study of the finds can be made to reveal more about the culture of the place.

Digging being over, the excavator's party begins to pack up, and then arises a problem as to what is to be done with the excavated area that he would be leaving behind. Modern tendency is in favour of refilling it with earth. This has three main arguments in its favour. First, the conservation of the excavations shall entail big recurring expenditure, while on refilling them the ground can be cultivated and be a source of income. Secondly, conservation is merely a dilatory process. Whatever care be given in conserving, it can only retard the process of tear, wear and decay; it cannot prevent it altogether. But, buried in the womb of earth, which kept it safe for hundreds of years, the site may remain safe for thousands of years again. Thirdly, as all that was worth knowing has been recorded, drawn and photographed, burying the excavations again shall mean no loss of knowledge to the world. However, this is true of big city sites, where there is no use of keeping the whole area open for casual visitors. But where some

important structure comes out, it is naturally kept uncovered.

In India, there is, in the words of Lord Curzon, "the most glorious galaxy of such monuments in the world." These monuments have to be saved as national heirlooms from the ravages of nature and the ignorance of human beings. While the 'Act of Preservation of Ancient Monuments' looks after the latter, the conservation branch of the Archaeological Survey looks after their proper repair and upkeep.

The conservation includes not only preservation of a site or an antiquity, but sometimes its restoration also. The whole of the thing has to be dismantled and put together again to gain its former appearance.

Analogous to conservation of building is the conservation of small antiquities, which is mainly the job of the Curators and the Archaeological Chemist.

To conclude, the Archaeologist takes all this labour to tell us what our cultural ancestors did, to trace the progress of civilization in the country and to define the vicissitudes in the life of the nation. But much depends upon the intelligent co-operation of government and the public. Archaeological exploration is not very expensive work, and an investment in it by great capitalists of the country would show that they have enlightened views and an appreciation of aesthetic and historical knowledge.

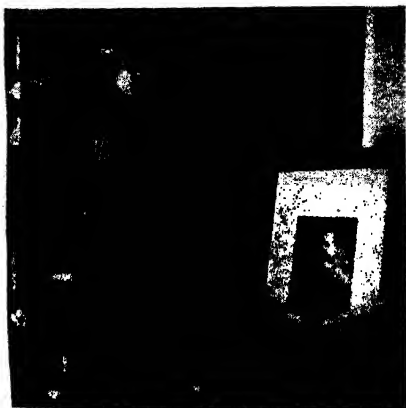
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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

DR. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta, has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. She is the first lady to get this unique distinction. Dr. Chaudhuri had a brilliant career in the Calcutta University, having stood second in the I.A., and First Class First both in B.A. Hons. and M.A. Examinations in Philosophy. She then went to Oxford and got a Doctorate in Philosophy with

credit. She is the author of several works on Indian Philosophy and Sufism, and three of her works on Nimbarka School of Vedanta have been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. She is the Joint Secretary of *Pracyavani*, Institute of Oriental Learning, and Joint Editor of the English Research Journal of the Institute. She is a grand-daughter of late Ananda Mohan Bose, and wife of Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri of Presidency College, Calcutta.

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Lt.-Col. Lakshmi giving the I.N.A. salute to Netaji's portrait in his study



Lt.-Col. Lakshmi, Haridas Mitra's daughter, Lina and wife, Anita snapped in Netaji's house

Courtesy : Ranjit Kumar Bose

AN ANALYSIS OF THE 'RELIGIOUS-MINDEDNESS' AMONG THE HINDUS

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., F.R.S.E.

THE normal attendance at the Ganga Sagar Mela held at the confluence of the sacred Bhagirathi or the Ganges with the Bay of Bengal in the middle of January is of the order of 80,000 per annum. On account of restrictions on travelling and closing of certain routes during the Japanese war, the volume of pilgrimage was reduced very much. This year it is estimated—though not authoritatively—that the number of pilgrims would be about *twice* the normal.

Many of the pilgrims generally pass through the rail-head at Diamond Harbour and catch boats or steamers there. This year on account of accidents—collapse of jetties once in the forenoon and again in the afternoon—a considerable number of pilgrims died and many more were injured. The published death-roll has mounted to 184. The details as to sex and age of most of them, and as to civil condition of some have been published in the daily *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta. Taking this to be a fair sample, truly chosen at random by the fact of mere accidental deaths, and assuming the proportion of victims to the total number of pilgrims of the group or that sex or that category to be the same, we may draw certain conclusions. Summarising the information as published in the *Hindustan Standard* of the 17th, 18th and 20th January, 1946, we get the following table :

TABLE I
(Number of Dead)

Males—		
(of all civil conditions)	67	
Females—		
Unmarried	1	
Married	22	
Widowed	13	
Unclassified	81	117

The dead, mostly non-Bengalees, included a fair sprinkling of Bengalees and hailed from many provinces and States of India. They may safely be regarded as a fair sample of Hindu India. So we would not be very wrong if we prefer the all-India figures to the purely Bengal figures as to the proportion of sex and age-distribution.

The proportion of females to males among the Hindus at the different censuses were as follows :

Proportion of females per 1,000 males

1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
962	969	963	954	953	944

The proportion is steadily decreasing since 1901 ; and the rate of decrease has been greater during the last decade. Assuming the rate of decrease since 1941 to have been the same as that in the decade 1931-1941, the proportion would come down to 940 in 1946.

The relative religious-mindedness of the Hindu males to that of the Hindu females is, therefore = $\frac{67}{100} \cdot \frac{117}{940}$ or 1 : 1.9. Or in other words Hindu females

are nearly *twice* as much religious-minded as Hindu males. This tallies with our social experience and is as is to be expected. Our females are more given to *pujahs*, observances of *bratas* and pilgrimages than our males ; they are more orthodox by instinct. This is more especially true of our widows.

Now, this religious-mindedness varies with age. That is our social experience, and is as is to be expected psychologically. The age-distribution of the victims of accidents at Diamond Harbour is shown in Table II below. The ages are mere eye-estimates ; and often given in round numbers. They are not the statements of the victims or of their relations ; so their accuracy falls below the census standard.

TABLE II
Age Distribution of the Dead

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Males	2	2	1	8
Females—				
Unmarried	..	1	..	..
Married	..	1	1	..
Widows	..	..	1	1
Unclassified	2	1	1	8
Total females	2	3	3	9
Grand total	4	5	4	17

TABLE II—(Contd.)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Males	12	10	17	11
Females—				
Unmarried	..	..	..	..
Married	8	8	3	..
Widows	1	5	5	..
Unclassified	18	28	16	3
Total females	27	41	24	3
Grand total	39	51	41	14

Assuming, however, that they are comparable with the census statistics, we get certain highly revealing relations.

The age-distribution of the Hindus, male and female, was in 1931 as shown below. They are all-India figures. We are using the 1931 figures as they are the latest available. They are :

TABLE III

Proportion at different age-groups per 1,000

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Males	274	208	176	145
Females	281	202	185	139

Table III—(Contd.)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Males	100	58	27	12
Females	93	59	29	12

If the religious-mindedness is the same for all ages, then among the pilgrims we would expect to find the same proportions ; and as by our hypothesis the victims have been chosen at random, the age-distribution of the victims would also be the same. But the facts are otherwise. That is because among the pilgrims the proportions at different ages are not what they are among the general Hindu population, but according to, what we may as a first approximation suppose to be due to different religious-mindedness. The religious-mindedness at different ages may, therefore, be estimated from the

number of victims of a particular age-group to the proportion to population of that age-group; and it is found to be as follows:

TABLE IV
Religious-mindedness at different ages

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Males	2/274	2/208	1/176	8/145
Females	4/281	5/202	4/185	17/139

Table IV—(Contd.)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Males	12/100	10/58	17/27	11/12
Females	39/93	51/59	41/29	14/12

From the figures in Table IV, we get Table V.

TABLE V
Religious-mindedness at different ages × 10,000

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Males	73	96	57	552
Females	142	247	215	1,295

Table V—(Contd.)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Males	1,200	1,724	6,286	9,166
Females	4,192	8,644	14,137	11,666

It will be noticed that religious-mindedness increases with age and that it increases by leaps and bounds at older ages, both in the case of males and females. One word of caution is necessary; the figures for ages earlier than 30 may be either truly real or merely accidental as they are based on very few observations. Another curious fact is that in the case of males there is a continuous increase in religious-mindedness with age; but in the case of females, there is a drop—a drop of quite 17 per cent, at ages '70 and over' from the figure for 'ages 60-70.' Is it accidental or due to some fundamental basic social cause or causes? We shall attempt an answer later on.

From the figures given in Table V, we can calculate the relative religious-mindedness of the males and females at different ages. Taking that of the males at each age-group to be unity, the religious-mindedness of the females at different ages is found to be as follows:

TABLE VI
Relative religious-mindedness of Females at different ages

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
	1.94	2.57	3.77	2.35

Table VI—(Contd.)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
	3.49	5.01	2.25	1.27

The religious-mindedness of the females is always greater than that of males, reaching a relative maximum at 'ages 50-60.' It may be noted that religious-mindedness at early ages, as shown by our method of calculating it, is not very real, as the children have no great volition in the matter and they may have merely accompanied their parents and grand-parents. This is particularly and specially true of infants at breast. But this charge is only partially true. We must not forget the social fact that when an elderly member of the family proposes to go on a pilgrimage, children partly out of affection for that member, partly out of an innate love of change and adventure, and partly out of what is 'true' religious-mindedness—a resultant and product of the traditions and culture of the family and its environments, accompany him. Even there our girls are more affectionate and more religious-minded. This is our

common experience; and this is reflected in the higher relative religious-mindedness at early ages in Table VI.

While males of all civil conditions go on pilgrimages, independent of their particular civil condition; of our females widows mostly attend pilgrimages partly out of a sense of religious duty and partly out of the fact that they have less social obligation or obligations to the family. It is inculcated in our religious books that widows should spend their time in religious exercises. Hence among the pilgrims we generally find a large proportion to be widows. The result is that the relative religious-mindedness of the females is partly dependent on the number of widows at each age-group. The number of Hindu widows per 1,000 females of all civil conditions at each age-group as in 1931 is shown in the following Table VII.

TABLE VII
(No. of widows per 1,000 females of all civil conditions)

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
	.92	4.7	16.1	31.8

Table VII—(Contd.)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
	41.9	37.9	23.8	10.4

The number of widows reaches a peak at ages 40-50; while the relative religious-mindedness reaches the peak at ages 50-60. This does not seem to us to be purely accidental, but connected in some way which we are unable to find out at present.

The proportion of widows to total number of females of a particular age-group increases with age. The relevant facts are tabulated in Table VIII below:

TABLE VIII
Per 1,000 females of all ages and all civil conditions

Age	0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40
Total				
Females of that age-group	281	202	185	139
Widows	0.92	4.7	16.1	31.8
Percentage	0.3	2.3	2.3	22.9

Table VIII—(Contd.)

Age	40-50	50-60	60-70	70 & over
Total				
Females of that age-group	93	59	29	12
Widows	41.9	37.9	23.8	10.4
	45.1	64.2	82.1	86.6

Religious-mindedness is expected to increase with age, both among the males and the females. This is specially the case with widows. So for ages where the proportion of widows is very large, ordinarily we would expect 'religious-mindedness' to increase *absolutely*, it not relatively to males. Why then the religious-mindedness of females has decreased from 14,137 for 'ages 60-70' to 11,666 for 'ages 70 and over' [See Table V]? To us the economic dependence of Hindu widows seems to be partly a cause. At the age, when the grand-mother is more dependent upon her grandsons than upon her sons, she is not expected to go on pilgrimages for economic reasons in spite of her greater religious-mindedness due to age. We are not, however,

certain; and we suggest this explanation as a probable cause.

In the above analysis we have used our Bengal experience of social phenomena to all-India statistics:

this may be a source of error. But as Hinduism is fundamentally the same all over India the magnitude of the error due to this cause is likely to be quite small.

—:O:—

THE POETRY OF EZRA POUND

By B. MIRANDA, M.A.

There is perhaps no better index to the state of English poetry in the first decade of the present century than that Alfred Austin was the Poet Laureate. Bridges and Swinburne, Kipling and Yeats were also there, but they enjoyed an uncertain measure of popularity. Poetry seemed an effete, far-off thing, not a living force permeating the soul of the nation. A faint ray of hope penetrated the thickening gloom when the Georgian Revolt announced itself. There was a brief re-awakening. A succession of new stars began twinkling in the poetic firmament of England, but, alas, the promise was more than the fulfilment. The Georgians failed to reach the masses, for they still clung to a tradition which had become with time as rigid and as tyrannous as Mr. Barrett of Wimpole Street.

The remedy against this hopelessness came from across the Atlantic. Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot felt the need for revitalising poetry in order to realize its potentialities as an instrument capable of expressing with truth and emotion the seething turmoil which characterises twentieth century life. A new technique had to be evolved and, even if the poetic experience was fundamentally as old as poetry itself (for no poetry is entirely new), the old wine had to be put in new bottles to preserve its flavour. Ezra Pound had the courage—though one dare not say of genius—to give the lead. With a flair for the niceties of language and a keenly perceptive ear, he studied the technique of verse and sensed intuitively rather than by conscious effort, the wonderful possibilities of new rhythms. "I fly on the wings of an unknown chord," he cries out. For him a poem was a song, a symphony not less complicated than an orchestral piece. "Don't imagine," he warns us, "that the art of poetry is any simpler than the art of music." It is this gift for the subtleties and complexities of metrical music that makes Pound one of the major innovators of our poetry. "He has done most of living men," says Carl Sandburg, "to incite new impulse in poetry." Surely, he is one of the leaders of "new" poetry.

I

Ezra Pound was born in Idaho, U.S.A., in 1895. Having graduated in the University of Pennsylvania, he travelled to Europe with a view to write a thesis on Lope de Vega. However, his interest in the Provençal and Italian poetry led him away from his purpose. As he widened his acquaintance with the Troubadours, he became aware of the inertness of contemporary English poetry. What was this "hogwash" compared

to the rich accents of the medieval singers? Pound felt that he would do something about it and in 1908 he left America to settle in Europe for good.

After a brief stay in Italy, where he published his first collection *A Lume Spento*, Pound went to London, "seeking such as love Beauty somewhat after my fashion." He met Yeats, who influenced much of his early poetry. Pound was also influenced by Browning, Swinburne and the poets of the Nineties. After all, no poet can be absolutely original. The so-called original poet only works on the achievements of his predecessors and develops their technique. Pound's earlier poems, indeed all his poems are strongly reminiscent but they belong to him no less than Shakespeare's plays belong to Shakespeare. For reminiscence is "a law, not a privilege," and we may add quoting Mr. Charles Williams, "It is a sign of what may turn out to be a growing tendency on the part of English verse. So rich is now our inheritance of associations in literature that it is beginning to be difficult to avoid them."

In 1909 Pound published *Personae* and *Exultations*, the latter containing the *Sestina: Altaforte*, a remarkable tour de force, revealing Pound's mastery of the Provençal art. Both these volumes were well received. Pound could now adventure further. He had perfected his acquaintance with the Troubadours. He had learnt the art of the Italian poets, notably Dante and Guido Cavalcanti. He now met T. E. Hulme and joined the Imagist movement. The Imagists sought to replace the out-worn conventional forms by pure *vers-libre* "to which an image is the resonant heart of an exquisite moment." Pound was still very full of his Provençal masters and according to F. S. Flint, added nothing to the Imagist movement. Yet, on the death of Hulme, he assumed the leadership of the Imagist school and even published *Des Imagistes: An Anthology* in 1914. But Pound's affiliation with the Imagists did not last long. Though later he styled himself a Vorticist, his reputation had been made and he could now command an audience independently. His *Cantos* were eagerly welcomed. He next published the *Riposte*, an attempt at Symbolism in the French style. He translated Guido Cavalcanti and the Japanese *Proh* plays. What fresh fields and pastures new were there to be tried in the technique of verse?

Pound became literary executor of the late Ernest Fenollosa and began publishing translations from the Chinese. He was evidently not new to translation. But the Chinese poems raised a veritable hornets' nest about his ears. He was denounced as an ignorant fraud, a

literary poseur, a base charlatan. Similar sarcasms were poured upon his translations from the Provençal and upon his *Homage of Sextus Propertius* . . . and an American critic trenchantly remarked, "It is time Ezra were put in the pound." It is not to excuse Pound to say that "Chinese (or for that matter, Provençal) poetry as we know it to-day is a creation of Mr. Pound." Each translation is a *persona* of Ezra Pound; and of the *Homage of Sextus Propertius* Eliot adds: "It is a criticism of Propertius . . . it is also an interesting study in versification and a necessary prolegomena to the *Cantos*."

We now come to two poems which have brought on Pound judgments of praise as well as of another kind. They are *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* and *Cantos*. *Mauberley*, published in 1918, is a companion to Eliot's *Prufrock* poem and, like it, moans the collapse of civilization. It is indubitably a great poem. It is a genuine piece of self-revelation and an avowal of purpose. In the words of Eliot, "It is also a document of an epoch; it is genuine tragedy and comedy; and it is in the best sense of Arnold's worn phrase, a criticism of life." The technique is fashioned after the French Symbolist manner; it is the *ultima thule* of compression. A word, a cliché is thrown to evoke associations ever widening outwards, 'like ripples from a stone dropped in clear water.' The poem is divided into self-contained sections, but each contributing towards the general effect of the whole. The criticism of society is harsh, almost Juvenalian at times.

In our age, says Pound,
Christ follows Dionysus,
Phallic and ambrosial
Made way for macerations;
Caliban casts out Ariel.

Civilisation is

A heap of broken statues,
An old bitch gone in the teeth.

Mauberley is within our grasp. But what shall we say of the *Cantos*? Seventy-one of them have been published so far and they form part of a monumental whole, at least Pound thinks so. Eliot, who at any rate pretends to understand Pound, calls them "a mine for juvenile poets to quarry." But what Ariadne's thread will help the uninstructed tyro through this immense labyrinth of words? There are erudite historical references and sly contemporary allusions; and it is all a timeless, spaceless pattern, a mighty maze, though perhaps not without a plan. This plan was explained by Pound to Yeats. Let us hear it from Yeats himself: "It will, when the hundredth *Canto* is finished, display a structure like that of a Bach-like figure. There will be no plot, no logic of discourse,

but two themes, the descent into Hades from Homer, a metamorphosis from Ovid, and mixed with these medieval or modern historical characters." So far the *Cantos* are beyond our ken, but perhaps the mystery will be revealed to us 'when the hundredth *Canto* is finished.' Yet we shall have to approach the *Cantos* with an Encyclopaedia of Universal Knowledge under our armpit, and who knows but even then we may come back no wiser?

II

It is difficult to assess the poetic merits of Ezra Pound, but he is a challenging poet, nevertheless. At times, especially in his shorter poems, Pound reveals true poetic sensibility, lyric emotion and a capacity to fuse form and content into one inseparable whole. Take, for instance, this fine piece from the *Personae*:

I stood still and was a tree amid the tree,
Knowing the truth of things unseen before;
Of Daphne and the laurel bow
And that god-feasting couple old
That grew elm-oak amid the world . . .

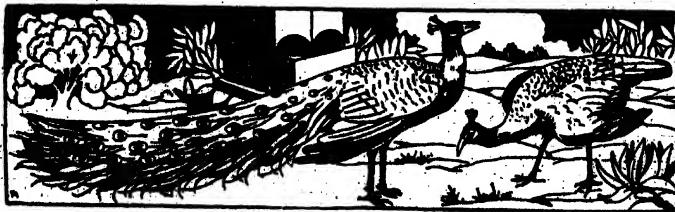
But what about this one?

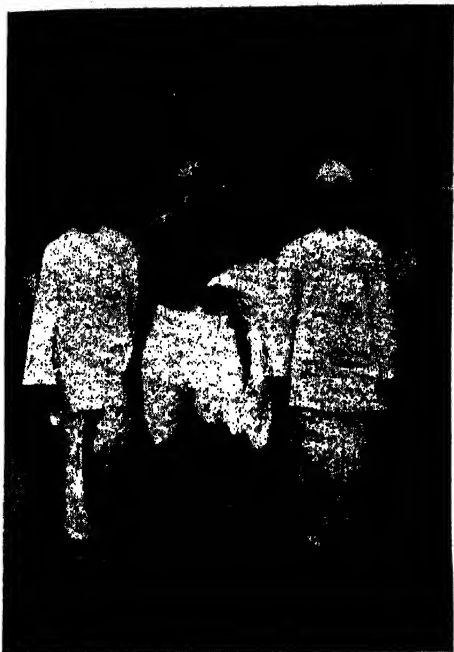
Gladstone was still respected,
When John Ruskin produced
'King's Treasures'; Swinburne
And Rossetti still abused.

This is little better than mere prose cut into verse. But worse still is all the ununderstandable gibberish of the *Cantos*. When all is said, Pound is an unequal poet. It seems evident that he has little to say, and is merely trying to be very loud and very obtrusive. Yet, he cannot be ignored.

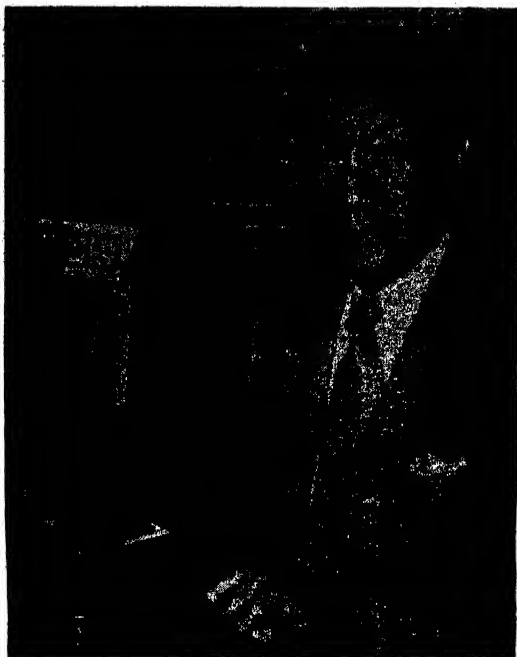
Eliot himself calls him 'il miglior fabbro'. It is as a technician of verse rather than as a poet that Pound ought to be judged.

Pound's poetic technique follows a definite line of development and the advance is towards greater compression, closer approximation of form and content, deeper exploration of the phonetic and semantic effects of language, and subtler rhythms. But unfortunately, as in his later poems, Pound has tried to wade beyond his depths. Perhaps, as Eliot says, he means too much to mean anything. In any case, he remains bafflingly obscure. Though Pound started writing poetry with a view to bring it nearer to the masses, he has ended by taking it farther away than it had ever gone before. In his later practice he has shown a careless disregard for the public and written only to please himself. Yet, let us not forget the debt we owe him for re-vitalising poetry and "for stirring up and leading forth other minds."





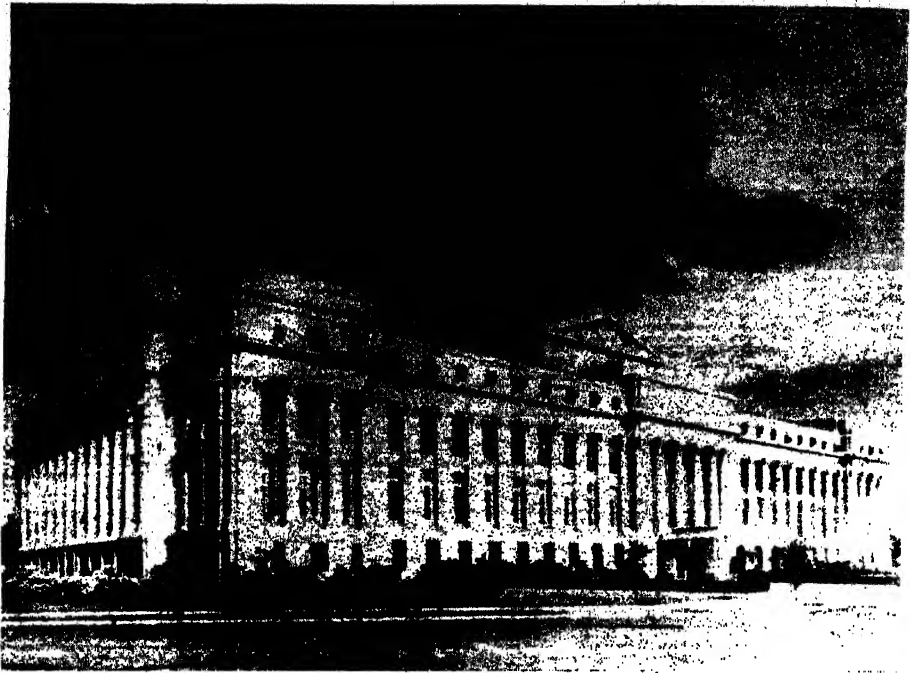
Mahatma Gandhi leaving the Viceroy's House after he had met the Cabinet Mission



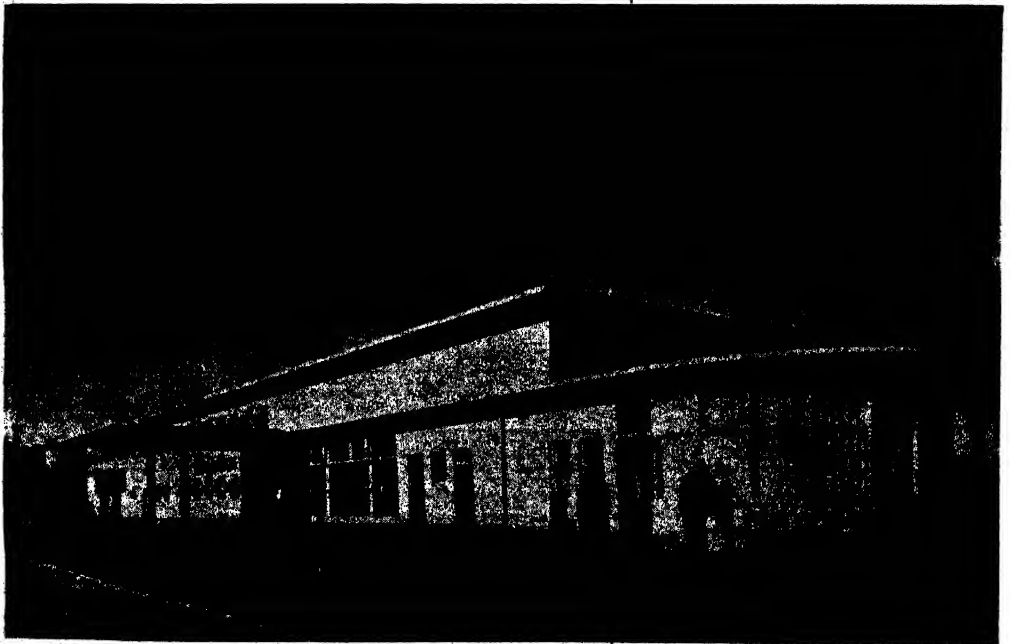
Sergio Osmena, a candidate for the Presidency in the coming elections of the Philippine Commonwealth



The first Press Conference held by the members of the British Cabinet Mission at New Delhi



The legislative building at Manila. The Philippines will achieve complete independence on July 4, 1946, following the coming elections



A railway station of modern design in the U.S.A. Large windows flood the interior with light

THIRD PARTITION OF BENGAL ?

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

LIKE Poland, Bengal today faces the possibility of a third partition. The first partition was made in 1905. The second one took place in 1911 when, at the time of unsettling the settled fact, four of the most resourceful districts of Bengal were cut out and joined to the newly created province of Bihar and Orissa. This second partition was effected, like the first one, in flagrant disregard of popular opinion and the accepted principles laid down by the Government themselves, but as the leaders were exhausted and as the full significance of this partition was not well understood at the time there was no active opposition to it. Today we are facing the danger of a third partition with an equally thoughtless indifference.

OFFICIAL VIEW ON PARTITION

Lovat Fraser has at length explained the official view of the first partition. He says that "the chief reason unquestionably was that the task of the Government was beyond its strength." The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal had to administer, in 1903, an area of 189,000 sq. miles with a population of 78 millions. No other provincial administrator in India had so huge a charge and it was complicated by the obstacles to rapid travel. In a Note prepared by Sir Andrew Fraser in February, 1901, the need of a redrawing of provincial boundaries was suggested. In May, 1903, the famous "Round and Round Note" of Lord Curzon was written which was secured and published by the *Statesman* for which the newspaper was punished by withholding from it the courtesy of the usual supply of official informations. For several months the Secretaries wrote about the proposals, built upon them, and evolved fresh schemes for the rearrangement of the Eastern provinces of Bengal and Assam. Curzon himself wrote :

"Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries have been calmly carving about and rearranging provinces on paper, colouring and recolouring the map of India according to geographical, historical, political, or linguistic considerations—in the manner that appealed most to their fancy."

Sir John Hewett suggested the transfer of the port of Chittagong to Assam. Early in 1903 Sir Andrew Fraser, then Lt.-Governor of Bengal, followed up Sir John Hewett's recommendation by propounding a much larger scheme, which was the real genesis of the partition of Bengal. The main arguments advanced were that the administration of the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh was excessively defective, and that Eastern Bengal needed more immediate personal contact with the higher authorities. It was, therefore, proposed to attach these districts as well as the division of Chittagong, to Assam. Lord Curzon for the first time recorded his general approval of this scheme about the middle of 1903. At the end of the year the proposals were made public. The chief reason assigned were that the Bengal Government needed relief from its excessive burdens; that the outlying districts of the province required more efficient administration; and that Assam should have an outlet to the sea which it would find at Chittagong.

In April, 1904, Curzon went to England to report to the British authorities. As a result of the discussions there, the project continued to grow. After his return in February, 1905, the Government of India sent their final proposals to Mr. Brodric (later Lord Middleton), the Secretary of State for India. They were sanctioned by him on June 9, and the Resolution of the Government of India promulgating the decision was dated July 19.

The new province included, in addition to Assam, Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions. It had an area of 106,540 miles and a population of 81 millions of whom 18 millions were Muslims and 12 millions Hindus. About the Muslim of Eastern Bengal, Lovat Fraser says :

"They are not of alien race but are mostly the descendants of large batches of forced converts made by the early Mahommedan invaders."

Old Bengal received the addition of the district of Sambalpur and certain Oriya states on its western frontier and was left with 141,590 sq. miles of territory with a population of 54 millions of whom 42 millions were Hindu and 9 million Muslims. Lord Curzon had suggested the name of North-Eastern Province for the new one but the Secretary of State named it Eastern Bengal and Assam.

There were several causes which led to the organisation of the agitation against the partition. According to Sir Andrew Fraser, the first and most immediate was that it seemed likely to strike at two vested interests. One was the Calcutta Bar. The Bar saw that the creation of a new province must inevitably lead to the creation of a separate High Court; all the wealth and weight of the Calcutta Bar were therefore thrown in the fight against the scheme. The other was the Calcutta newspapers. They also, according to Fraser, feared that the regeneration of Dacca as the capital of the new province would bring about the foundation of fresh newspapers and that the people of Eastern Bengal would then turn to Dacca for their news rather than to Calcutta. Lovat Fraser adds two more reasons, viz., that passion against Curzon had been roused among educated Bengali Hindus for his Universities Act and that there was the undoubted growth of a unity of sentiment among Bengali Hindus.

PEOPLE'S PROTEST

Although administrative reasons were put forward to explain the partition, a desire to erect a bulwark of fanatic and reactionary Muslim bloc behind the partition as a set-off against Hindu progress was discernible. Nawab Salimullah of Dacca was induced to establish the Muslim League and he received financial aid from the Government for this purpose. This and subsequent measures leave little room for doubt as to the real intents of the partition.

The partition was given effect to on October 16, 1905. People's protest and opposition was universal and unprecedented in the history of this country. From December, 1905 to October, 1906 more than 2,000 public meetings attended by 500 to 50,000 people were held in different parts of East and West Bengal to protest

against the partition. The resolutions unanimously adopted at these meetings were regularly submitted to the Government of India as well as to the Secretary of State. The people of United Bengal met five times at the Calcutta Town Hall to give expression to their feeling. Many Muslims also joined in the protest. Memorials were submitted by the Indian Association, British Indian Association, the Bengal Landholders' Association, as well as by nearly all the important and recognised public bodies and Associations in either part of the province. In July, 1906, a mammoth representation over the signatures of about 70,000 people of all classes and communities was submitted to the Secretary of State from East Bengal. The Indian press, both in Bengal as well as in other provinces, were unanimous in their condemnation of the partition and even a large section of the Anglo-Indian press including the *Englishman* and the *Statesman* joined in the protest. The *Statesman* gave out the real truth when it wrote :

"The Government is well aware that its scheme is a direct attack upon the *solidarity and the growing political strength of the Bengali race.*"

The Indian National Congress repeated its protest year after year. The revolutionary movement took deep root in Bengal. The intensity of the agitation was such that Lord Curzon himself was unable to defend the measure in the House of Lords and was forced to go so far as to practically disavow its authorship and throw the responsibility upon Lord Middleton and Lord Amphil. Muslims of West Bengal were throughout opposed to it. During the earlier stages of the agitations, the Muslims of Eastern Bengal were also opposed to it. Khwaja Attikullah, brother of Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, speaking at the Congress of 1906, said :

"I may tell you at once that it is not correct that the Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal are in favour of the partition of Bengal. The real fact is that it is only a few leading Mahomedans, who, for their own purposes, supported the measure."

The Central Mahommedan Association, in a representation to the government submitted through its Secretary, Nawab Syed Ameer Hossain, C.I.E., observed :

"My Committee are of opinion that no portion of the Bengali-speaking race should be spared from Bengal without the clearest necessity for such separation, and they think in the present case, such necessity does not exist."

While many Mussalmans joined in the protest, there were very few demonstrations in support of it. Fanning of the Muslim fanaticism coupled with cash and political bribes gradually slowed down the intensity of Muslim opposition to the partition and ultimately succeeded in veering many of them round in support of the scheme.

Within eighteen months of the partition, riots broke out at Jamalpur (Mymensingh), Rajshahi and elsewhere in the new province. In all these cases, the instigators and the rioters were Muslims. There were no riots in Western Bengal and no oppression on the Muslims where they were in a hopeless minority. The East Bengal riots had been preceded by the publication of a highly inflammatory pamphlet, known as the *Red Pamphlet* and by the preachings of fanatical Maulavis. Strange expectations had been roused in the minds of the Mahommedan mob. A Muslim Magistrate, trying some of the Muslim rioters observed in his judgment that evidence showed that

"The accused had read over a notice to a crowd of Mussalmans and had told them that the Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that nobody would be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus."

Mr. Barnville, I.C.S., S.D.O., of Jamalpur, Mymensingh, in his report on communal riots wrote that

"Some Mussalmans proclaimed by beat of drums that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus."

The *Red Pamphlet* declared that

"Among the causes of degradation of Mahomedans is their association with the Hindus" and that "among the means to be adopted for the amelioration of the Mahomedans is the boycotting of the Hindus."

Such languages and such sentiments had never been heard of before the days of the partition.

READJUSTMENT OF THE BOUNDARY

Under the auspices of the Indian Association, a largely and influentially signed memorial was sent to the Viceroy in June, 1911, which suggested modification of the partition and reconstitution of the province of Bengal on a linguistic basis. In the previous year, Bhupendranath Basu had visited England as a delegate of the Indian Association to confer with the Secretary of State for India and members of the Parliament on the same question. He raised the problem afresh in the Imperial Council, but it fell on deaf ears. Samsul-Huda from Eastern Bengal and Mazhar-ul-Huq from Bihar were ranged against him and the British politicians took their shelter behind these two reactionary Muslims.

The Memorial referred to above stated that if a partition of the province were needed to relieve the administration of Bengal, the most appropriate division should be as follows :

Lt.-Governorship of Bengal

	Area	Population
1. Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions	76,000	41,250,000
2. Two Districts of Chota Nagpur, viz., Manbhum and Hazaribagh	11,000	2,500,000
3. Assam	56,000	5,600,000
	143,000	49,350,000
4. Cooch Behar, Sikkim and Hill Tipperah	8,000	800,000
	151,000	50,150,000

Lt.-Governorship of Bihar and Orissa

	Area	Population
1. Patna, Bhagalpur and Tirhut Divisions	44,000	24,000,000
2. Three Districts of Chota Nagpur, viz., Palamu, Ranchi and Singhbhum	15,000	2,500,000
3. Orissa and Sambalpur	13,000	5,000,000
4. Feudatory States of Chota Nagpur and Orissa	30,000	2,500,000
	102,000	35,000,000

On August 25, 1911, Government of India, in a despatch, laid down the principle that the Bengali-speaking Divisions should form one province and that "it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people now included within the province of Bengal a separate administration." The principle of linguistic affinity as a basis of territorial re-distribution was thus clearly laid down. In the light of this despatch, Surendranath Banerjee claimed, on behalf of the Indian Association, that the Presidency of Bengal should be reconstituted with its five original Divisions together with (i) the districts of Sylhet and Goalpara, (ii) the district of Manbhum, (iii) the Santal Parganas, (iv) the Pargana of Dhalbhum in the district of Singhbhum, and (v) the portion of the district of Purnea to the east of the Mahananda river.

In the Congress of 1911, the principle was laid down that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lt. Governor of Bihar. According to this arrangement, the Bihar leaders themselves publicly suggested that the portions of Purnea and Maldah to the east of the Mahananda, which is the linguistic and ethnic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to Bengal and the western portions of these two districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts in the Santal Parganas, where the prevailing language is Bengali, should go to Bengal and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the district remain in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole district of Manbhum and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district were Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal—the rest of the division which was Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar.

THE SECOND PARTITION

The pledge of a just and fair distribution of territories between the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Assam was not redeemed and the words of the despatch of August 25, 1911 were not honoured. After the declaration unsettling the settled fact, readjustment of boundaries was done in an arbitrary fashion. Bengal was subjected to the second partition by which Purnea, Santal Pargana, Manbhum and Dhalbhum were cut out and joined to Bihar. The two Bengals were united but the seed of communalism was sown to be firmly planted in Eastern Bengal by the establishment of a separate University at Dacca. The proposal for the establishment of the Dacca University was made public in a way which gave rise to suspicion in the minds of the people. Provision of separate representation of Muslims on the Convocation and Council of the new university clearly indicated the real intention of the measure.

This second partition was cleverly effected with the object of weakening the economic resources of Bengal. The successful method of agitation followed by the Bengali Hindus possibly led the British to think that if a solid and united Bengal could gain economic strength it would prove a menace to British Imperialism. Bengal had not at that time become conscious of the vast economic potentialities in her undeveloped western districts. She was also exhausted after nearly ten years of intense agitation. Taking advantage of this situation, her undeveloped western districts were cut away and joined to Bihar in flagrant breach of the Government's own promises. The result was that British interest in tea was handed over to a weak Assam where the

planters would dominate, as they really did. The western districts of Bengal where British merchants controlled about 50 per cent of the total Indian coal production, together with valuable minerals like mica, manganese and copper, were handed over to another weak Government of Bihar and Orissa. Fortunately for us, the iron ore of the Singhbhum district, which amounts to about 95 per cent of the total Indian production, came into Indian hands. Only jute and a little amount of tea in the Duars remained for Bengal.

The following are the mineral resources of the ceded districts :

Purneah : Sugar.

Manbhum : Abrasives, asbestos, barytes, building materials, fire clay, china clay, coal, copper, glass sands, gold, iron, kyanite, lead and silver, limestone, manganese, mica, mineral pigments, mineral waters, sand, steatite, apatite, bismuth, corundum, titanium.

Santal Parganas : Building materials, fire clay, china clay, coal, copper, lead and silver, mineral pigments, mineral waters, sand, gem-stones (agate and amethyst).

Singhbhum : Abrasives (garnet and quartz), apatite, asbestos, barytes, building materials, chromite, china clay, copper, glass sands, gold, iron, kyanite, lead-silver, mica, manganese, mineral pigments, refractory materials (quartz schist), steatite, vanadium, jasper and quartz crystals.

How these valuable minerals have been exploited and wasted by the British merchants for their immediate gain to the detriment of national interests taking full advantage of the weak government of Bihar and Orissa, will be narrated in a later chapter. Only one instance of coal wastage ought to be illustrative. In a Memoir of the Geological Survey of India, Dr. Dunn tells us about coal losses in mining :

"These losses may be very considerable, and the life of some coal fields depends on only one or two seams and not on total reserves. Hence only a fraction of total reserves of coal may be available ; it is doubtful whether even 30 per cent can be counted upon.

"If good quality coking coals are considered, and assuming a consumption of four million tons per year, Fox (Sir Cyril Fox, for a long time Director of the Geological Survey of India) estimates the life of the reserves at 400 years, which is reduced to 200 years for an extraction of 50 per cent. But these coking coals are now being used for other purposes besides the manufacture of metallurgical coke, and if this unwise practice is continued, Fox in 1904, suggested that supplies would be exhausted after about 40 years. This remark applies particularly to the Jharia field."

Any strong government would not have permitted for a single day this sinister practice of a deliberate waste of this vital resource of the nation.

Great care has been taken since the first partition, specially since the second one, to keep the Bengali Hindu out of the administrative and economic field. Bengalees need not apply—became a special feature in all advertisements for Government posts. Bengalee Hindu was thus ousted from the administrative field even at the risk of a serious breakdown in administrative efficiency. Only those Bengalees who were absolutely indispensable in key positions were retained.

Bengalee businessmen were also very severely attacked. The Swadeshi movement of Bengal gave a fillip to Indian industry. Non-nationals of this province were quick to seize this new opportunity and immediately came to exploit Bengal. Our Swadeshi sentiment put a high premium on non-Bengali cloth and other products for the simple reason that they were Indian. British business allied with Marwari fortune-seekers in driving Bengalee businessmen out of the jute trade. Bengalee peasants produced jute, Bengalee *avidars* brought them to Calcutta, but it could not be sold here except through Marwari dealers. A "gentlemen's agreement" operated with full vigour behind the back of the Bengalee Hindu who had been put on the black list of the British trader. Bengalee enterprisers of Swadeshi industries received help from none and opposition from both.

THE THIRD PARTITION

The third partition is coming with a redoubled

force whose real object is to exterminate the Bengalee Hindu race. Very cleverly Bengal is being pushed to a tight corner with only two alternatives—either accept whole Bengal as Pakistan or bow down to another partition. We can accept neither and must protest against both. In the name of protection of backward communities the fanning of the fanaticism of Muslim masses began, with the ultimate result that the whole or a greater portion of Bengal is going to be handed over to a body of converts who are backward in every respect to the Bengalee Hindu. Handing over political power to a backward community is the surest way to prevent any progressive movement in Bengal. This trick, if not prevented, will be ruinous for both the Hindu and the Muslim masses. It will retain Bengal as a dumping ground of joint exploitation by the British and the non-Bengalee Hindu-Muslim traders for decades to come.

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CURRENT IDEOLOGIES IN POLITICS

By D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

It is noteworthy that the age we live in is marked by an increasing interest in political ideologies in preference to religious, cultural, ethical or even sociological and economic ideologies. It is interesting to note that several ideologies which originated as intellectual or cultural ones tend to merge to-day into some one or other of the current political doctrines. As such it may be not only interesting but also instructive to study briefly the broad features of and the principles underlying some of the political theories and ideologies which have of late been not only receiving increasing interest but have actually been influencing people to the extent of making them participate in great movements involving radical social changes.

For greater clarification the current ideologies may be divided into three categories: First, those that may be described as essentially political ideologies under which may be grouped: Democracy, Totalitarianism and Imperialism; secondly, those that may be described as quasi-political, since their scope is far beyond merely political implications, under which may be grouped: Fascism, Federalism, Internationalism and Nationalism; Nihilism and Anarchism which are largely intellectual may also be included in this group. Lastly, those which are mostly economic in their implications but having a considerable political significance too. Such are: Capitalism, Socialism, Trade Unionism, Syndicalism and Communism.

Taking up the first, namely Democracy, one is at once reminded of that famous saying of the great American President, Abraham Lincoln: "Government of the people by the people for the people." This is alright in theory but in actual practice one is confronted by many difficulties. Democracy as it evolved out of centuries by the experience of various nations—particularly England and America which have always carried the democratic tradition with the utmost care within their homes—when reduced to a practical proposition means only two things: *Freedom of opinion and association, and freedom to exercise the right to vote.* There has been a great deal of criticism against this working

formula by several thinkers. Bernard Shaw, for instance, has pointed out that unless the people are politically educated enough to exercise their vote with sufficient knowledge and discretion democracy may result in the virtual representation of people's ignorance. This is to a certain extent true. That is why it is now universally recognised that for democracy to be successful the electorate should be sufficiently educated. An education—particularly political—can be possible only when there is freedom of expression. In India where the large majority of the people are illiterate, it may be argued, what chance there can be for democracy to be successful. But the people even if they do not understand all the details of the different programmes and state policies have none the less an instinctive commonsense and they elect those in whom they have confidence and whom they consider their best friends. This is the reason for the unprecedented success of the Indian National Congress both during the 1937 elections as well as the recent elections to the Central Assembly—which, by the way, proves that even an illiterate electorate may not be wanting in political alertness.

While as a general rule it may be stated that democracy will be successful to the extent the electorate is politically alert it should not be forgotten, however, that democracy is not only a principle but also a growing tradition; it is not only a system of government but also a method of political training. This is the reason why in countries like England and America democracy is so successful where the electorates are fairly well educated and where the democratic tradition is one of continuous growth. It may be concluded, then, that democracy is preferable to any other known system of government, whether a country is advanced or not, for want of a better alternative.

Coming now to Totalitarianism it may be, at once, stated that it is directly opposed to democracy. Totalitarianism means the embodiment of the state in one supreme dictatorship. While the idea underlying democracy is that the state derives its power from the individual citizens, in totalitarianism the idea is that the

individuals exist for the state. In democracy the growth and welfare of the individual is the primary concern of the state while in totalitarianism the individual as such has no rights at all; consequently there are no fundamental rights of the citizen here. Neither freedom of expression nor freedom to exercise the right to vote is expected and all power is concentrated in one supreme dictator who is the embodiment of the state. If the all powerful dictator (a dictatorship in some instances may consist of more than one dictator) is benevolent a totalitarian state may prove advantageous in some respects as prolonged parliamentary debates, adjournments and delays can be avoided. Apart from the loss of political education which parliamentary debates provide the real difficulty with a dictatorship is that there is no guarantee that the dictator will always prove benevolent; and there is no easy governmental machinery to be rid of the dictator when the people want to. More often than not dictators have proved tyrannical. This is the great danger of allowing all power to be concentrated in the hands of one man. It is wise to remember that physical power has always a tendency to corrupt. In this connection it may be mentioned that some have described Mahatma Gandhi as a dictator. This is not only amusing but absurd because Gandhi's power over the people is derived by his preachings and the moral influence he wields but not by any physical power. In the political concept of dictatorship, the dictator's power has the sanction of the organised physical force of the state behind it. It can be seen, at once, how highly misleading it is to talk of either Gandhi or Vallabhbhai Patel or even the Congress High Command as dictatorships. The Congress as it is to-day is one of the most democratic organisations in the world because it not only recognises the twin principles of freedom of expression and the right of every adult to vote but also because it relies on no physical force behind to coerce any one. Although dictatorship emerging from the doctrine of the totalitarian state will be repugnant to most of the people, as the great danger of its leading to tyranny is ever present, yet, at certain critical epochs people of various countries seem to welcome it, or at least submit to it. Thus, for instance, not only Germany and Italy but Turkey under Kemal Pasha and Japan under the Emperor, Hirohito, could be described as dictatorships. Even Russia under Stalin, although it is carrying on a great experiment to achieve economic equity, may be described as a dictatorship in a way because the freedom of opinion which is to be generally found in democratic countries is lacking in Russia. In London's Hyde Park any one can preach about communism and publicly criticise the Prime Minister's policy but one dare not preach about capitalism or criticise Stalin's policy in Russia. It should be remembered then that a capitalist country can have an absolutely democratic form of government and a country adopting a socialistic economy may have a ruthless dictatorship.

Coming next to Imperialism, it is nothing but the extension of undue political influence by a nation beyond its geographical boundaries which virtually means domination of one nation by another. England, France, Holland, and Japan till it was defeated recently, may be cited as the most imperialistic nations during these two centuries. Imperialism which may be defined as political aggression chiefly for economic exploitation can have little to be said in its favour, as we all bitterly

know, except, perhaps, that it can produce poets like Rudyard Kipling who sang,

"East is East and West is West
And the twain shall never meet!"

Coming next to the second category of ideologies, namely, Quasi-political, let us take up Fascism, one of the most discussed ideologies in recent times. Several people believe that fascism is only the manifestation of capitalism in its last desperate stage and as such the enemy of socialism. If that were so it is difficult to understand why Germany concluded a pact with Russia in the beginning of the war that recently ended and waged war against England and France both capitalist countries. One could understand Russia's anxiety to conclude a pact with Germany for reasons of military unpreparedness but what could have prevented Germany from concluding pacts with England and France and attacking Russia directly? Fascism being opportunist and Machiavellian seems to be neither the friend of capitalism nor the enemy of socialism. It may be noted that fascist countries have treated both the employer and the employee with equal ruthlessness and introduced measures which may be taken as steps towards socialistic economy. Fascism is not anti-socialist but is anti-class-war, since from its view-point the doctrine of class-war is a disintegrating influence in national life. Fascism glorifies aggressive patriotism utterly disregarding the rights of other nations. Fascism is avowedly anti-democratic and opposed to internationalism. Fascism believes in the totalitarian state but it should not be taken as synonymous with dictatorship, for while dictatorship is essentially a political concept fascism may be described as a socio-political philosophy (or perhaps malady) resulting from a feeling of frustration and also the writings of persons like Nietzsche, Houston Chamberlain and Rosenberg. While Fascism has evoked qualities like unflinching loyalty and iron discipline it has also been responsible for some of the worst crimes the world has witnessed. Fascism, as it has manifested itself recently, can hardly be called a progressive force being largely reactionary but it should be remembered that the doctrine of class-war is not a little responsible for the emergence of fascism in this century.

Taking next Federalism it is perhaps correct to describe it as a principle rather than an ideology. It is an extension of the democratic principle into a wider sphere. Federalism is applicable not only in the political field but also in such as economic and co-operative enterprises. It stands for decentralisation of power as against centralisation. If India were to have a federal government, for instance, the federal government would derive its power from the provinces which form the federal units and the provinces in their turn derive their power from their citizens.

Internationalism, it may be noted, is closely allied to federalism for the ultimate ideal of a democratic world federation would be impossible unless all nations cultivate an international outlook. To cultivate an international outlook need not necessarily mean that one should cease to be a nationalist. It means only that while nations should strive to attain their fullest growth in the best of their traditions they should be careful to see that their interests are not allowed to come into conflict with the legitimate interests of other nations. One of the greatest champions of the democratic principle of federalism and internationalism is our great

national leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It will be seen, then, that while imperialism, fascism and totalitarianism are closely allied on the one hand, democracy, federalism and internationalism are intimately related on the other.

It may be asked how the democratic tradition of England at home can be reconciled with her imperialist policy abroad. This is, indeed, an anomaly; but human nature itself is anomalous. The only explanation is that while the Englishman believes passionately in democracy at home, when leaving the shores of Britain he seems to leave democracy behind. On the same analogy, as thinkers like Bertrand Russell have pointed out, the possibility of a country being socialist at home and capitalist abroad may not be ruled out. It is interesting to note in this connection that the democratic idea is receiving an altogether new interpretation on a far higher level by the great experiment in non-violence that is being carried on by Mahatma Gandhi who is not only the greatest messenger of peace living to-day but who is likely to be recorded in history as the greatest democrat of the twentieth century.

Coming to Nationalism, it is to be remembered, that the term is far more comprehensive than the term patriotism. Nationalism should not be confused with the blind and fanatical patriotism of the kind "my country right or wrong." Nationalism in its best sense is only a faith in the culture and tradition of a nation and an aspiration to be free to attain fullest expression. National leadership, it may be noted, is far more embracing than mere political leadership. Dayanand, Vivekananda, Bankim Chandra, Tilak, Poet Rabindranath, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya may be cited as some of our foremost national leaders of recent times.

The phenomenal all-round awakening which Gandhiji has brought about in so short a time is, indeed, miraculous and he is, perhaps, the greatest national leader our country has produced during the last ten centuries or more. Nationalism is, unfortunately, a much abused term these days and the nationalist sentiment is so perverted and exploited as to pave the way for it to emerge as one brand or other of fascism. Nationalism in its truest sense, however, helps not only to bring out all that is finest in a country but also to contribute a country's best to the world.

Nihilism which originated in Russia during the later part of the last century is largely the result of intellectual idealism and has been instrumental in spreading anarchist doctrines particularly in the European countries.

Both Nihilism and Anarchism, although they have had their share in influencing the political thought of the last century are, however, devoid of political realism and as such may not be included in a discussion of current political ideologies.

Coming to the last category, Capitalism is too well-known to need much elaboration. Capitalism recognises two principles, namely, freedom of economic enterprise and recognition of the private profit motive. But in actual practice this has resulted in freedom to exploit and as such it has been responsible for several evils. This is largely the result of the unforeseen and uncontrollable forces that have been released by the rapid mechanisation of industry and allowing the doctrine of *laissez faire*, i.e., free and uncontrolled commercial enterprise to exercise its influence beyond the limits of its utility rather than deliberate exploitation or inherent

callousness on the part of any particular class of society. The old-world conception of capitalism, however, is no more popular and thanks to the influence of progressive opinion all over the world, irrespective of any class-interest, the nature and scope of capitalist enterprise is being increasingly modified so that the existing gulf between capitalism and socialism tends to become narrower and narrower in future.

Socialism, it should be remembered, is not a set doctrine but a growing idea and as such tends to take different shapes in different parts of the world according to the conditions obtaining in and the needs of each particular country. Socialism which is gaining popularity every day aims at removing economic inequity by state control and regulation of all economic and commercial enterprise. It also aims at eliminating the private profit motive. Socialism, it may also be noted, is not incompatible with nationalism while to bring about international socialism the pre-requisite is the establishment of a democratic world federation. Socialism as an idea has progressed a great deal since the time of Karl Marx and thanks to the efforts of intellectual groups like the Fabians and thoughtful writers like Bertrand Russell and Dr. Bhagwan Das, to mention a few, it is much better understood today than it was a few years ago and irrespective of any group-interest it is becoming increasingly popular with progressive opinion all over the world.

Trade Unionism and Syndicalism owe their inspiration to socialist thought but they are more or less local developments and their immediate goal is confined to bringing about among workers a consciousness of the strength of organised labour. While Syndicalism has been popular in France, Trade Unionism and Guild Socialism have flourished in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Coming, then, lastly to Communism, it should be remembered, that it is both a method as well as a politico-economic doctrine. The common belief that communism is an extreme form of socialism is somewhat hazy. The Communist method i.e., class-war and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship may be, however, described as extreme. Karl Marx no doubt thought that a class-war would be inevitable but his conclusion was based on conditions obtaining in his day when franchise was very much limited. To-day, however, there is no reason why it should not be possible to introduce a socialistic economy purely by democratic and constitutional means unless, of course, progressive views were to be always the monopoly of only a particular section of the people. It is said that Marx, on the eve of his death, exclaimed, "Thank God I am not a Marxist", meaning thereby that he was not a dogmatist which unfortunately cannot be said of his followers today. Had Marx been alive, today, in all probability he would have modified his views about the inevitability of the class-war and the desirability of establishing a proletarian dictatorship.

The Communist approach to the Socialist goal being neither dispassionate nor comprehensive can hardly be described as objective. The Gandhian approach in contrast is refreshingly free from all cynicism and based as it is on love instead of hatred it is the Gandhian way that will triumph ultimately if humanity as a whole is progressive. While Communism is increasingly coming to be viewed as more reactionary than revolutionary a new influence and outlook in the shape of Gandhian socialism is slowly but surely emerging as a new star of hope from a weary and chaotic world.

STATES IN INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By NAGENDRA NATH CHANDA

THOUGH without a following the princes promise to be the second great hurdle in the race for Indian Swaraj. Even in the late forties of the twentieth century the princes have remained so many medieval despots—an anachronism in this age of democracy. As a State Dictator, an Indian prince like Stalin or Hitler could have done immense good to his country. But this was not to be. About the Indian prince Sir John Stratchey observed in 1911 :

"He has at his disposal in many cases very considerable resources. Wise and upright chiefs followed by worthy successors might bring their States into a condition of almost Utopian prosperity."

But unfortunately the princes have cared more for their personal gains than for their people's benefit to the consequent material backwardness of the States as compared to the provinces. Many princes like those of Indore and Nabha have been deposed for misrule, but the real remedy for such misrule lies not in such deposition but in the democratisation of the States.

On the strength of their treaties and agreements made with the Crown the princes have ever insisted on their right of exercising despotic power and having direct relationship with the British Crown. But the British Indian constitution evolved by the All-Parties Conference of 1928, however laid down that

"The Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to and discharge the same obligations towards the Indian States arising out of treaties or otherwise as the Government of India has hitherto exercised and discharged."

This Conference, however, otherwise welcomed a perpetual federation of States and provinces. But soon the States Enquiry Committee (Butler Committee) appointed at the instance of the princes reported in 1929 that

"The Princes should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature and that in future the Viceroy as distinguished from the Governor-General in Council should be the agent for the Crown in regard to all dealings with the Indian States."

In the Round Table Conference, however, the princes declared themselves in favour of

"A Federal Government and a Federal Executive embracing both the British Indian provinces and the Indian States in one whole associated for common purposes, but each securing control of their own affairs, the provinces autonomous and the States sovereign and autonomous."

Thereafter in the India Act of 1935 we find a scheme of a federation of States and provinces, the inauguration of which has been made contingent on the safety valve of the accession of at least so many of the States as would comprise at least half the total States population and be entitled to at least half of the total State representation in the Upper House. To allure the princes, the following extra privileges were

also given to them : (a) 125 and 104 seats out of 275 and 260 seats of the Lower and Upper Chambers of the Federal Legislature which works out at 33½ per cent and 40 per cent respectively though the States population of 9 crores out of 38 crores justifies 28 per cent only ; (b) transference to the federation of 14 subjects less than those to be transferred by the provinces, separate sovereignty of the princes remaining over their non-transferred subjects ; (c) allowing the above State representation to the princes as opposed to their people ; (d) non-revision of State representation without consent of the princes. And further the offices of the Viceroy and the Governor-General were also separated in 1937.

A decade has passed since then, still the required number of States have not acceded to the Federation to enable it to be inaugurated. The State objection to this Federation has been based not on non-sovereignty of the Federation (born of Viceregal control of foreign and military affairs and interference in others) but on the princely fear of having to transfer even a part of their autocratic power to this Federation. The States people are, of course, ever eager to join an all-India federation of States and provinces, both being organically connected with the common racial, cultural, linguistic, economic and strategic structure of India.

Now the attitude of at least some of the princes seems to have improved a bit. The Chamber of Princes (which comprises only 236 smaller States out of 562 States of India) passed a resolution in January last saying that

"The States share the general desire in the country for immediate attainment by India of her full stature and will make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian constitutional question."

Many princes, as the Premier of Patiala said at Ottawa on December 6, 1945, are prepared now to enter a federation of States and provinces. But, it is said, still they want to have their sovereignty in spheres not transferred to the Federation, viz., territorial integrity, succession, custom, law and usage, the existing form of State Government, etc.

Now what are pre-eminently required are : (a) the scrapping of this so-called princely sovereignty and the establishment of popular democracy in the States, the princes remaining as constitutional heads ; and (b) accession of these States into a federation of States and provinces with no exclusive sovereignty left to the States beyond the general purview of the Federation and the Federal Court.

The necessity of essential uniformity of component units in the Indian Federation also requires that the States should be democratised. The federation of two unlikes, one an autocratic State and the other a democratic province, is bound to result in certain deadlock and create economic conflict because of their antagonistic interests. Sir A. B. Kieth observed :

"I should have preferred federation only for units which were themselves under responsible Government and have admitted the princes only on

condition that they gave their States constitutions leading up to responsible Government and that their representatives in both Houses of the Central Legislature were elected by the people of the States."

When the Joint Committee define a federation as "a number of governments autonomous in their own spheres combined in a single State" they may have in their minds democratically autonomous and autocratically autonomous States federating together. But when like others Prof. Newton says that a federation is a "perpetual union of several sovereign States" he means States of the same political type more or less.

Further an all-India union and democratisation of the States is enjoined by the obligations of the U.N.O. Charter. India comprising both States and provinces has been made a permanent member of that world organisation of free nations on the understanding given by the sovereign authority of both States and provinces that India (comprising both States and provinces) would be vested with independence without delay. That obligation cannot be satisfied by democratising only one part, namely, the provinces. This requires the States to be democratised (just like the provinces) as well as an all-India union of States and provinces to be formed, which alone, and not States and provinces separately, is recognisable by the U.N.O.

While the U.N.O. is out to destroy world imperialism and autocracy, it can not allow this princely autocracy to go on unchecked under cover of some old treaty with Britain, Chapter XVI of the U.N.O. constitution clearly laying down that

"In the event of a conflict between the obligations of members of the United Nations under the present charter and any other international obligations to which they are subject their obligations under the present charter shall prevail."

Now the princely objection to this democratisation, based on their treaty rights and *sonads*, is hardly tenable. The States people have (just like the inherent right of self-defence) the inherent right of freedom. Any treaty or usage repugnant to it is null and void to the extent of this repugnancy.

Further, these so-called treaty agreements were made with the princes not absolutely in their individual capacity but as representatives of their States whose resources and allegiance they could command. Only the authority that has that command is entitled to those State rights, and that authority is not the princes now but mainly their subjects. The States people are thus the *de facto* sovereign of the States entitled to this protection of the Paramountcy.

The Crown's promise of protection of the States does not mean the perpetuation of princely autocracy but protection of the real State power which means the people now, as shown above.

But on January 21, 1946, the Viceroy assured the princely order thus :

"There is no intention on our part to initiate any change in your relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by your treaties and engagements without your consent."

What is this but a perpetuation of the existing princely autocracy and British suzerainty over the States and a hindrance to the attainment of Indian Swaraj? Does it not give some clue to the recent deposition of

the Maharaja of Rewa for his attempt at democratising his State?

Recently Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Dewan of Travancore, is also reported to have opined that the new Government at the Centre can not inherit any right of paramountcy, and if British India attains freedom the States will emerge fully free, the States in that case to have fresh treaties with the new India Government on the basis of equality.

Does it not mean that the States as sovereign units hereafter are entitled to do anything they like? But the Crown has absolute suzerainty over the Indian States as was made clear by Lord Reading's famous direction to the Nizam. And as such the States cannot legally prevent the new India Government being invested with this suzerainty over the Indian States through the transference of that suzerainty right by the Crown to the new India Government. Can a tenant ever debar the transference of the superior rights of his overlord to another?

It is with British India's men and money that these States were subjugated. And legally speaking it is with the Indian Government of the Crown that these so-called treaties were made though the Indian Government of the Crown at that time was more unified with the Crown's Government in Britain. If so, how can the new inheritors of this Indian Government of the Crown (whether a Republic or a constitutional monarchy of the Dominion type) be prevented from inheriting this right of State suzerainty of its predecessor?

It is curious to find people hold fast, out of self-interest, to old theories and positions even in this post-war surge of democracy. The present-day world demands a reorientation of outlook and approach. In consideration of these factors the best solution of this State tangle lies in an immediate sovereign federation of States and provinces, the States immediately acceding to it irrespective of the wishes of the princes. And the States can have no separate sovereignty in any sphere after they have entered this Federation, the States and provinces alike being under the common suzerainty of the common Federation. Customs and currency essentially being all-India subjects, these shall have to be surrendered by the States and all non-federal subjects in States shall also remain under the purview of the Federation and the Federal Court just as in provinces.

For framing this federal constitution a Constituent Assembly elected by universal adult franchise of States and provinces may appear to be the ideal process. But in view of the time that it will take and the party feud that it will evoke it would be advisable to have for the purpose a small constitution-making body elected on population basis by Legislatures of provinces and States and the States People's Conference where the States do not have Legislatures (only 30 States having Legislatures) so that the new constitution can be inaugurated within six months hence.

In the mean time the British India Government can through convention be provided to be run from this month by a coalition cabinet of all Assembly parties or failing that by the majority party cabinet, all powers being transferred to this interim Government with the safeguard of Viceregal intervention in foreign and defence affairs in case of emergency. No minority obviously can be allowed to veto any decision of the majority in all this.

THE SPIRIT OF HINDU CIVILIZATION

By BUDHA PRAKASH, M.A.

I

"He who perceives one eternal substratum in all elements, the Indivisible in the divided, acquires true salutary knowledge. The wise and the learned see equally the Brahmana, possessed of learning and discipline, the cow, the elephant, the dog and the degraded Chandala."—*The Holy Gita*.

How concisely and beautifully the above verses sum up the spirit of Hindu civilization! Civilization—the word is formed from the Latin word *civitas* meaning the state. The idea of the state implies an accommodation of the rights and interests of the individual with the rights and interests of society. The more happy and harmonious this accommodation is, the more perfect the state becomes and the more civilized the people are called. Hence civilization is that attribute of human mind, in virtue of which man sacrifices and harmonises his interests with the interests of his fellow-beings and realizes a fundamental unity of interest amidst the diversity of individual ends and requirements. This characteristic—the quest of unity amidst diversity—is the keynote of Hindu civilization. Of course, every civilization possesses this feature, but it is as distinguishing a hall-mark of Hindu civilization, as moral fervour is of the Hebrew scriptures, the sense of beauty and rhythm of Periclean Greece and the love of law and government of Ancient Rome. Every aspect of Hindu life and thought bears the impress of this grand principle. The conception of Adipurusa in sociology, from whose mouth, arms, thighs, and feet sprang respectively the four classes of Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra, picturesquely symbolizes the idea of social reciprocity and interdependence. Furthermore the assertions that from the mind of the same Adipurusa sprang the moon; from his eye, the sun; from his breath, the wind; and so on and so forth, suggest the essential community characterising the whole universe. Similarly, the ideal of a Chakravartin or Ekarat sovereign, combining the ideals of autonomy and centralization³ is the corner-stone of Hindu politics. In philosophy Brahman or his Buddhist counterpart the Alaya Vijnana⁴—the one being the cause and the other the consequence of the psychological process—holds the field. By far the most interesting and unique

manifestation of the Hindu spirit is the legal institution of the joint family. In it a man acquires a vested interest by birth which remains undefined and indeterminate all along and which he has no right to alienate, pledge or mortgage except with the collective consent of the family. The community of interest and unity of possession is so much ingrained that even the Karta or the manager of the family has no power to transfer by will or *inter vivos* the joint assets. The devolution of estate is determined by survivorship rather than succession and the idea of partition is throughout tabooed. Equally characteristic is the economic organisation of the guild or the *shreni*, whose corporate existence is not affected by the recalcitrance or resignation of the members composing it. Above all the Hindu spirit expresses itself in the 'domain of religion in a very peculiar phenomenon, which Prof. Maxmuller called 'Kathenotheism.' Each god—Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni, Pusan—is separately worshipped and exalted above all others, with the result that a mere onlooker is bewildered with this strange contradiction. But to a Hindu it is not at all difficult to conceive or appreciate, for, to him these gods are the different nuances of the same Essential Absolute, looking variously in the foil of diverse moods and states of consciousness. The Veda itself explains this multiplicity in the following words :

"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni and that celestial noble-winged Garutman. Sages name variously that which is but one; they call it Agni, Yama and Matarishvan."

Indeed, the Hindu God is not a personal Being, creating and ordering the universe at his own sweet will and determining the destiny of man according to His own pleasure and predilections. He, in some respects like the 'sitticheit' of Hegel, represents the eternal cosmic force of which the universe including man are various manifestations as well as component ingredients. He is not independent of Karman—the principle of action and retribution—which must of necessity evoke a response from him. Thus man, far from being subservient to the arbitrary dictates of a Superior Being, is the creator of his own, the architect of his world, which he is gradually shaping by his action in accordance with his comforts and necessities.

Generally a Hindu starts from unity towards diversity. The concrete thought and phenomenal conscience, *Buddhi* and *Manas*, comprehended under Prakriti and propelled by the impersonal and neuter subconscious force, the Purusa, evolve ceaselessly from an indistinct or subtle state (*Avyakta*) to the gross state i.e., from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous in

- 1 सर्वभूतेषु येनैकं भावमव्ययीक्यते ।
न विभक्तं विभक्त्ये तज्ज्ञानं विद्धि सात्त्विकम् ॥
विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥

2 Vide the *Raghuvamsha* of Kalidasa :

न करो न च भूयसा मयुः पममानः पृथिवीरुहाक्षि ।
स पुरस्कृतमव्ययमविक्रमो नमयामास उपाननुदरत् ॥

3 On the homogeneity of the concepts of Brahman and Vijnana, see Mr. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya : 'The Evolution of Vijnanavada' *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, March, 1934.

4 The text is :

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निमाहुरथोदित्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यस्मि यमं नास्तिश्चान्तामहः ॥

The *Rig Veda* I, 164, 46.

perpetual movement towards differentiation and individualisation (*Ahamkara*). This is the substance of the Sankhya doctrine. But the Hindu is equally conversant with proceeding from diversity towards unity. Conscience, from this standpoint, results from the psycho-physical processes.⁵ This accords with Marxian principle of Being preceding consciousness. Thus starting from any point and following any way of inquiry—monism, dualism or pluralism, the Hindu reaches the same goal. A Sanskrit text places these words in the mouth of God :

"Some prefer monism, others like dualism. But they all know My reality which is beyond dualism or monism."⁶

We now come to another characteristic of Hindu civilization, which it hardly requires mention follows from the one we have just considered, *viz.*, the conciliation of individual and community. On the one hand there is unbridled individualism tending to throw the world into chaos and confusion; on the other is the strangling rigidity of social order, which stifles the real and peculiar individuality of man in an attempt to force it in the social framework. The modern world has not yet been able to provide a way out of this Scylla and Charybdis. The Hindus approached the problem in their own way. As Manu says :

"Sacrifice yourself for your family ; the family for the village ; the village for the State ; and the State for your conscience."

It means that the State is the custodian of common good and everyone should be ready to sacrifice his interests for those of the state. But after all the sovereignty of the State is a function of the quality of life that it makes for the individuals. The only state to which one owes allegiance is the state in which one discovers moral adequacy. The first duty of man is to obey his conscience. Hence if one feels convinced that his conscience is being killed by subservience to the state he is entitled and also duty-bound to go against the state and follow his conscience. This principle lies at the basis of the contractual conception of Hindu sovereignty according to which the king is the paid officer of society to avoid chaos and Matsyanyaya. History informs us that even the great Asoka was dethroned when he proposed to give his empire to the Buddhist Sangha⁷ and as late as the seventh century, the sudra Gopala was elected by the people as the king of Bengal.⁸

Such conflicts are not likely to arise where the spirit of humanism and toleration give ample opportunities for the fullest display and development of individual potentialities. Even in civilized Greece, Socrates was poisoned for preaching a new doctrine and the religious history of the world is red with the blood

of martyrs. But in India different cults and creeds, diametrically opposite beliefs and practices, conflicting religions and ideologies existed side by side in an atmosphere of peace and amity. The Buddha, his contemporaries and his followers tore up the very fabric of Vedic sacerdotalism, by denying the Vedas, God, soul, and sacrifices and by levelling the caste distinctions on which the citadel of Hinduism chiefly rested.⁹

Thus India has been a crucible of races and cultures, amalgamating them in common humanity. The Dravidians with their doctrines of caste and transmigration and their Saiva and Krishnaite cults have become a part of Hindu society. Their cacuminal dentals have become a peculiarity of Indian languages.¹⁰ Traces of Munda dialects have survived in a great number of geographic names from Kashmir up to the heart of the Peninsula¹¹ and the aboriginal fetishes still survive in the elephant face of Ganesha. Similarly the Greeks, puffed up with Hellenic culture, bowed before the spiritual might of India. The Besnagar inscription of Heliodoras, the Nagari remains of a *yajnasala* constructed by Demetrius, the caves and inscriptions of Kanheri on the Western Coast, the *Milinda Panho*, the Martanda temple in Kashmir, the little Ionic temple of the Parthian period at Jandial and above all, the Gandhara School of Indo-Hellenic art, where Buddha appears in the garb of Apollo—all suggest the close amalgamation of the two cultures. Likewise, the barbaric Yen-chi tribes of Central Asia were thoroughly Indianized. The representation of Siva on the coins of Kuzula Kadphises, the interest taken in Buddhism by Kanishka, the self-contained, walled-in and rectangular *sangharama*, with kitchens and dining-rooms, of the Kusana period found in the North-Western regions and lastly the marked Mongoloid features with tangential eyebrows of the Buddha statues of Mathura—amply demonstrate the change which overtook the Kusanas. Later on the Abhiras, Hunas,¹² Jats¹³ and many other outlandish people were admitted to the fold of Hinduism. The myth of the Agnikulas, invented to explain the origin of many Rajput families simply shows that they were converted and gradually Indianized. Last but not the least in importance are the Mohammedans. Generally it is believed that they remained untouched with Indian influences, but the most cursory glance at medieval history is sufficient to dispel such belief. Under the influence of the Hindus the Mohammedans of India strayed so much from the orthodox Islamic fold, that Taimur regarded them as heathens and considered his Indian invasion as a real *jihad* against

9 Cf. a remark of Dharmakirti—

वेदप्रमाणं कस्यचित् कर्तुं वादः स्तान्ने धर्मेच्छा जातिवादवच्छेदः ।

संतापारम्भः पापहानाय चेति अस्तप्रज्ञानं पंचविगिनि जाद्वये ॥

—प्रमाणवातिकस्ववृत्तिः

10 Meillet : *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues Indo-Européennes*, p. 11.

11 Sylvain Lévi : *Pre-Aryan et Pre-Dravidian dans l'Inde* (1929).

12 Dr. P. C. Bagchi in his presidential address given to the Ancient History section of the Indian History Congress (Allahabad) has proved on the basis of Chinese phonology that the Hunas became the Gurjars, present Gurjars.

13 Dr. K. P. Jayswal held that the Imperial Guptas were Karakur-Jats.

5 Cf. काव्यदेव ततो ज्ञानं प्राणायानाद्यधिष्ठितात् ।

सर्वदर्शन संग्रहः chapter on वार्ताकदर्शन

6 Cf. अद्वैतं केचिद्विच्छन्ति द्वैतामिच्छन्ति चापरे ।

यम तत्त्वं विज्ञानन्तो द्वैताद्वैतविषयितम् ॥

—कूर्मार्णवतन्त्र

7 Cf. *Dhyanadana*, Ed. Cowell, p. 426.

8 Cf. *Manushrinulakshya*, Ed. Jayswal, p. 50.

what he calls the infidels and polytheists of India.¹⁴ Similarly another orthodox ruler Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlak made it a point to punish the Mohammedans of India, who were generally adopting the customs and practices of the Kafirs.¹⁵ But despite all his attempts the tide of Indo-Islamic cultural synthesis could not be stemmed. Samsus-siraj Afif informs us of a Brahmana who perverted the Mohammedan women of Delhi and led them to worship a wooden tablet "covered within and without with paintings of demons and other objects."¹⁶ The Hindu fashion of pilgrimages found favour with Mohammedan women for as Firoz Shah writes :

"On holy days women riding in palanquins or carts or litters or mounted on horses or mules or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs."¹⁷

Al-Badauni tells us that Emperor Akbar used to recite the hundred names of sun-god with face turned towards it.¹⁸ Sir Thomas Roe noticed that on his

birthday, Emperor Jahangir used to touch curd and the rohita fish on his first entry in the *darbar*.¹⁹ Even Aurangzeb consulted the astrologers in his Deccan campaigns and once in Kashmere he carried out the supposed heir of the prophet in a grand procession.²⁰ Gujarat we know was the seat of the Sufis, who presented the teachings of Vedanta in Islamic garb. Besides Saikh Nizamuddin Aawliya, Saikh Salim Chisti and others—an illustrious series of Mohammedans, e.g., Kutaban, Majjban Jayasi, Noor Mohammad, Raskhan, etc., wrote fine poetry in Hindi. In Deccan Hindu metres and Hindu poetical motifs very early entered into the Muslim vernacular literature and an Adil Shah wrote dhrupads, a Qutab Shah acted in his palace the antics of Krishna with the milkmaids of Vrindavan. Marsia and Ras-Lila and spring carnival (*Vasant*) were equally popular as themes of poetry and equally yielded a prolific crop of verses in Rekhta.²¹ Thus Hinduism, though quite decadent, did not fail to affect the Mohammedans.

(To be continued).

14 See *Malfuzat-i-Taimuri* (Elliot and Dowson : *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 426.

15 See, *Fatahat-i-Firozshahi* in Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III.

16 See, *Turikh-i-Firozshahi* in Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III.

17 *Fatahat-i-Firozshahi*, Elliot's translation, *op. cit.*

18 *Muntakhat-ut-Tawarikh*, translated by Low, Vol. II, p. 332.

19 Purchas : *His Pilgrims*, Vol. IV, p. 376.

20 For details see Sir J. N. Sarkar : *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. V.

21 Sir Jadunath Sarkar : *House of Shivaji*, p. 4.

—:O:—

FORGOTTEN CAPITALS OF MEWAR

By Prof. G. N. SHARMA, M.A.

I. NAGADA

NAGADA or Nagahrada of inscriptive records or Nagadraha of bardic literature was the first capital of the Guhilots of Mewar. It is nearly fifteen miles north of Udaipur, its ancient site comprises Nagda proper and Eklingji of these days ; for during those days there was no separate existence of the Eklinga village. Much of it vanished under water when Mokai constructed Baghela tank. The place under review affords a deserted sight with scattered ruins of monuments, though from variations in design we may still locate different parts of the city such as palaces, market-places or workmen's quarters.

It was founded in the sixth century by Nagaditya. The justification of its name Nagadraha is attached to the mythological story of the burning of snakes by Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit. A class of Brahmins still call themselves Nagda, as their ancestors conducted the entire proceedings of this Yajna of snakes. The story referred to above is also associated with the Yajnapura, now called Jahaspur and the river Nagdi near the modern town. Khyata writers ascribe the importance of Nagda to the birth of Bapa (son of Kamlavati) who was entrusted to a Brahmin Vijaya-ditya. Several MSS. of Sanskrit literature record its foundation by Takshaka, the lord of serpents who paid his visit to God Eklinga. There is a Taksha-Kunda to commemorate his visit.

Nagda happened to be the capital city of Mewar right from the sixth century A.D. to the thirteenth century A.D., though sometimes Aghatpur or Ahada and Chitor also enjoyed the credit of being the seat of Imperial Guhilots.

As the first capital of Mewar happens to be in the heart of mountain ranges, it had not to face so many invasions as other capitals had to do. The only important invasion mentioned is the invasion by Altutmish who was boldly faced by Jaitra Sinha.

There are two kinds of structures to be seen in a fairly good state of preservation ; one of Jain and another of Vishnu. The existence of the first kind clearly shows that Nagda must have been a most flourishing part of the country from the point of view of trade and commerce, as the trading classes, usually Jains, inhabited this locality. Shivite temples and Vishnu temples appear to be largely the enterprise of the rulers or others who mainly belong to the Shiva Cult.

Padmavati Temple : In the northern side of the deserted capital there are several ruins of which the Padmavati temple is the most striking. It is partly built into the rocks and partly into the open. The only image in the shrine is of Chaumukha. The two small inscriptions of V.S. 1366 and V.S. 1391 indicate the time of its construction.

The Tank : It is the main tank of the village

which had the entire habitation on its three sides. There are two important temples of Vishnu, one of a simple kind and the other of ornamental design, in which there are a large number of images collected from the ruined shrines of the locality.

Adbhutji's Temple : It is a Jain temple with lesser antiquity. The only interesting object is the image of Shanti-Nat, nine feet high. It was built by Saranga during the reigning period of Kumbha in V.S. 1494.

Khuman Raval's Temple : Just near Adbhutji there is a temple with series of smaller shrines of Parsanath, built in V.S. 1486 by a certain trader of the Porwad community, though people wrongly call it Khuman Raval's Devra.

Sas-Bahu Temple : These two temples are associated with Sas and Bahu, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law ; the smaller in the north is called Bahu's temple and the larger one in the south is called Sas temple with a Hindola Toran or a swinging arch in the front. The former is plain in design while the latter is profusely decorative. Their period of construction is about eleventh century.

II. AHAR

Ahar or Aghatpur of the inscription is the second most important capital of Mewar. It is near Udaipur Railway Station in the north-eastern corner of Udaipur city. The ancient Aghatpur appears to be very extensive as its colossal ruins can be seen scattered ten miles around the modern town which has developed during the last two hundred years. Of the many of such materials taken out of the ruins are the inscriptions of Allat of V.S. 1008-1010 at Sarnath temple and two of the inscribed slabs used as staircase or steps in one of the Jain temples and Hastimata temple. Numbers of beautiful sculptures, images and carved screens and stones have been used indiscriminately in the body of several modern constructions of temples, houses and wells in and around the modern town.

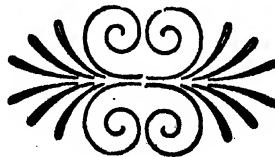
Gangodbhav : It is the most ancient of the remains of Ahar. It comprises a platform, where formerly stood a four-columned Chhatra, and a reservoir of water running round it. But the whole locality referred to above has been deprived of its antiquity by modern repairs, though the materials used for its repairs here and there give the idea of an ancient style of sculpture. Such pieces are the images of Shiva and Parvati, Surya and Vishnu in the profile. Several stories are still repeated about its antiquity. One is that the river Ganges bubbled up here through the strength of the devotion of a lady who was left here by her father-in-law. Since then it is termed as Gangodbhav. In memory of the sacred river every year people throng here to take a pious dip in the water

of the reservoir. The other version is that it is a memorial spot of Gandharva-Sen, the father of Vikramaditya.

Shiva Temple : Just in its south there is another reservoir sufficiently smaller, though bearing antique appearance with a Shiva temple constructed partially over a bridge. It is in a depressed area with galleries on three sides of narrow width where several images of Shiva, Parvati, Surya, Brahma, Varaha, etc., finely sculptured appear. Though this part has undergone repairs not in recent days, but centuries ago, it affords a better antiquated look for the lovers of fine arts, though much of its beauty has been lost on account of its smoky appearance and ungainly objects, as this part is used as a kitchen by the devotees, who come to pay a visit to this sacred place.

Cenotaphs : The eastern parts of these reservoirs consist of the royal cenotaphs area commonly called Maha-Sati or 'Great Place of Sati', set aside, since the abandonment of Chitor, for cremating and erecting cenotaphs in memory of the Maharanas, members of the ruling family, and some of the nobility and principal officials. The first of such cenotaph belongs to Rana Amar Singh, who was the first of his line to die at Udaipur. Uda Singh, in whose time Chitor ceased to be the capital of Mewar, died in the Aravali Mountains at Gogunda, while the next Rana, the famous warrior Pratap Singh, Amar's father, expired in the wild country of the Bhils at Chawand, his last act being to make his nobles swear that no palaces should be built in Udaipur until Chitor had been recovered. As one goes up a few steps and passes through a door, the Chhatris of Jagat Sinha I and Karan Sinha I appear, whose names are worth remembering for the construction of Jagdeesh temple and cementing friendly relations with the Mughals in 1615. Passing a narrow doorway one's sight is attracted by the cenotaphs of Sangram Singh II, Amar Singh II, Raj Singh II, Pratap Singh II, Swaroop Singh, etc.; of all these structures, the fifty-six pillared cenotaph of Sangram Singh II is the finest. By the side of these edifices there appear some huts usually called 'bungalows' in which the ashes are always kept for ten days after cremation before being sent to the Ganges.

Dhol Kot : Further, there are mounds and ruins of a village called Tambravali Nagari. A narrow pass passes through it leading to a neighbouring village with heaps of dust on both sides which constitute collectively a small hillock of sand. It is believed that it was a flourishing town during Vikramaditya's time. In and around the mound occasional discovery of large stony bricks, pieces of sculpture, and fragments of pottery, coins, etc., confirms the existence of a rich store of historical objects enveloped underneath the great heap of the ruined habitation.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE WORLD FEDERATION AND THE AUGUST RESOLUTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS : By Maurice Frydman. Aundh Publishing Trust, Distributors, Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pp. 33. Price twelve annas.

Readers of the *Harijan* and of Gaudhiji's Seventy-fifth Birthday volume hitherto knew Mr. Maurice Frydman as a practical engineer and a thinker, in that line, of distinction. But in the present very valuable pamphlet, a new light is thrown upon his mind and activities. During the fateful days of 1942 and 1943, he had consistently been trying in his own way to educate Indo-British public opinion with regard to the true nature of the Congress demand for Independence, which was to form the basis of a voluntary interdependence between states enjoying equal status. Mr. Frydman accordingly addressed letters to various people, and also issued pamphlets; and the present brochure contains a reprint of some of them, as well as his correspondence with an important member of the mercantile community in India.

The letters of that British gentleman makes strange reading. On the one hand, we find Mr. Frydman tries again and again to draw the attention of his correspondent to one most important aspect of the August Resolution, and the need of expressing through some tangible step Britain's sincerity of purpose with regard to India's future status. On the other, his correspondent goes on repeating that the heart of Britain is all right; all that is needed is a unity between the Hindus and Muslims of India; while, outside, he feels that the time is not yet ripe for either English or American public opinion to vote for a dissolution of sovereign states, and their merging in a world-federation. We have, according to him, to yield to the reality of the present situation. Nobody can quarrel with that. But the most curious fact is that where war-interests are concerned, and when Britain needs certain things for her Empire's safety, public opinion as expressed in the Congress's Quit-India resolution or the popular disturbances when the Congressmen were put behind prison bars, does not seem to count with him at all. Then his 'public' dwindles into an insignificant number of interested supporters of the *status quo*. Then it becomes necessary not to look for direction of future events in publicly expressed opinion, but to gag it and shape things in a way that the ruling class, who are responsible to nobody in India but to the British Parliament, thinks best. 'In the meantime', writes the correspondent in one of the letters, 'we must at all costs (and I mean all costs) keep the classes who supply recruits to the Army as happy as possible and this consideration must in my opinion take precedence over all others.' (P. 24).

This, we believe, represented the real British attitude during the War and does so even today; a plea for democracy when that comes in handy, and a determination to see that Empire interests will not be jeopardised, public opinion or no public opinion.

Mr. Frydman was right in his persistent attempt to educate British Indian public opinion; but we believed then, as we do now, that something more is needed to break the crust of selfishness which screens the truth from British eyes. The people of England are not inherently selfish; only the crust of selfishness which the institution of Empire has built round their mind, needs to be broken before the door is opened for an appeal to reason. That way does not lie through punishment or fear, the War has already proved the futility of the violent method for those who have eyes to see. The door must therefore lie through an appeal to the nobler sentiments as evoked through non-violent non-co-operation. In the meantime, educative propaganda, as exemplified by the present very valuable pamphlet, should be carried on with untiring effort.

NIRMAL KUMAR ROSE

PRACTICE AND PRECEPTS OF JESUS : By J. C. Kumarappa, with a foreword by M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1945. Price Re. 1-8.

If religion has been unfortunately, and to the great sorrow of mankind, a factor in mutual recrimination on many occasions, undeniably it is at the same time a cementing bond, and if we ignore the fact of formal conversion, we may take note of the changes of heart in so many ways in all time and throughout the earth caused by the saints and prophets who do not live and move for any particular community or narrow sect. From this viewpoint a religious book emerges into greater prominence than is given to it at first—it becomes a book of universal importance and we are again and again reminded of the saying: *ekam sat vipra bahudha vadanti* (The One is, the Brahmins speak of Him as many).

Shriji Kumarappa's book has done the same service for Christianity. He has thought aloud on the lessons of the life of Jesus and his pronouncements, the supremely valuable guidance he has given to men at crises of life. These valued observations and comments, in the light of modern ideas and today's needs deserve widespread publicity—and they come very pat on the hour. The liberal and revolutionary teaching of Jesus, standing against all exclusiveness and racial arrogance, will benefit the world in its present condition.

Shriji Kumarappa's preface, recalling his mother's way of treating her sons (the book is dedicated to her in reverent memory), is touching. It has an independent interest, and so has Gandhi's foreword, revealing a glimpse of his life in South Africa.

The book is printed on handmade paper; a printing error on the very first page and in Gandhi's foreword was not expected of the Navajivan Press.

P. R. SEN

THE LATEST FAD (Basic Education) : By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. With an autographic foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3

Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Second Edition. January, 1946. Pp. 107. Price Re. 1-8.

Mahatma Gandhi is the most dynamic personality in India today. He occupies a unique position in the domain of Indian politics for his neo-ideology and methodology in the struggle for India's freedom. His life has been dedicated to the cause of political liberation of the country and regeneration of the people achieved through non-violent means. True to his spirit Gandhiji has evolved a comprehensive programme of fight and constructive work for the guidance of the individual and the nation. As the author writes: 'Beginning with truth and non-violence in political life Gandhiji has evolved his scheme of *charka* and *khadi*, removal of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, emancipation of women, . . . the revival and introduction of new village industries.' From these he has proceeded on to his new scheme of education. Education has come last. And hence in a lighter vein it has been styled by Acharya Kripalini the *Latest Fad* of Mahatmaj. But contrary to suggestions that the title of the book is likely to inspire in the minds of unwary readers, the learned author is serious about his job and has brought into play his wealth of scholarship and inimitably racy style in vindication of the *fad* of the 'old man at Segaoan.'

The novel aspects of the scheme are emphasis on craft and manual work and financial self-sufficiency of Basic schools. The scheme upholds that all education should be woven round a craft and that the produce of the craft should be economically remunerative so as to meet the teachers' salary. With ample reference to educational reformers from Rousseau down to John Dewey the author has shown that the first idea, i.e., learning through activity is psychologically sound. As for the second idea, it adds zest to the whole working of the Basic School and points to a solution of the big problem of finance in organising universal national education for the whole of India.

The preface to the second edition is of particular interest as herein have been culled, in fragments, the results of experiments with this scheme carried on in some Indian provinces and States. Facts and figures assessed and complimentary observations made on their basis by educationists have added weight to the arguments of the author. For an ounce of experimental truth is worth a ton of hopeful theory.

In the last and longest chapter the writer has elaborately discussed the place of Basic Education in Gandhiji's philosophy. The expositions are brilliant, cogent and logical. According to the author, Basic Education is in complete consonance with Mahatmaj's aims, ideals and life-mission: it is a part and parcel of his constructive programme as an organic whole, nay it is the 'coping stone of Gandhiji's socio-political edifice.'

The publishers have done a distinct service to the country by bringing out the book at a time when post-war educational reconstruction is in the offing and clarifications of Gandhiji's ideas on national education are so greatly needed.

— NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

THE RELIGION WE NEED : S. Radhakrishnan.
Published by Benares Hindu University. Pp. 26. Price eight annas.

This is just the sort of a book that was called for by the need of the hour. By disproving some of the dogmas that had passed for religion, science has undoubtedly reduced the hold of traditional religion on the minds of the people. "It has become a sign of good breeding to avow disbelief in traditional religion."

Some have tried, while admitting that God is a fiction, to defend religion on the ground of its social utility. 'We can use God though we cannot know him'

is their view. But as the learned professor rightly observes, "We can not believe a thing simply because we wish to. We can not worship what we know to be a mental fiction." Nor is it possible, as the Fundamentalists would have us do, to turn our back on all advancements in the sphere of science and stick to our old beliefs blindly for the sake of enjoying religious bliss.

None of these ways of escape is however necessary. The scientific temper will help rather than hinder the understanding of true religion. The author's belief that "the growing dissatisfaction with established religion is the prelude to the rise of a truer, more spiritual, and more universal religion" will be shared by all thinking men. The transformation we have witnessed in the lives of some of the modern intellectuals like Aldous Huxley points to the same conclusion. Scientific quest about all that happens in this universe brings us at last to a point where science fails to throw further light. Almost all who have reflected on the implications of evolution agree that there is a mysterious reality at the back of it all. It is the desire to come into contact with that is at the root of all religions—from lowest fetishism to the highest abstrusism. In the concluding portion of the booklet Dr. Radhakrishnan analyses the nature of the true religious life and shows how, unless self-perfection, which is the aim of religion, takes hold of society as a whole, the world is not safe for civilization and humanity. This is a fitting reply to those who would relegate religion to the position of a private affair between man and his Creator. "The world is in dreadful need of these heroic spirits (religious souls) who have the courage of their vision of human oneness to assume new leadership."

What with the richness of its contents, what with the clarity of its statement, the booklet is bound to make a great appeal to our young men who share the anti-religious feeling of the age.

P. B. SANYAL

THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR : By Rev. Fr. I. Daniel (Cheppad, Harippad, Travancore).
Published by the Diocesan Press, Madras. 1945. Price Re. 1.

In this book, the author, a priest in Holy Orders of the Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar, has given in a condensed form the principal facts relating to the growth and development of the Syrian Church from its foundation to the present day. He traces its origin from St. Thomas (52 A.D.), and characterises the traditions and legends relating to the Apostle as genuine. He also quotes historical evidence from the writings of early European travellers to the East, like Cosmo Indicopleustes (547-60 A.D.), Marco Polo (1288-92 A.D.) and others, who have made reference to the existence of Christians on the Malabar coast in such early centuries of the Christian era. He has thus endeavoured to prove an apostolic origin to this ancient church in South India.

The Syrian Christians are, at present, split up into various sects, such as, Chaldeans, Nestorians, Orthodox and Reformed Syrians, besides there are also numerous Roman Catholics and a good number of Protestants. The author has enumerated the schisms that took place in the church resulting in secession from the parent body, as well as in the formation of minor sects distinct from the Syrian Church. To one who is familiar with the various forms of Oriental Christianity, a romantic glamour surrounds these forms, and he would therefore be pre-disposed to peruse the book of Fr. Daniel with great expectations; if he did so, his pleasurable anticipations would, indeed, be well fulfilled.

An easy readable book, of good typographical execution, it ought to be welcomed by all interested in the history of the Indian Church. Rev. Fr. Daniel of

serves congratulations for this short history of his church so well presented.

P. O. MATTHAI

A STUDY OF MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS : By V. S. Bendrey. 8½ x 5½. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2, 1944. Pp. 197, (exclusive of foreword and preface). Price Rs. 7.

It is a useful work that V. S. Bendrey has done by sorting out, summarising and arranging chronologically the inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1907-1938). It is divided into two parts, of which the utility of the second part, (being the summary of the inscriptions) would hardly be questioned by anybody but whether the first portion containing the author's whimsical and rambling discussion on sundry points connected with the study of inscriptions, e.g., location, dates and dating, transcriptions and transliteration, names and titles, translation, kinds and nature, application of evidence, would be of guidance and use to the reader, is doubtful.

From the notice of works mentioned under the author's name at the end of the book, it is evident that the author's study ranges over a very wide field from *Raja Ram Charitam* to *Dandanitiprakaranam*, shorthand and stenography. This diversity of interests and sweep across various fields of study probably account for the lack of coherence, clarity and precision of language in his windy introduction which covers 92 pages. There is no need to say anything about the author's quaint idiom and style after the remarks made in *J.R.A.S.* of 1945, but suggestion to cut down the first portion and recast it thoroughly in the second edition with the help of scholars like Mr. P. K. Gode mentioned in the preface is gratuitously offered.

N. B. Roy

EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY : By Paul Lafargue. Published by Sreekali Prakashalaya, 14-B Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is an Indian reprint of Lafargue's famous work on private property. In it, Lafargue shows how property actually arose from a state of primitive communism, how its forms have gradually changed from ownership of chattels to feudalism, from feudalism to capitalism, which has destroyed the crude and simple communism of the early times. Lafargue argues that in spite of this apparent victory of capitalism over communism, the former contains in itself the germ of the latter and the inevitable tendency is towards an international communism. He asserts that communism exists in a latent form in the bourgeois society and that unforeseen circumstances will cause it burst forth for re-instatement as the inevitable form of the future society. The book is one of the classics of the socialist literature of the world. The publishers deserve thanks for bringing out an Indian edition of this valuable work on social science.

D. BURMAN

LIFE OF W. C. BONNERJEE : By Miss Sadhana Bonnerjee, 66, Lansdowne Road, Calcutta.

The life of W. C. Bonnerjee, first President of the Indian National Congress is of special interest to every Indian. Miss Bonnerjee, a grand-daughter of the first President, has done a service by bringing out a handy volume on the occasion of the first birthday centenary celebration of this great man. W. C. Bonnerjee was born in the year 1844 and died in 1906 in London where he settled after having retired from practice at the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Bonnerjee sacrificed a good deal of his time and money for the cause of the Indian National Congress at its earliest stage. As an eminent lawyer, he occupied a place in the Bar, which no one

before him had occupied. He was the first representative of the Calcutta University at the Legislative Council (1894-96). In the words of Gokhale, "In a self-governing country, he would, without doubt, have attained the position of Prime Minister." He presided over the Indian National Congress twice—in 1885 and 1892—and thus received the highest honours from his countrymen. Dr. Kalidas Nag has written a preface to the book.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

RAY RAMANANDER BHANITA-YUKTA PADA-VALI : Edited by Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, Lecturer, Calcutta University. To be had of Messrs. Sen, Ray & Co., 16, College Square, Calcutta. 1952 B.S. Pp. 26 + 66. Price Rs. 2.

Ray Ramananda is a famous name in Bengali Vaishnava literature. He was a minister of State of Prataparudra Gajapati of Orissa. He had become an intimate companion and devoted follower of Chaitanya in his later days. Ramananda was a good scholar and critic of music and dramatic art. He was the author of a Sanskrit drama; a Brajabuli poem by him is quoted in Krishnadas Kaviraja's biography of Chaitanya. The poems published by Mr. Sen narrate Krishna's daily activity in Vrja. The story narrated closely follows the *Govindaslamrita* of Krishnadas Kaviraj. It is quite true that such *Dandamika Lila* was known before Krishnadas. Still it cannot be gainsaid that some poems at least definitely presuppose Kaviraja's work (e.g., vide, p. 11). Mr. Sen in his learned Introduction has attempted to show that there is nothing in the poems that precludes the authorship of Ramananda Ray. But somehow the tone and the style is not old enough. The poems are written in Bengali and show quite a number of Oriya forms and inflections. They were written by an Oriya who knew Bengali thoroughly well or by a Bengali from Bengal-Orissa border. For aught we know Ramananda Ray was a Bengali. We know that two of his grand-nephews, Nityananda and Manohara, had settled in Radha when they had lost their lands in Orissa. It may be presumed that Ramananda's father Bhavananda originally hailed from Bengal.

The Sahajiyas or esoteric Vaisnavas utilized the name of Ray Ramananda in furtherance of their creed, as they did with the names of Vidyapati and Chandidas. I have in my possession a small Sahajiya tract bearing the name of Ramananda Ray as the author.

Mr. Sen has done good services to the medieval Vaisnava literature by editing and publishing this interesting little volume. The glossary of selected words appended at the end will be helpful in understanding the text.

SUKUMAR SEN

RAJNARAYAN BOSE : By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. *Sahitya-Sadhak-Charitamala* 49. Published by Ramkamal Sinha, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 243/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pages, crown 16 mo. 1-112. Price twelve annas.

Rajnarayan Bose was a great son of Bengal. He was a man of ideas and ceaseless activities. His contributions to the life and culture of Bengal in the nineteenth century were manifold and important, though not widely known and remembered. He was one of the pioneers who tried to infuse among the people of the country a spirit of nationalism in every sphere of life. Mr. Bagal who was made a special study of Bengali life of this period has given an interesting and valuable account of the work done by Mr. Bose in different fields—educational, literary, social and religious.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

JEEVAN KE TATTWA AUR KAVYA KE SIDDHANTA : By Lokashminarayan Sudhanshu. Yoganara Sahitya Mandir, Bhagalpur City. Pp. 387. Price Rs. 3.

Life is poetry. But, is poetry also life? The author of the book, under review, has attempted an answer to this poser. It is an intriguing analysis of what is, more or less, not amenable usually to any analysis; namely, the source and spirit of poetry, or, for the matter of that, of all art. In ten chapters he has lifted the veil over this great mystery and explained critically and comprehensively as far as possible the several stages, interesting between the artist's experience or intuition of the pith of the panorama or poetry of life and its being clothed into such a style of expression as conveys delight to oneself as well as to others and through the window of that delight lets in the light of truth. The last chapter is an interpretation of the spirit and style of the poetry of some of the leading modern Hindi poets. The author has achieved, indeed, a difficult task in a praiseworthy manner. His book has filled up a great and gaping void in critical literature in Hindi.

G. M.

RASHTRABHASHA KI SAMASYA AUR HINDU-STANI ANDOLAN : By Ravishankar Shukla. Published by Ganga Granthagar, Lucknow. Pp. 248 + 46. Price Rs. 2-8.

The growing vehemence of the demand *Quit India* in India's political field is being synchronised with a similar cry of 'Quit English' in the field of languages. Most of us are one that English should be replaced as a common or inter-provincial language by a language of our own. But few agree as to what should be the nature and form of our language, the *Lingua-Indica*. Till recently Hindi has enjoyed the unique privilege of being called and propagated as *Rashtrabhasha*. Its claim to this position has been indisputable looking at the vast tracts of the country in which it has been read, written and spoken. The number of people speaking Hindi or some form of it has been the greatest in comparison to any other single language-group. But since the inception of the appeasement policy of the Congress under the guidance and inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, a move has been afoot to give concessions to the Muslims even in the field of language. But Gandhiji's advocacy of Hindustani, which is the direct result of this tendency, has gone a long way to confuse matters rather than simplify them. The type of Hindustani he advocates and presses for adoption as *Lingua-Indica* is not accepted by the Hindi-writers nor by those of the Urdu.

The book under review exhaustively surveys the whole field of the language question and suitably supports the cause and case of Hindi. But where the advocacy of Hindi has been a little more anxious than scientific, the criticism of Hindustani and its supporters has been somewhat overdone. Yet the book contains a lot of information for the general reader.

M. S. SENGAR

MARATHI

AMCHEEN AKRA VARSHEN : By Leela Patwardhan. Published by Y. G. Joshi, Poona 2. Price Rs. 4.

The name of 'Madhav Julian' otherwise known as Prof. M. T. Patwardhan is one to conjure with in the world of modern Marathi letters. He was a poet of rare merit as also a literary critic. His wife, Mrs. Leela Patwardhan, has described his domestic life with quite intimate, humorous touches in this book covering their married life of eleven years. It makes quite absorbing reading for all who are acquainted with the late poet-critic's literary and intellectual achievements. Some of his idiosyncracies and eccentricities also make amusing

reading, because in a man of his calibre the reader in a tolerant frame of mind.

PALAKANSATHI (four booklets) : By Mrs. Tarabai Modak, M.L.A. Published by Padma Publication Pherozeshah Mehta Road, Bombay. Prices ten annas twelve annas, Re. 1-8 and Re. 1-4.

In these four booklets an experienced woman teacher of Maharashtra has packed practical instructions for the edification of parents and guardians. Replies to questions like why children are quite often obdurate, why they become turbulent, how even the have pride and self-respect are sympathetically give with the skill of an experienced psychologist and psychiatrist.

T. V. PARVATE

KANNADA

GALGANATH : A critical estimate of the late Venkataswarao Kulkarni, pioneer novelist of Karnataka. Published by Karnataka Vidya Vardha Sangha, Dharwar. Pp. 3+69+13. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a collection of four essays written on the occasion of a symposium arranged under the auspices of Samyukta Karnataka Sangha of Bombay on 22nd April 1945. Prof. Jagirdar's preface has added to the utility of the book in that it gives a lucid exposition of Galganath's contribution to the development of Kannada. At a time when Kannadigas were oblivious of their great literary and cultural heritage Mr. Galganath appeared on the horizon and by his steadfast devotion to the muse for over three decades inspired people with a love for their language and literature. Since then his method of winning public approbation for his literary output has become a matter of envy for the reputed writers of today. The four critical essays in this book bring out the salient features of Galganath's greatness as a man of letters. Mr. V. M. Inamdar has tried to probe into the background of environmental impulses that influenced and moulded the pattern of his writings. Mr. Negur has attempted the analysis of his greatness as a writer and an individual and has ended it by saying that Galganath lived a life of dedication to the Kannada muse and self-culture. That the writings of Galganath bear the indelible imprint of indigenous Kannada life and culture is the critical verdict of Mr. Kallur. His works reveal his noble personality is the estimate given by Mr. Patil. The book like its hero appears to be small in size but is indeed great in its influence over the outlook of posterity in understanding the past. The essays are attuned to the intellectual capacity and taste of modern students of Kannada literature and are worth a perusal. The price appears to be rather disproportionately high looking to the size and utility of the book. The style of the essays is easy and limpid.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

Ghar ni Ag : By Ramanik A. Mehta. Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. 1944. Cloth bound. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 5-12.

Ever since 1886 the weekly *Gujarati* has been presenting its readers every year with a historical novel. This is the sixty-first. Its writer is familiar with all aspects of Indian history and he has chosen for his subject, the political condition of Rajputana from about 1786-87 A.D. The distrust that prevailed amongst Hindu Rulers themselves is portrayed here and it was this internecine state of affairs that led to India's downfall has been made clear by means of excerpts from various historical works. The close and wide study of the writer is shown by the Bibliography and extracts taken from documents bearing on the subject. How the Marathas and specially the Brahmin officers of the Peshwa robbed and looted their own Hindu brethren and their religious places, need not be related but the burden of the song sung by the author is their behaviour. It is graphic picture.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Need for Development of University Schools of Geography in India

Geography, as its name indicates, is the scientific study of the Earth and its inhabitants which should include not only men but animals and plants. *Science and Culture* observes :

It is this science that synthesizes the findings of other allied sciences like geology (structure of the Earth's crust), pedology (science of soil) and hydrology (study of water) to provide us with a clear picture of our present and potential resources of all kinds and also tells us how best the country's resources could be utilized and conserved in the national interest. India is on the threshold of revolutionary changes, and in order to build up a new India, a prosperous India, it is essential to have a clear picture of the elements which form the different geographic environments in different parts of the country.

The concept of regionalism is a distinct contribution of geographers. For example, the block of land surface which covers Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Assam, with its rich deposits of coal and metallic minerals, possesses a distinct regional personality, and hence its economic development should be planned conjointly in spite of artificial division into provinces. In India, we have through ages, and even in modern times, failed to realize the importance of regionalism in our national life with the result that the growing ideas of Indian nationhood show signs of early disruption due to the cancerous growth of feelings of provincialism and communalism. If this is allowed to grow in free India, our national progress will be crippled. This is the time to have a clear blue-print drawn up on scientific lines for a territorial re-grouping of India for administrative convenience, based on the regional concept.

In any plan of economic regeneration, geographers have distinct role to play. Geographers can help to visualize the extent and distribution of different classes of land available for different uses and can trace out the causes of low yield per acre in respect of most of our cultivated crops. For want of a proper geographical knowledge, some 70,000 square miles of arable land (nearly forty-five million acres) still remain to be brought under the plough in India. In a country like India where over 70 per cent of the population get their living from agriculture, these are vital problems.

Geographers will also be useful in drawing up plans for the rational location of industries, for the purpose of achieving maximum efficiency at a minimum social cost.

And until that is done it will be very difficult to transform India from a backward agrarian country to an important industrial country. Rivers of India blessed with abundant rainfall during the monsoon season and considerable breaks in the *thalwegs* ought to have been harnessed not only for storing water for irrigation, but also for navigation, flood prevention, and for generating cheap power both for cottage industries and large-scale industrial establishments. Very little has been done so far on these lines, and we have even failed to collect sufficient basic hydrological data relating to the topographic characteristics, and maximum,

minimum and average discharge of our rivers, a knowledge of which is the *sine qua non* of any scientific planning.

We are also losing some of our mineral resources like manganese, ilmenite at such an alarming rate that when the time will come to utilise them in national interest we may find ourselves completely bereft of our rich heritage. It is for the geographer to focus the attention of the general public to this ruthless exploitation of some of our exhaustible but irreplaceable national resources like coal which not only makes us poorer as time passes on, but also has a devastating effect on agricultural operations by giving rise to soil erosion and overburdening the drainage channels with sands and gravels.

The transport system of India also needs a thorough overhauling from the geographic point of view. In Bengal alone, thousands of miles of trunk roads which once connected all the historic towns and trade centres are today in disrepair; many a river like the Damodar and the Ajay in West Bengal or the rivers in Central Bengal, which used to carry merchandise in the past, have become unnavigable today. On the other hand, the railway system which was developed at the expense of roads and waterways hardly serves even one-third of the populated areas in most of the provinces and States, and the railway embankments in a low-lying province like Bengal have unnecessarily interfered with the natural drainage channels, causing untold sufferings to the millions who live in villages. In fact, the rivers of Bengal and people of rural Bengal were sacrificed in the star of capitalistic Mammon which brought the railways to existence, and though the Mammon has given way to State-ownership, the evil remains.

In social and political spheres we also need the help of the geographer.

In the social field, geographers have a special part to play in effecting a balance between urban and rural aspects of our national life. In the political field the geographer's job is to bring about a consciousness among the people of India about the ideal geographic position of the country in relation to the countries and seas bordering it. A specialized geo-political study on the German or American lines can reveal strength and weakness of the Indian State in relation to world powers, enabling our political leaders to plan beforehand.

India's Unity in Diversity

In every aspect, Indian national life has been, through the ages, a synthesis and an integration of different parts into a single whole. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar writes in *The New Review* :

India is a sub-continent of different races, tribes and peoples. She is a land of different religions and philosophies, different languages and dialects. She is also a land of varying climates and temperatures. But with all this diversity, there is an underlying unity in her. This unity is something wonderful, arresting, continuous and thought-provoking. This unity is a

fundamental one, a puzzle to the foreigner and a paradox to the superficial observer.

Let us first take up the geographical aspect of India.

India is a vast country stretching nearly 2,000 miles either from the north to south or from the east to the west. In spite of these huge distances, she has through the ages continued to be, a geographical unit. Encircled by impassable barriers of mountains on the North, Northwest and Northeast, and surrounded by the sea on other sides, she is a geographical unit. The common talk of the people was to regard India as one indivisible whole by the expression *a-setu himacalam* meaning from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. It has been well known in Hindu literature as *Bharatavarsha* and *Bharatakhanda*. Even today in the Hindu *sanskritas* which are preliminary to our rituals of various kinds, we describe a geography of India, beginning with *Bharatavarsha* and *Bharatakhanda*.

In addition to these, the mountain systems, the river systems, and the position of towns and cities went to give a finish to the geographical unity which was already there in relief. The Hindus speak of important hill-ranges as *Kulaparvatas*. The Himalayas, the Vindhya, the Malaya Hills among others were great mountains to which the whole nation paid reverential homage.

Besides the great hills, the majestic rivers of India have their tale to tell in rousing a national conception of the whole motherland. The Vedic Indian burst into patriotic fervour when he sent forth his prayer to the rivers of India of which he had a knowledge. In the post-Vedic period it was the common prayer of the Hindu bather, whether of the south or north, wherever he bathed whether in a river, a tank or well to invoke the great rivers of India to be present at the bathing place so as to attain purity physical and mental. The well-known verse invoked is

Gange ca Jamune caiva Godavari Saraswati

Narmada Sindhu Kaveri Jalasin Samidhin Kurh

The southerner wanted very much to go to Benares and have a dip in the sacred Ganges or the still more sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. In the same way a religious spirit pervaded the northerner to visit Rameswaram and Kanyakumari in the southernmost part of India. The Kaveri was the noblest of rivers.

A critical study of India's history bears full evidence to the fact that India was not only a good geographical but also a political entity.

India realised a democratic form of government from the very earliest times.

That the Vedic king was no arbitrary ruler is proved by numerous facts—his election to the throne by the people, the oath at his succession to the throne and the advice and guidance he received from the Samiti, the popular assembly. The Sabha which is said to be a sister of the Samiti was another popular assembly which had judicial and other functions to perform. It is said that the Vedic king went to the Samiti and Sabha for consultation and deliberation. It may be noted in passing that these two assemblies were presided over by a President, a man of unique ability and character. Possibly he was a non-official president.

The same state of affairs continued in an advanced state in the epic age. The Sabha and other popular assemblies continued. The political institutions had much developed and we hear of a cabinet in which the major communities were represented.

In that age there was also a new departure in the political evolution. This was the republican form of government inaugurated and worked with signal success.

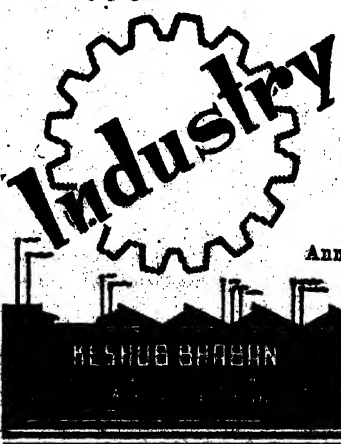
Fortunately for us the Buddhist books have preserved the detailed working of the different republics in ancient India. Among them the Licchavi republic seems to have been very ancient and this constitution appealed to the Buddha so much that he introduced that organisation in his religious Sangha and at the same time encouraged these political republics, laying stress on full assemblies to be convoked frequently and to vote nothing that went against the established usages and conventions. Most interesting in this connection is the procedure. Each assembly had its hall and voting was secretly done on pieces of wood, and there was a polling officer.

In the assembly there were the President and the reporters who had to record the actual speeches. When a resolution was moved and seconded, it went through as many as four readings before it was finally passed by the House. Though voting was in vogue, there was no party vote.

The Vedic literature is full of the descriptions of ceremonials connected with the *Asvamedha* sacrifice.

This *Asvamedha* sacrifice was a political sacrifice which could be performed only by that person who could claim all-India overlordship. In the epic period Rama, son of Dasaratha, and King of Ayodhya offered it, as also Yudhisthira, the Pandava, after the great Mahabharata war. The king of Ayodhya carried his arms to the Deccan and South India, conquered the king of Ceylon owing to his misbehaviour, and esta-

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established his overlordship from the Himalayas to Ceylon. This was also the case with Yudhishtira after the victory in the war at Kurukshetra. The political unification of all India was an accomplished fact in the time of the Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

The monarchy as a form of government gained strength. It became a constitutional monarchy where the king should rule the land as a father would behave towards his children; he was *Chakravarti*, meaning an emperor. He was guided by checks, like the *paira* or citizen assembly and the *janapada* or the assembly representing the interests of rural parts. Hence the whole of India was politically known by the technical term *Chakravartikshetram*, as is definitely seen in the *Kautilya Arthashastra*. This was the idea underlying the very significant passage in the Ramayana put into the mouth of Rama speaking to Vali: *Ikaavakuntam iyam bhums sa-saila-vana-kamana*.

Thus Rama claims an all-India overlordship and justifies thereby his punishing all with death. It includes the whole of India with its mountains, forests and plains. In the passage in the *Arthashastra* (9th Ch.) the term is *Tiryakchakravartikshetram* or the country that stretches between the Himalayas and the Ocean. This is India proper, *tiryak* apparently denotes east to west.

The concept of an all-India empire and consequently the political unity of India is envisaged by the *Arthashastra*.

In the historical period the first all-India empire was under the Nandas, then were the empires of the Mauryas, the Sungas, and the Guptas. Chandragupta Maurya, Asoka, Pusyamitra, Samudragupta were all imperial kings. Some of them performed *Asvamedha* sacrifice.

The Guptas were historically speaking the last imperial sovereigns of Hindu India. The latter kings attempted to perform the horse sacrifice and to wield high-sounding titles, but their sovereignty was limited to smaller areas, and no longer was India a political unit until we come to the great Mughal emperor, Akbar, and his immediate successors.

Even the hardest of critics has to admit the cultural unity underlying India's vast and varied history spreading over millenniums.

To start with, unity of culture is to a great extent based on language. There was in India one sacred language, and one sacred literature. This language was Sanskrit or Sanskrit, and the literature was the Vedas. All India paid homage to this language and this literature and zealously preserved them through the ages, carrying them literally by oral tradition from the master to the pupil. Thus the Sanskrit language and the Vedic literature led to a common mode of thinking and the growth and development of common ideas and common ideals.

Thus the unity of India, as has been already said, has its origins in ancient Hindu culture. People may speak different dialects but they attach a national significance to Sanskrit as the sacred language and attach divinity to the huge mass of Vedic literature.

Hindu life is regulated by the injunctions laid down in this literature.

The singleness of the mother country was stressed by the distribution of rivers, mountains and sacred places of pilgrimage. The distribution of these centres was arranged in such a way that one's purpose in life was not complete if one had not visited them, worshipped at their shrines and bathed in their river ghats. Religion proved the surest way to the goal of national unity. The pilgrim felt that to whatever place he went, it was truly his home.

In this land, centuries back was sung the soul-stirring line:

Janani Janmabhumiha Svargadapi Garibha
(Mother and motherland are greater than heaven).

The conception that society is an organism in which the various functional groups are the limbs was well realized in ancient India. One group actually supports and supplements the other groups and by so doing helps all the groups to visualise a fundamental unity within diversity. The society was built then on a religious foundation of mutual aid, mutual understanding and mutual advantage. If men had not lived as brothers and if men of higher castes had always treated the lower castes with inhumanity and cruelty as is being pictured today, civil wars would have overtaken this vast land and left black pages in her history. The absence of these shows that peace and contentment and the consequent prosperity generally reigned in the land.

Whether religion instilled patriotism into Indian minds or patriotism got itself refined into religion, the fact is that both operated in such a way as to bring about one mode of thought and one form of life among the masses.

There were other factors of equal importance which brought together the diverse communities for common purposes stimulated by common ideals. There were the national festivals, national forms of entertainment as reflected in the music and dancing.

Again music and dancing had their religious touch apart from the secular. It is the divine music of Lord Krishna that enchanted the then Indian world with beaming love, while the eternal dance of Siva as Nataraja sent a thrill from the Himalayan Kailasa to South Indian Chidambaram, filling one and all with fervent devotion.

This takes us to examine another aspect of Indian civilisation, the marvel and glory of India's heritage, viz., architecture and sculpture. The majority of classical ruins are concerned with carving in stone the incidents of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, besides the legends transmitted in the Puranas. One finds on the different panels of the huge temples, on their walls and gopurams, the national heroes and their heroic deeds sculptured. The mute monuments of India bear witness to the solidarity of an Indian nation. Royal craftsmen of Magadha and the master craftsmen of all India joined together in erecting huge edifices scattered from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Our builders did not lose their individuality as a nation, even when they left for alien countries in search of territory and settlement for purposes of trade.

One can confidently ask whether we could have flourishing centuries of unbroken art-tradition in this

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land if we had had century-long struggles between one community and another or between the north and the south, if we had not lived by common consent, and if we had no political unity.

Thwarting Nature

Vaikuntha L. Mehta writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

At the last meeting of the Governing Body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research approval seems to have been accorded to schemes for the introduction of power farming and for an extension of the use of tractors for purposes of cultivation. Provincial Governments have been advised to purchase and own tractors for being leased to cultivators. Before any such step is taken it is to be hoped that these Governments will examine the economics of tractor cultivation in general and for its suitability to Indian conditions in particular. When they do so they may well ponder over the observations contained in Sir Albert Howard's *An Agricultural Testament*, the fourth impression of which has been published lately. According to him, it is doubtful in the first place, whether ordinarily the turning over of the soil of the type which tractor ploughing involves is helpful to the soil in preserving its fertility. The urine and the dung that the plough animals yield are invaluable constituents of the farmyard manure which, more than any other single factor, is essential for keeping the fertility of the soil. Besides, as he puts it, if we speed up growth we must accelerate decay.

In recent discussions on agricultural improvement, the experts, official and non-official, set much store by

the use of chemical fertilisers. Sir Albert Howard's thesis is that the application of artificial aids to production impairs the fertility of the soil, which can be retained only by ensuring conditions in which humus flourishes. Nature has ordained that the soil must live and the mycorrhizal association must be an essential link in plant nutrition.

Renewal of humus in the soil is ensured by the adoption of methods of cultivation such as those in vogue in China and India which supply to the soil the dung and the urine of plough cattle and enable large quantities of farmyard manure to be collected without much trouble and cost.

With the spread of artificial and the exhaustion of the original supplies of humus carried by every fertile soil, there has been a corresponding increase in the diseases of the crops and of the animals which feed on them.

Equally emphatic is Sir Albert Howard in his condemnation of the artificial methods employed lately in processing and preserving foods and fruits. The Food Department of the Central Government seems to contemplate the encouragement by the State of industries for food processing and the preservation of fruits and vegetables. By dehydration, canning, and resort to similar methods, food may be preserved for a time but none pauses to inquire what the effect of the use of these foods is on the life of the community over a long period. The use of white bread, canned fruit, tinned salmon, dried milk—all sophisticated foods—creates conditions which lead to infant mortality and general debility such as can be countered only by reversion to the right kind of food—natural, fresh, home-grown and hand-processed.

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Teachers on Strike

The New Review observes:

Thousands of teachers are on strike, and many more thousands are threatening to join them. The case is symptomatic of post-war maladjustment. Yet the case should not be judged according to the ordinary rules. Usually strikes affect producers of commodities, employers and employees; here the conflict engages not only teachers and school authorities, but it directly affects the pupils who are like an innocent third party, and who have all the rights of little human persons even when they are not vociferous about their right to schooling. Their right is voiced and protected by their parents. There exists a contract between parents and school authorities, a contract directly related to the pupils; there is then a second contract between school authorities and teachers. A breach of the second contract directly affects the first, and implies damage to a third party, which complicates all strike or lock-out issues.

In the present strikes, it is difficult to say which is more surprising, the long suffering patience of the teachers or the apathy of parents and their elected representatives. Nothing can tell how low we have fallen more than the miserable pay of many full-time teachers. Rs. 15 a month, to be, in a supreme effort of social sense, raised to a magnanimous Rs. 20! And the rise is granted without apology. Have the Government, the municipalities, the school authorities, the parents lost all sense of justice and decency?

A little arithmetic will go a long way to stir our social conscience, and show how far we have to proceed if we want to give our teachers the minimum family wage which is their right. In India the normal family counts five members among which we may assume one is an infant so that family resources must meet the requirements of four adults. The consumption of rice per head per month easily reaches 20 seers, so that this sole item of food amounts to 80 seers a month. Where are we going to get that amount for Rs. 15? The expenditure on other staple food would hardly differ. Now from many studies on family-budgets, it may be taken that the total expenditure for families just above the poverty-line is more than double their expenditure on foodstuffs. In short the minimum just family wage should be made to cover the costs of more than 160 seers of rice.

This method of calculating the minimum wage by doubling the cost of foodstuffs to the employees gives an approximation remaining below what we believe to be the human standard of life and may help us to revise the salaries and wages of all who are in our employ. It should be especially welcome by those who now the Papal Encyclicals by heart but feel shy of attempting to give them an arithmetical application. Our estimate of what real minimum wages should be approximates the standard put forth by Mr. Frank Anthony during the discussion of the last Railway Budget in the Central Assembly; he claimed Rs. 60 as the lowest wage on railways and suggested that this could be fair basis for wages all over India. The Railway member countered with the objection that the railways could not afford that amount; the objection will be repeated all round and is probably valid in many cases. It does not dispense authorities from studying a fair redistribution of the national income on behalf of teachers and others. If the Central Government, for instance, did not need the Excess Profit Tax, could they not have changed it into a Primary Education Tax on behalf of our famished teachers?

And to the teachers, we can only say: 'Have due regard for the school kids, and mind your own; do not rest until you reach Rs. 60 a month. Those who can't pay you that much owe you an apology and . . . moral expenses.'

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The Poet Iqbal—Indian

In an article in *The Aryan Path*, Gurdial Mallik writes of one of the greatest of India's modern sons whose death anniversary falls on the 21st of April. Iqbal was a lover of his country as well as of the Divine. A poet, a philosopher, an ardent Muslim, Sir Muhammad Iqbal was also an Indian patriot:

Over half a century ago, at Lahore, at a poetic symposium where poets, probationers as well as past-masters, had foregathered to recite their respective compositions, there was enacted a scene which has been preserved in the memory of the public. After the programme had been well-nigh concluded there sprang to his feet a stripling of hardly twenty summers, who had been seated among the audience. And in a voice that was resonant and with a face wreathed in radiance, he burst forth in an Urdu couplet that, rendered into English, would read:

*The drops from my tears of repentance were
picked up by divine grace
And regarded as pearls.*

All looked up in utter amazement. The eyes of not a few were wet with tears. But one, advanced in age, experience and aspiration, went over to where the young man stood, stroked his head in token of blessing and said to him, "My lad, you are a poet in the true Indian tradition."

It is a thousand pities, indeed, that Muhammad Iqbal—for the youth who had startled the audience at the poetic symposium was none other than he—should have had the Indian aspect of his poetic genius and personality placed in the background, for several years past, by quite a larger number of his admirers who have represented him as the parent of Pakistan.

This essay aims at emphasising the Indian-ness of Iqbal.

An Indian, whether a pedlar of wealth or of wisdom or a poet who wings his way through life on visions, is a person who has, deep down in his consciousness, a strong sense of his oneness with all life: more concretely, with his fellow-men. He rejects racialism, religiosity and ritual which impede the unfoldment of this oneness in his ideals and activities. And so sings Iqbal:

*He who will make distinctions of colour and
blood will perish—
He may be a nomadic Turk or a pedigreed
Arab.*

Again, in his song which has come to occupy the honoured place of our national anthem:

We are Indians.

India is our country.

Religion never preaches mutual animosity.

In world-wide fellowship lies the secret of human fulfilment and freedom.

The arch-enemy that stands in the way of the individual's association with or affection for all is his instinct of separateness in the name of self-preservation. It is this which assumes in the aggregate the nature of nationalism. And nationalism gives birth, before long, to a brood of barrier-building creeds like churchianity or untouchability and predoses like the colour-bar or race-superiority. What is, then, an antidote to this engineered antipathy between man and man? It is the sovereign solvent of Love:

*If you realise it, the secret of freedom lies
in love,
And slavery is the result of distinguishing one
from another.*

It is because the West, he thought, had set up a shop, so to speak, for selling the counterfeits of love—for her many "isms" in politics, economics and ethics have often resulted in the breach, if not the abrogation, of the law of mutual aid and aspiration—that he warned her, long ago, that her civilisation would commit suicide one day, with the very weapons which she had invented for conquest and carnage. And today, as we survey the scene around us, our eyes can read the writing on the wall.

Now love is a creative principle as well as a power. It is at once daemonic and dynamic.

It is ever a secret, because the source whence it emanates and on which it draws in its work of self-integration, is beyond the intellect of mortal man. It is like the tree, the roots of which are enveloped in invisibility; one can see only the foliage, the flowers and the fruit.

In the heart of love there dwells the desire to bind itself to another, be this other a person's *alter ego*, or his community, his church or his country.

*When an individual attaches himself with a
group,*

*The drop in its quest for expansion becomes
an ocean.*

And it is to clothe and consummate this self-prompted, self-imposed "bondage" into beauty that man craves to create art, literature and other vehicles of his self-development. If Nature is God's art-gallery, man likes to match it with one of his own. For, love can be made luminous only through the script and symphony of joy "in widest commonality spread." In the measure in which man is creative, he is a son of God.

*One who does not possess creative power,
To us is naught, but an infidel and a heretic.
Thou didst create night and I made the lamp.
Thou didst create clay and I made the cup.*

The bestitude of the individual is his uniqueness. His being King in his own right is his greatest glory.

*Do not demean your personality by imitation,
Preserve it as it is a priceless jewel.*

Love is like the bird's unquenchable longing for flight, away from its limited nest on earth into the illimitable empyrean above. For it, self-sufficiency is death, as stagnation is death for the stream which is ever speeding to meet the sea.

*Life is naught but a love for flight,
A nest is not the place for it.*

In the syllogism of the Spirit, love and life become convertible terms.

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What makes the former fallacious is a derogation or denial of the latter. Truly did the Teacher of Nazareth say, "God is Love" and "Love is God." It is in the integrity of this spiritual equation that man can claim his kinship with the Creator of the Universe. And usually what cancels out this equation is fear in one of its myriad forms, from abasement to awe. What is permissible, perhaps, is "fear of God," in the sense of man's awe of Him, induced by one's intuitive, emotional or intellectual conception of His existence and attributes.

Fear of anybody except God is inimical to action.

It is a robber of the caravan of life.

And it is in the context of this comprehension that even death loses its sting of suffering, or of self-effacement for man. He can smile at its approach and eventuation, for he knows, through his luminous love for God, that every time he dies, physically or figuratively, he is being drawn nearer and nearer to his lasting faith and fulfilment in Him, the Ever-present Eternal. Death, in other words, is to him a call to pledge himself to God and say to Him, "I am ever Thine, Thine for ever and for ever."

I tell you, the sign of a super-man :

When death comes there is a smile on his lips.

And if the last utterance of a man, before he passes out of the body, be any correct clue to his heart's ultimate yearning—as they say it is—then there is no doubt that the strongest undercurrent of Iqbal's self-expression was a seeking after the Supreme Reality. For, it was the winged Word of the ages, "God," that was on his lips as he breathed his farewell to the world in April, 1938.

Thus in his outlook on life, as in his attitude, Iqbal was an Indian in the long line of this country's lovers of God. These have all along set greater store by the transmuting touch of divine grace than by their energy or the achievement of their own exertions. And yet their dependence on that grace has not been akin to that of a slave on his master, but similar to child's love-dictated dependence on his parents. Further, this dependence is of a dynamic type, because Love is an active incentive and inspiration, as it is also aspiration.

*Be a lover constant in devotion to the beloved,
That thou may'st cast thy noose and capture God.*

Iqbal's ceaseless search was for the Super-man, the Divine Man, the man in whom the beauty of love and the love of beauty shine forth in all their splendour.

It is the quest of the Brahmin for Brahma. (Was it in this spirit that he once referred to himself as "a man of Brahmin extraction, versed in the mystic knowledge of Rumi and Tabriz?") *Apropos* of this, and to conclude, the story (a favourite of Iqbal's and one rendered by him poetically) of the Master with a lantern, roaming everywhere in search of Man may be succinctly told :

The Master said, "I am tired of devil and beast. I desire a man."

"He is nowhere to be found," they replied.

He said, "A thing that is not to be found—that is what I desire."



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Wells and Shaw : Two Independent Socialists

Victor S. Yarros writes in *Untty* :

Several Anglo-Saxon and American generations have been molded and guided, to a very considerable degree, by Herbert G. Wells, novelist, radical social thinker, and independent Socialist, and by George Bernard Shaw, brilliant, paradoxical, indefatigable playwright, critic, essayist, and independent Fabian Socialist. Neither of these gifted, influential and famous reformers can be claimed by any party, faction, or school. Both have had, and have preached, ideas of their own. Both have freely, sometimes aggressively, criticized their respective comrades and co-workers. Both, however, have done much to promote the evolutionary Socialist movement. We owe them much, but we cannot blink at their weaknesses and aberrations. Both have posed as sober realists, and both have indulged in Utopian dreaming and erratic philosophizing.

Wells has assailed Marxian Socialism bitterly and savagely. Lenin called him, contemptuously, "a little bourgeois." Wells has also ridiculed the Fabian leaders; he has railed at their timidity and dread of insecurity and of danger of social disorder and strife. They are mostly, he pointed out, civil servants, living on small but regular salaries and expecting pensions in old age. Such men—shy, nervous—according to Wells, do not shake the world, do not lead or inspire masses of disinherited and discontented victims of privilege and injustice.

But, while Wells has been a champion of radical changes, of internationalism, of world-government, of thoroughgoing economic democracy, he has never had clear, definite opinions regarding the means, processes, machinery, and type of leadership and generalship required to effectuate the necessary and desirable reforms in economic, political, and social relations. From the people he has said frankly, we can expect no help whatever, since they are too ignorant, too unstable, too gullible, too unreliable.

The truth is, Wells is not a genuine democrat. His own humble birth appears to have given him an inferiority complex, and he admires the British aristocracy while rationalizing his feeling by assuring himself that it is the aristocracy of intellect, nobility, and service that he cherishes, not the actual aristocracy of Britain.

How, then, would Wells transform and elevate the society he condemns, and to what groups does he look for effective leadership? He has at different periods had different notions. At one time he counted upon the engineers, technicians, and industrial managers who—he thought with Veblen—are not interested in the profit motive, have no low ambition, do not worship success, believe in efficiency of the right kind, and might undertake the reconstruction of the present system for the good of the whole community. He was not long in discarding this hope or expectation. At another time he was disposed to think that elderly and prosperous men of affairs, experienced and broad-minded executives,

when contemplating retirement, would resolve to turn over their plants to co-operatives formed by their employees, and rejoice in the opportunity thus granted them of conferring great benefits on faithful employees without sacrificing anything worthy or important. The actual example of an Irish industrialist and peer suggested this solution to Wells, as he subsequently disclosed. But he soon realized that very few men of affairs are at all likely to follow the example of the altruistic and enlightened peer. Finally, Wells reached the conclusion that only in the most liberal and humane kind of education, would social salvation ultimately be found. The race, he has said many times, "is between education and catastrophe," and there is little time to be lost. But now, in his old age and rapidly declining health, Wells has despaired of humanity, and is extremely pessimistic. The atomic bomb spells the end of civilization, he thinks, and all he now recommends is stoicism and resignation. Like Tolstoy, perhaps, he would prescribe universal suicide for the wretched, irredeemable human race.

Wells may not be long remembered as a novelist, as he fully realizes. Yet he has written several very remarkable novels: *Tono-Bungay*, *Ann Veronica*, *The World of William Clissold*, and others. In these he has expounded his personal views on society, education, government, the economic system, theology, history, letters, and the ignorant treatment of sex in modern pseudo-Christian civilizations. Many of his specific opinions are as sound as they are vigorously expressed. In fact, his vitality and literary power are extraordinary. He is better as an analyst, a dissector, a challenger and agitator, a destroyer of conventions and superstitions than as a positive and constructive philosopher. There can be no doubt, though, that he has won many converts to Socialism and rationalism.

George Bernard Shaw, another prolific and amazingly versatile writer and thinker, has always been a law unto himself. He has been a sort of *enfant terrible* of

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the radical reform movement. A co-founder of the Fabian school he has never been a consistent Fabian. He disagreed with some of their beliefs. For example, he has insisted, until lately, upon equality of incomes under Socialism. That is Communism, not Fabian Socialism. In recent years, he has advocated the abolition of gross and scandalous inequalities in income only. His new "practical" test is the possibility or likelihood of intermarriage between classes. The very rich and the poor do not intermarry, he says, and that separation is fatal to intellectual and moral progress, prevents eugenic mating, creates deep class antagonisms. Few Fabians share this view.

Shaw has been for several decades an earnest Socialist, but he has not made many converts. He is too whimsical, too erratic. He has even found merit in Mussolini and Fascism, because these "have done things." He has denounced Parliament and government by discussion because these institutions are slow, uncertain, incapable of dealing energetically with emergencies. He has, by implication, favored dictatorships. He has often played the part of a clown: His extravagances and exaggerations have made people smile or laugh, but he has paid a penalty—he has not been taken seriously.

Even in his perfectly sober moods, Shaw has, as he confesses, "habitually and deliberately overstated [his] case." This, in essays or books meant to be persuasive, is invariably detrimental. Shaw is a keen economist, and no one has written on rent and interest more profoundly than he, but he spoils his argument by lapses into eccentricity and caricature. Wit is not enough. The propagandist of new ideas must never forget the role of good sense in controversy. Shaw has often outraged common sense—especially in his treatment of the first World War. He cannot resist the temptation to bewilder and shock the middle class and the politicians.

As a playwright, Shaw has been uniquely successful. Several of his comedies—drama he cannot manage—are a permanent feature of the world's theatrical repertory. His *Candida*, *Pygmalion*, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, and others, are delightful and flawless. Some are dated rather badly, and others have been too verbose and "talky" to hold audiences. Max Beerbohm called his plays Platonic dialogues. In his plays Shaw never preaches sermons. Where a social moral is discernible, it is not obtrusive or obvious. Shaw cannot be vulgar or coarse. He has never offended against civilized taste. He is essentially a Puritan. He is not a Christian, but his ideas on religion are conservative. He refuses to put the Agnostic label on himself. He believes in the "Life Force," another name for vitalism. He says he is too old to examine critically the newer religious concepts. About his attitude toward marriage and the family there is nothing heterodox or unconventional. He has had no sympathy with the fads and fancies of the recent art schools. He has been a sound critic of music and the drama, and a penetrating one. But his interpretation of the Wagner Ring of the Nibelungen is fantastic and little short of absurd. He thinks it is a Socialist tract, an indictment of capitalism, greed, and commercialism. Few musicians or writers agree with him in this odd notion.

Certainly the Nazis did not agree!

Shaw's dislike of the United States, repeatedly proclaimed without rhyme or reason, is a striking illustration of sheer "crankiness." He finally condescended, after much coaxing by American admirers, to "stop over" in New York for one day and deliver one address, in belated acknowledgment, as he said, of his profound debt to Henry George, the single taxer, whose book *Progress and Poverty*, it appears, first opened Shaw's eyes to the iniquity of land monopoly and the

imperative necessity of getting rid of it as the principal obstacle to human advancement. Now, Shaw never adopted Henry George's theory, never advocated the single tax on rent, never shared George's objections to Socialism. He read George, but he joined the Fabian Society, with which George had no sympathy whatever. Decidedly, here is a double paradox, typically Shawian. But Shaw has boasted of his independence of, and superiority to, logic. What his substitute for logic is, we have not been told. It is not common sense. He has so puzzled and irritated people that many have doubted his intellectual integrity and have just declined to take him seriously on any question. This is a pity, but he has no one but himself to blame. The radical reform movement can use satire, irony, humor, invective, in addition to sober argument, but it is not aided by trifling and clowning. Shaw complains that no one has really understood him. Has he understood himself?

Both Wells and Shaw have bemoaned the brevity of the human span of life. Both think that they have not said all they have to say and would like to say to mankind. Oh, if they only could have another quarter of a century! But, as a matter of fact, they have been merely repeating themselves in recent years. They have nothing to add to their respective instructions and injunctions. We are grateful to them, but they will not be missed by many forward-looking people. "They have passed into history."

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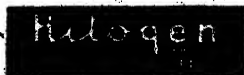
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NOTES.

On the Threshold

India is at the cross-roads. We are now at a period of our history when the utmost of realism and deliberation is called for. The question before us is, "Are we prepared for freedom or are we not?" This is no time to indulge in the fineries of the quibbling legal mind—which has brought more lasting sorrows on mankind than any plague—rather it is the time for taking stock of our resources, mental, physical and material. Responsibilities are about to devolve on us, the like of which we have not been accustomed to shoulder for centuries past, though it is true that it was not so because of our own volition. Are we ready with our plans for the Army, the Navy, the Airforce, and other warlike means of defence; the tariff barriers for halting the economic aggression of International finance with its cartels and mergers; the plans and blue-prints of a programme by which this country can march forward without getting involved into internal or external strife; the extensive and exceedingly complex organisation of international politics and diplomacy necessary for maintaining foreign relations, and so on and so forth? In short, are we prepared to lift our gaze beyond the narrow limits—mostly provincial or communal—to which it is accustomed?

Take the case of the armed forces, for example. What are our plans for controlling, directing and maintaining a standing army, very many divisions in strength with the exceedingly complicated machinery for continuous training and limitless adaptation of latest technique and the latest arms to keep the fighting forces up-to-date. The Science of War means Specialists for every branch and a highly trained General staff composed mainly of tried veterans. And the same is true of the Navy and the Air-force. There is no shortage, it is true, of staunch and intelligent men and officers in this country. The fighting record of the Indian army in this war has proved that to the hilt. But what about

the specialised training needed for mechanization, artillery and the manifold branches of modern warfare inclusive of higher strategy? What about the production of armament and its safe-keeping and the guarding of defence secrets?

We have had sufficient training in the matter of internal affairs and some provincial administrations under the Congress were considerable successes, but the case is quite different in the matter of foreign affairs. It is true that the coming of freedom cannot be halted by these or any other consideration, since all these would take considerable time, but is it not time to think how we are going to take over and to plan for a transition without leaving any part in *vacuo* and without causing any chaos in the affairs of the nation? That the transition period is at our door we have no doubt, despite all idle and frothy talk, for the Cabinet Mission's willingness to treat for the handing over seems to be transparently sincere to the best of our judgement and observation.

Features of the Declaration

The Cabinet Delegation's Declaration has been received in this country with mixed feelings. The Congress and the League have reserved their official views, which will be known in a few days' time. The utmost importance is, however, attached to Gandhiji's opinion on it. He was in touch with the negotiations all through and he had the best of opportunities to learn the British mind. He believes in Britain's sincerity about the proposals and thinks that the Declaration contains seeds which, if properly nursed, can transform this land of sorrow into one of prosperity and happiness. We fully agree with Gandhiji's view and believe that Indian statesmanship has been put to test. Posterity will judge how they have utilised this Great Charter for securing full freedom for 400 millions of human beings.

The Documents provide a basis for building up the constitutional system of a free and independent India. Final judgment has been pronounced on the reactionary demand for dividing India into two sovereign states. The Declaration makes it clear that Britain will enter into Treaty negotiations only with the Central Government of a United India.

The principle of MacDonald Award has also been rejected. The Constituent Assembly will be elected on a population basis, one representative for one million of the people. No weightage for any community has been proposed. The newly elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies will be the electoral colleges for the Constituent Assembly. The idea of electing the Constituent Assembly on adult franchise has been dropped in view of the fact that it will take much time to bring the Assembly into being.

The proposed Grouping of Provinces has come in for the largest measure of criticism. Some have seen in it a backdoor to Pakistan. Two things must be kept clear: the provinces have been classified into three sections for the purpose of drafting the provincial constitutions and after that is done they are free to form groups among the members of these sections only if they so choose. Belonging to the sections for the purpose of constitution-making has been said to be compulsory but it has been made quite clear that formation of Groups is absolutely voluntary. The proposal for framing of provincial constitutions in three sections has taken the realities into account but at the same time has blunted off the edge of Pakistan dagger. Had the provinces been given the power to draft their own constitutions, the Hindu and Sikh minorities in Bengal, the Punjab and Sind would have been at the mercy of the League. The separate grouping of eastern and western Muslim zones into sections have made it impossible for the League to combine these two zones under any system of administrative Group. A close study of the B and C sections will show that this device has increased Congress strength.

Adequate provision for the safeguard of the interests of smaller minorities has been made by setting up an Advisory Committee which will go in detail into all minority questions and present its report first to the Union Constituent Assembly. This full session of the Assembly will decide whether minority protection should be left to the Centre or to the Provinces and how the allocations will be made.

The question of the States has been left for future negotiations, but the fundamental issue has been made clear. The British Government has declared that paramount power will no longer remain with them, but at the same time, they do not propose to surrender it either to the Indian Government or to the States themselves. The States, therefore, cannot claim to remain as so many Ulsters in India but must join the Indian Union and become part and parcel of a United India. The details will be worked out by a Negotiating Committee.

The procedure of the Constituent Assembly has come in for some amount of criticism by the Congress. The Congress wants that in the preliminary session of the Assembly, the powers of the Union Centre should be defined. This will simplify the constitution-framing to a great extent. The powers of the Union Centre will be primarily three, *viz.*, Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications and powers to raise finance or meeting the expenses of the three. This finance power obviously

ought to be currency and tariff. If the preliminary session of the Constituent Assembly decides about this knotty problem, much complexity will be simplified. If the sovereign power of the Constituent Assembly be recognised, this alteration in the procedure of constitution-making should provide no difficulty.

The Congress had demanded Fundamental Rights and Planning as Union subjects. The proposed alteration in the procedure of constitution-making may clear up this issue. The inclusion of Fundamental Rights in the constitution itself ought to be a proper safeguard if the remedy be enforceable at law with a right of appeal to the Supreme Court. It is better to leave Planning to the Centre, and if that is not agreed upon, an Inter-provincial Planning Commission may be set up on the model of the U.S. Inter-State Commerce Commission. If eight Congress provinces push forward the recommendations of a National Planning Committee, others cannot certainly stay off.

Finally, there is the problem of an Interim Government. It has been demanded that the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly must be viewed together and not as separate entities. To this we agree. The interim Government must function as the Provisional Government with unfettered powers to guide constitution-framing. If the desire to transfer power be genuine, there ought to be little difficulty in declaring the interim Government as Provisional Government of Free India responsible to the present Central Legislature. The question of the withdrawal of British Army has, we believe, been set at rest after the last declaration of the Cabinet Mission clarifying certain issues raised by the Congress and the League President. We hope the Interim Government will come into being by the middle of June and we see ample signs for believing that both the Congress and the League joining it. The policy of going in to the wilderness should now come to a final end. The Document provides ample basis for working out the salvation of this country of ours.

International Bill of Rights

Attempts are now being made to set up an organisation for safeguarding human rights all over the globe. The United Nations Charter itself calls for universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Social Security Sub-Committee of the UNO has recently discussed this important subject. Means must now be found for mobilising the peoples of the world in the cause of human rights.

During the first World War, the American Civil Liberties Union grew up and it has flourished ever since. The union was supported by small contribution and it became famous for the law suits it conducted dramatising the sacredness of civil liberties as they are laid down by law. The Civil Liberties Union defended parties it thought to be right before the law, regardless of the popularity of the defendant. Its policy is set forth in five brief objectives:

(1) To defend civil rights by legal aid, publicit and organised protests to officials.

(2) To proceed against public officers violating these rights.

(3) To test ordinances or laws in conflict with constitutional guarantees of civil liberty.

(4) To organise protests and publicity on every significant issue of civil liberties.

(5) To promote legislation to extend civil rights and oppose legislation restricting them.

One sociologist has written that Civil Liberties Union was the only truly non-partisan impartial organisation fighting for civil liberties between the two wars. Now, however, such organisations are numerous, numerous enough to call for a congress to unify the many campaigns now being waged.

In Bengal, during the thirties, a Civil Liberties Union, supported by small individual contributions, had been established at an intense sacrifice by its promoter. It was short-lived but during its short career it was of immense service to India. It was through the efforts of this Union that the rest of India came to know of the staggering repression and ruthless suppression of civil liberties in Bengal during the revolutionary movement in this province in the thirties. It has also been proved through this valuable experiment that a Civil Liberties Union cannot flourish in a subject country.

The Cloth Shortage

The Textile Commissioner issued on May 17 a directive to the textile mills and power-loom factories ordering them to stop the production of cloth for export purposes forthwith and not to resume it till the end of July. According to the Press Note issued in this connection, the measure has been taken in order to meet domestic requirements. This makes us pessimistic about the prospects of cloth production. In all likelihood, it seems, a serious cloth crisis has come upon us. Our apprehension becomes even more stronger by the Textile Commissioner's decision to cut down regional cloth quotas by 10 per cent.

But why this serious cloth shortage? In one of its special articles, the *Eastern Economist* discusses the problem with elaborate details. As a matter of fact, it was only about two months back that Sir Vithal Chandavarkar, addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, contended that the supply of cloth available for domestic consumption had been restored to pre-war levels. A few days later Mr. K. M. D. Thackersey gave a similar assurance. He said:

The net available supplies of mill-made cloth for civilian consumption in 1945 amount to 3,883 million yards as compared with 3,794 million yards in 1944. Including handloom production it is estimated that the cloth available for the civilian population of India in 1945 is approximately 14 yards per head per annum for India's population of 400 millions. In 1946, I will not be far wrong in forecasting that if the production of Indian cotton mills continues on the same scale as in 1945—which it is hoped it will—the quantity of cloth which will be available per head of the population of India will be increased, following a reduction in the Government takings against military requirements, which are not likely to exceed 100 million yards as compared with the takings in 1945 of 417 million yards.

It was only less than two months back when the above speech was given. Why is it then that within two months' time there should be a serious cloth crisis? The production of the Indian cotton mills in the first four or five months of 1946 has failed to keep to the 1945 level, very likely it has declined sharply. In the

present circumstances, the suspension of exports is a most wise step. But care must be taken to stop the sinister traffic by which cloth is illicitly smuggled out of the country over its land frontiers in the east and the north. The *Eastern Economist* has made also another suggestion for tiding over the cloth crisis which we consider to be essential at the present juncture. The chairman of the Textile Control Board estimated that Defence Services requirements would fall to 100 million yards in the current year. We do not know if this expectation has been satisfied. In any case the Defence H. Q. must revise their indents in a downward direction to the utmost extent, and at the same time the disposal of surplus military stocks should be hastened in order to relieve civilian scarcity.

But what are the reasons for this decline in textile production. Irregular arrivals of coal must have seriously affected the work of the mills. There is another reason which has been dilated upon in the said article. The frequent outbreaks of strikes in the various textile centres and the high degree of absenteeism have been largely responsible for the meagre production of textiles. In Bombay city alone, Sir Vithal Chandavarkar points out, 577 million spindle-hours and 13 million loom-hours were lost on this account in the calendar year 1945, involving a loss of production approximating to 78 million yards of cloth and 24 million pounds of yarn. The situation in this respect has not improved since, it has rather become even worse.

This illustration of absenteeism is very disquieting. It shows that labour politics in Bombay has been grossly mishandled. It is a fundamental principle of economics that with the standard of living remaining the same, if wages go up absenteeism will increase. It has been alleged by *Commerce*, Bombay, that the textile workers there are probably the highest paid at the present moment. The reasons for Bombay labour unrest have been dealt with in a separate note. Here we want to draw the attention of the Congress authorities to the very important revelation of Sir Vithal Chandavarkar. It should immediately be ascertained whether it is a fact that real wages in Bombay have gone up disproportionately with the present standard of living. We certainly support increase in wages but what we want to emphasise is that increase in wages must keep pace with a rise in the standard of living. In the event of a more than proportionate increase, absenteeism is bound to appear. Such increase in real wages do not help the worker, but injures the country by reducing production.

U.S.-India Lend-Lease and Surplus Property Agreement

The U.S. State Department has announced that an agreement was signed on May 16 by the representatives of the Government of the United States and the Government of India on U.S. lend-lease to India, reverse lend-lease by India and U.S. surplus war property located in India.

In view of the approximately equal benefits received by India and the United States from this interchange of mutual aid, it was agreed that no payments would be required from either country in the settlement of obligations, except that India will return the 160 million dollars worth of silver which the United States had

advanced to her during the war for coinage and industrial purposes.

The following is the text of the announcement supplied by the USIS:

Representatives of the Government of the United States and the Government of India signed on May 16 an agreement representing an overall settlement of lend-lease, reciprocal aid, and surplus property questions between the two countries. The agreement was signed on behalf of the Government of the United States by the Acting Secretary of State, the Hon. Dean Acheson, and on behalf of the Government of India by the Hon. A. A. Waugh, Member for Industries and Supplies in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Discussions between the Department of State officials and the Government of India lend-lease delegation have been in progress in Washington since the first week of April. The agreement, with India is a comprehensive and final settlement for lend-lease, reciprocal aid and surplus war property located in India, and for the financial claims of each government against the other arising as a result of World War II.

India served as a supply base for the Southeast Asia Command during the war and, while a great volume of lend-lease supplies were shipped to India, the larger part were for the use of the British Government in India and Southeast Asia. India supplied reciprocal aid liberally to the United States both in the forms of supplies and services to United States armed forces in India, and in raw materials shipped to the United States for war production.

In view of the approximately equal benefits received by the United States and India from this interchange of mutual aid which aggregated over 1,000 million dollars in value, it was agreed that no dollar payments would be required in the settlement between the two governments and all obligations arising out of lend-lease and reverse lend-lease were balanced against each other and cancelled, except for the pre-existing agreement under which India will return to the United States 160 million dollars in silver received during the war for coinage and industrial purposes.

Under the agreement the United States receives full title to all articles received from India during the war under reverse lend-lease and unconsumed. India agrees to cancel the outstanding obligation of the United States to pay about 45 million dollars in cash for supplies delivered to the United States armed forces in India after V-J Day.

Surplus U. S. Property Turned Over to Government of India

The agreement further provides that India receives full title to all articles in the civilian lend-lease inventory as of V-J Day and to a relatively small quantity of articles which were in the lend-lease "pipeline" for delivery after V-J Day. The articles in the Indian military lend-lease inventory which were acquired by the Indian forces when serving with the British Army, and other articles delivered to the Indian Army by the British forces in India, are retained by India subject to a right of recapture by the United States. The United

States, however, has stated that it does not intend to exercise generally such right of recapture.

The agreement replaces the previous understandings relative to the disposal of United States Army and Navy surpluses in India. The title to all unsold United States surpluses passes to India, and India agrees to dispose of them on an equal basis with war surpluses of Indian and United Kingdom origin.

As part of the over-all settlement, the United States will receive one-half of all proceeds in excess of 50 million dollars realized from such disposals. The United States share of such proceeds will be available for the acquisition of real estate and buildings for United States Government agencies in India and for cultural and educational purposes of mutual benefit to the United States and India. In the disposal of United States surpluses by the Government of India, United States veterans, Government agencies, businesses, and UNRRA will be accorded the same priorities as are accorded to other buyers in India of a like character.

The bulk disposal of United States surpluses to India has greatly speeded the final evacuation of United States troops from India. It will also result in very substantial savings to the United States by elimination of the operating costs of the United States Army in India at least a year earlier than would have been the case if the United States had handled the actual sales itself.

This settlement is especially significant because it is the first formal agreement between India and the United States, and its harmonious completion is an auspicious opening for relations between the United States and an India now on the verge of independence. The successful conclusion of these negotiations augurs well for the future relations between the United States and India.

Indian Food Plan

A comprehensive five-year plan to overcome the Indian food deficit has been proposed by the National Planning Committee. The Committee says, "India can easily be made self-sufficient in the matter of food-grains if proper planning is advised and carried through." The Committee rightly concludes that import of food-grains need not be necessary in this country if our own resources are properly developed. The proposed programme lays considerable stress upon the formation of agricultural co-operatives particularly for bringing uncultivated land under the plough, upon improving agricultural and fishing techniques and upon planned breeding as a means of increasing the supply of animal foods. The Committee also envisages the elimination of "parasites like semindars, talukdars, absentee landlords and mere rentiers of all kind and description."

The programme is as follows:

- (1) Bringing additional cultivable land under cultivation which now lies uncultivated.
- (2) Adding or improving facilities for adequate regular water supply for lands already under tillage or those to be brought under the plough.
- (3) Providing better manure so as to add to the quantity and quality of food crops, this to include artificial fertilisers where necessary and practicable.
- (4) Better seed with a view to increasing the

yield and quality of hybridisation and other development.

(5) Introducing better implements or machinery for tilling, sowing, harvesting and the like.

(6) Improving the technique of cultivation by better tools and implements, power-driven machinery, suitable rotation of crops and similar measures.

(7) Reforming the general organisation of all land in cultivation on the co-operative basis so as to avoid the needless waste of available land in the shape of barriers and make the labour devoted to land more productive per unit of cultivation.

(8) Consolidation of holdings "which are today excessively fragmented and scattered, and so gravely impede economic tillage or increased productivity."

(9) Control of pests, weeds, etc., which reduce the yield per unit as well as in the aggregate.

(10) Protecting the soil against floods and erosion.

(11) Review of the cash revenue demand which is open to periodical revision and enhancement by the State so as to approximate and revenue to income-tax, with exemptions from any revenue demand of such units as raise only the minimum needed for the subsistence of the cultivator and his family.

(12) Organisation of proper storing, grading and marketing facilities to guard against periodical failures of crops as well as to provide exchange of surplus or speciality.

(13) Reduction of the unproductive debt burden of the cultivator by a wholesale reorganisation of the nation's banking service.

(14) Proper adjustment between the commercial crop or raw materials of industry produced from agricultural land and food crops.

(15) Proper attention to the development of horticulture, fruits and vegetables, or market gardening, in order to supplement the standard diet, and provide indispensable vitamins.

Noting that the use of cattle for ploughing, haulage and transport as well as milk production has resulted in "breeding for mixed purposes which serve neither object satisfactorily," the Committee proposes proper organisation of cattle breeding for specific purposes and particularly for increasing the milk yield.

The agricultural reclamation plan is estimated to cost about Rs. 50 crores. It has been proposed to find this money through a Government-sponsored national loan spread over a ten-year period under the proposed programme.

The most important feature of the plan is its unitary character. The Committee proposes that all the various modes of adding to the food supply from agriculture "must be tackled simultaneously and not one by one." Every State or Provincial Government would prepare its own programme for carrying out the general policy under the Plan as formulated by the Central Government and given effect to as laid down in the basic national programme. In the Committee's view, the State should assume as a common obligation the supply of water by irrigation, the large-scale collection and distribution of manure and measures for protection of soil against erosion, floods, pests and the like.

Food for India

While the food situation in the country continues to deteriorate at an alarming rate, the authorities seem to be still tinkering with the problem of adequate food allocation. A rapid survey of the last month's food allocation talks will convince one of the sinister political game that the Combined Food authorities are playing with world's food. In the confusion of this game India's plight is worsening miserably.

On May 2, the Combined Food Board recommended a second quarter rice allocation of 146,000 metric tons for India in announcing sharp curtailment of supplies available for export during the current quarter. The Board said that only 581,000 tons of rice were available from all sources for export during April, May and June, compared with the essential world requirements of 2,100,000. The Board explained their inability to make greater allocation with an account of the widespread crop failure. The curtailment of supplies was indeed a shock to the hungry millions. Speaking at a Press conference Sir J. P. Srivastava asserted that "the Combined Food Board has not kept its promises." Sir Robert Hutchings added: "I am not complaining about the Combined Food Board but surprises should have been known to them." Sir J. P. Srivastava further warned: "We will be in the hard grip of famine by July if we are unable to get what we have asked for." But the strongest criticism was made by Sir Manilal Nanavati who, speaking at a conference in London, said: "The Americans are not behaving themselves." He added, "The Americans feel that India suffers from starvation and famine so frequently that this year's famine is nothing new and it does not matter if a famine overtakes India once more." In Washington, the Indian officials told the Combined Food Board in a formal memorandum that any attempt to cut May wheat shipments to India below the requested half million tons would imperil the country's rationing system by the third week of June and expose "by one stroke" 100,000,000 people to a sudden and catastrophic threat of total starvation by the end of that month. Even Mr. La Guardia, UNRRA Director-General, accused the Board of "trifling with human lives."

A few days later it was learnt that India had informed the C. F. Board that she flatly rejected the tentative May wheat allocation of a little more than one-fifth of the originally requested 500,000 tons. Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao informed the Board that his government considered such allocation entirely inequitable and unfair. The Board increased the allocation to 265,000 tons, but Sir Giriya Sankar Bajpai commented, "This allocation falls far short of our legitimate and minimum requirements."

However, at last President Truman spoke out and gave one of his old sops. In reply to Lord Wavell's personal message, he assured the Viceroy that India's crisis was "thoroughly recognised" by the U.S. and was receiving "the most sympathetic consideration on the highest levels of the Government." In the report he submitted to President Truman, Mr. Herbert Hoover estimated 2,865,000 tons as "Indian Ocean Area's" minimum cereal requirements in the critical period from May 1 to September 30. He listed the following imports needed in the various Indian provinces affected by famine: Bombay 330,000 tons; Mysore 114,000 tons, Madras 800,000 tons, Travancore

58,000 tons, Cochin 36,000 tons, Deccan 119,000 tons, Bihar 93,000 tons, U.P. 144,000 tons, Bengal 302,000 tons, other provinces 250,000 tons.

In spite of these criticisms, statements and assurances, shipments for India did not improve at all. A decisive step was taken by the British Government when Mr. Herbert Morrison was sent to America on a food mission. In a broadcast on May 15, he categorically stated: "Famine is not inevitable. It is in our power to prevent it." Referring to India he said that if the Anglo-U.S. powers failed to keep India's food distribution system from actually breaking down, India would become a prey not only to famine but to political extremism. Mr. Morrison's efforts produced some good results. India had so long been regarded as a British responsibility. Now during Mr. Morrison's conversations it was agreed that India should be treated as a separate entity in the world food programme. Returning to London, Mr. Morrison stated that allotments of wheat to India which the United States and the Canadian Governments had agreed to support, would secure to India shipments in 1946 at a very much higher rate than in any previous year despite the acute world shortage of all cereals.

However, it augurs well that through the efforts of the British mission, the U.S. authorities of the C. F. Board are showing at least some consideration for India's plight. But even now we are far from being optimistic about outside help. Sir J. P. Srivastava revealed that the Government of India had been advised that loadings of wheat and wheat supplies for May and June would total 314,700 and 182,200 tons respectively. Sir Robert Hutchings further gave the dark warning that if the promised food supplies from abroad did not arrive in time, rationing in India would break down in August for lack of supplies.

U. S. Aims at Exporting 10,700,000 Tons of Wheat From Its 1945 Crop

President Truman, in a message to the opening meeting of the special session on urgent food problems convened by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, appealed to the countries in a position to help to heighten their efforts to avert the food crisis threatening the world in the critical weeks just ahead.

Following is the text of the President's message:

In meeting at this critical period you have heavy responsibilities and great opportunities. What this conference accomplishes or fails to accomplish will make its mark not only in areas where people are hungry as an aftermath of the war, but in all parts of the earth and for a long time to come. Any step toward feeding the world's families better and making the fullest use of the products of farms and fisheries is a step toward winning and securing the peace. Food touches everyone in the world directly and more keenly than most boundary settlement and other primary political actions that are often local or regional in their effects.

It is not necessary in a message to this group to go into the details of the serious world food situation. Everyone realizes now that the world-wide scarcity of cereals cannot be completely overcome with the 1946 harvest and that deficits in livestock products will continue for a long time. The remaining weeks before the 1946 grain harvest in the northern hemisphere are especially critical, and

the United States and other countries in a position to help must continue and heighten their efforts.

In this country we have raised progressively our export programs as world needs became more urgent, reducing progressively, at the same time, our own consumption of wheat. In this wheat marketing year we already have shipped more than 300 million bushels (about eight million tons) of wheat, which is close to 40 per cent of the total world exports of wheat. Our export program covering 400 million bushels (about 10,700,000 tons) of wheat for the entire marketing year represents over a third of our total production from the 1945 crop. The people of this country have shown an admirable willingness to do their share in the great humanitarian task of preventing famine in other lands.

During the war we have learned valuable lessons in co-operation with the rest of the world. What the people of this country have done is ample evidence that they recognize the necessity for progressive and effective action in achieving for the world freedom from want, that they are conscious of the world's needs and are ready to co-operate in a program to meet them.

In my message to the conference at Quebec where FAO was established last fall, I said that my country's delegation came "prepared to work together with the delegations of other nations for the good of all, and to bear their full share of the responsibility for a successful outcome." We bring the same spirit to this conference, which I view as the first great test for FAO.

Can India ask what proportion of this 8 million ton export has been directed for saving million of famine victims in this country? The unsympathetic and niggardly treatment that India received at the hands of the Truman Administration will not be easily forgotten. India will remember that her resources have been fully exploited for saving Europe and America from disaster, but when she herself was in need, she was basely deserted.

Indonesian Rice for India

The combined effect of red tape, bureaucratic inefficiency, and political self-interest was responsible for the unnecessary delay that has been made and is being still made in accepting the rice offer made by Dr. Shariat, the Indonesian Republican Premier. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has long been trying to derive the full benefit that is likely to accrue from the new communion and unity among Asiatic nations. When Dr. Shariat made the offer, the Dutch Government persistently maintained that Java had no surplus to offer to India. But Dr. Shariat emphatically stated that Java had surplus food which she would be glad to send to India in exchange of textiles for herself.

The India Government showed little enthusiasm about this rice offer but after repeated comments in the Press made a move for carrying on talks with Indonesian Premier. Soon afterwards it was announced that Dr. Shariat's talks with Mr. K. L. Punjabi, a British India civil servant had reached a stage in which it was now up to India to provide the necessary transport and exchange of goods for 500,000 tons of rice offered to India by Indonesia. As far as Indonesia was concerned, the first shipment could be made towards the latter half of June, Dr. Shariat said. The delivery of the entire 500,000 tons would take five months at the rate of

100,000 tons monthly. In a letter to Pandit Nehru Dr. Shariat asked him to visit Indonesia to negotiate on textiles and machinery in exchange for the promised rice or to send a personal representative on the same behalf.

Dr. Shariat has cabled that the rice is ready for shipment. Now it is a question of India Government making proper arrangements for shipping facilities. We are afraid a lot of delay will be made because of transport difficulties. One is constrained to observe in this connection that there would have been no such difficulty had it not been the consistent policy of the British Government to oppose Indian mercantile marine in its attempt at expansion. If the Indian shipping companies were given a fair opportunity for growth, they could have rendered signal service at this moment of crisis.

However, we hope rice from Indonesia would soon reach India. Apart from the invaluable help that this act of exchange will offer to the famished millions of India, it will also be a token of the future relation between the neighbouring countries of Asia. Pandit Nehru has rightly observed: "It is by such acts that nations and people are bound together. Indian people will not only feel grateful but will remember this in days to come. I hope and trust it will be precursor of closer friendship between the two nations and advantageous to both." After the overthrow of the foreign tutelage India will be the centre of this new Asian awakening and unity.

Famine in Bengal

Bengal is once again in the hard grip of a terrible food crisis. In one of our previous editorials we showed how due to the neglect and inefficiency of the Bengal Government, the spectre of a second Bengal famine was casting its shadow over the land. Our apprehensions have come true. People in the district of Bankura, to take a single example, are already drawn to the last straits of their miserable existence. Hungry and naked, a large section of the famished population is slowly making imperceptible steps towards the fatal end. And, if one example would suffice, a mother tried to kill her child to avert the painful process of slow death that was coming upon it. The whole picture is reminiscent of the tragedy of 1943.

But what is the attitude of the Bengal Government. It poises one precariously between laughter and agony when one hears Mr. S. K. Chatterji, Bengal's Director-General of Food, declare over the radio as late as on the 30th May: "Government wish to make it quite certain that there shall be no famine this year." He wanted to explain the rise of price as a result of "local panic." But, may we ask, did the people get panicky with no sufficient reason for panic? The whole discussion would mean arguing in a vicious circle. But empty discussions apart, one thing is quite certain. The panic was caused first because of the abnormal rise of prices and secondly because of the lesson the people learnt from the disastrous bungling of 1943.

The Food authorities have declared that there will be only 7 per cent shortage this year. But we are afraid this estimate grossly errs on the side of optimism. There is no reason whatsoever why there should be such an abnormal rise of prices at this time of the year with only 7 per cent shortage. Last time it might have been due partly to the lack of proper rationing. But this year the prospects are much the same even in spite of the elaborate rationing system.

The Government maintained that the situation will be kept under control through the machinery of control and rationing. We do believe that when the price of rice soars up in a locality the only way to combat the upward rise is to sell rice from Government stocks. But will it be ever possible for the Government to fight black-market prices with the help of the reserve that the Government maintains at its disposal?

The procurement policy of the Bengal Government is remarkably defective. Even the Woodhead Commission opined that purchase of rice through agents entails unnecessary expenses. Because of the elaborate chain of profiteering 'middlemen, a Government agent can easily show that the cost price of paddy originally purchased from the cultivator at Rs. 5 is ultimately Rs. 20. When the Government wants to sell rice at Rs. 15, 'cost price' being Rs. 20 due to this process, there is a huge loss on its part.

The Government has lately introduced a rationing system for six million people of Bengal. The people of Calcutta and other big towns know full well the achievements of this system. Anyway, this apology for rationing is the only system that the Government is maintaining with all its much-advertised departments.

But what about the larger section of the people who live in villages? There is a curious system functioning in villages which is called "modified rationing." But a typical example of this system will reveal its true nature. The population in a union in Vikrampur (Dacca) is 17,041. The total ration cards in circulation amount to 30,966 units (adult 2 units, child 1 unit). The local Food Committee received the following stuff for distribution through these ration cards during the year April 1945 to April 1946:

Paddy	.. ..	675.5 mds.
Sugar	.. ..	429.3 "
Kerosene	.. ..	1426 "
Coal	.. ..	506 "
Mustard oil	.. ..	176.8 "
Coconut oil	.. ..	3 "
Salt	.. ..	1192.8 "
Flour	.. ..	32 "
Saree	.. ..	3359 pieces
Dhoti	.. ..	7829 "
Bed cover	.. ..	16 "
Blankets	.. ..	18 "
Lungee	.. ..	100 "
Umbrella	.. ..	18 "
Shirts etc.	.. ..	260211.5 yds.

If the figures given above be truly typical of this "modified rationing," we do not know how we can congratulate the Government Food Department on its astounding success! The statistics reveal that the people of the above Union received one seer of sugar, half a seer of mustard oil and one seer and a half of coal per head during the whole year!

The Government authorities have admitted on occasions that procurement of rice is not going on in a very satisfactory way. The reasons, we believe, are more than one. For one thing, the people have absolutely no faith in the Government procurement policy. Secondly, the cultivator has reasons to believe, due to the disparity between the price at which he sells the rice and the price at which the agent sells it to the Government, that the Government itself is bent on exploiting the poor folk. Thirdly, it is common experience that although the agents purchase the best rice, the Government distributes the rice of the worst

quality. So long as the confidence of the public is not restored, the system of control will not work satisfactorily.

Food and Famine 'Exposition'

The gloomy food prospect of 1946 bids fair to push famine incidents of 1943 into the background. While it is necessary to think of measures for bringing food to those faced with starvation, it is also necessary to supplement the diet of the ill-fed and ill-nourished people so that they may work and earn and thus live more healthy. If the chronic famine conditions, patent to India, are to be removed, agriculture, industry and animal husbandry should combine and make a joint effort for providing better food, including protective diet derived from milk, meat and eggs, and surplus money for the procurement of the barest necessities. The Calcutta Corporation, did the right thing in organising, with the help of the Government of Bengal, an "Exposition" on Food in the Commercial Museum in the second week of May. Exhibits relating to agriculture, industrial hints and products of cottage industries, food preserved by the age-old methods and modern scientific means and several educative charts, characteristic of the Commercial Museum, were features of the Exhibition. Lectures on food and famine were arranged and were delivered by experts of the Provincial and the Central Governments.

Faridkot and Kashmir

There is a strange irony in the recent disturbances at Faridkot and Kashmir occurring at a time when the very structure of the Princely Order is going to be radically transformed. The rulers of these States have not only failed to read clearly the signs of the times but have actually taken up an ostrich-like policy of blinding themselves to the patent facts of the day.

Disturbances started in Faridkot about a month back when a large section of the people began to observe *hartal* against the repression of the State. Praja Mandal workers and 'non-violent' Satyagrahis were beaten and maltreated, civil liberties were suppressed, the national flag was insulted. Even the enquiry committee appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee was banned entry into the State. As Pandit Nehru observed, Faridkot from being just a backward State where the authorities had misbehaved, suddenly became a symbol of misrule and incompetence in the States. The situation reached a climax when he gave a stern warning to the State authorities that he himself would defy their prohibitory laws and enter the State. When the situation remained much the same even after this, Pandit Nehru defied Sec. 144 promulgated at Faridkot, entered the State and addressed a huge gathering of 10,000 people. After two hours' talk with the Raja of Faridkot an amicable understanding was arrived at and it was decided (1) to repeal Registration of Association Act, (2) to withdraw orders under Sec. 144 Cr.P.C. and 56 of the Defence of India (Faridkot) Rules, (3) to release the remaining twelve undertrials now in custody and (4) to constitute an impartial public enquiry by the Chief Justice of Faridkot State into excesses, if any, committed against law during the last movement.

The happenings at Kashmir are more ghastly and shameful. Whatever might have been the origin of the trouble,—people's attempt to secure responsible government or Mr. S. M. Abdullah's personal intrigues

to make the Maharajah quit Kashmir—the struggle took the form of a popular resistance against the brutal repression of the State. And it seems that the slogan of *Quit Kashmir* was not devised to serve the personal interests of Mr. Abdullah, it was the voice of the oppressed people of Kashmir who wanted to see the overthrow of the stooge of the British Government now that the Government itself is being asked to quit India.

However, the excesses knew no bounds. Police and the military opened fire on unarmed processions and the actual death-roll was much higher than that given in official statements. What is more shocking, the people were forced to utter humiliation and were made to clean the streets with their turbans and to shout *Maharaj-ki-Jai* at the point of the bayonet. It has been alleged that even mosques were occupied by the military and this was likely to foment communal trouble. In a long statement on the events, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru strongly warned the authorities and said that no State could exist with these disgraces clinging to it.

Grave turmoil continues in Kashmir. Death-roll has already mounted above sixty. A number of policemen were taken in custody because of their refusal to lathi-charge on their "brothers and sisters." This significant development should have been an eye-opener to the authorities. Do they feel very complacent about their might pitted against the stubborn resistance of the people which may burst out in a revolutionary outburst?

Assam Eviction Policy

The agitation against the eviction policy of the Assam Government has been intense and wide. While we were not completely free from misgivings as to the real nature of things prevailing at the spot we maintained from the beginning that the cause of encroachers had been made a nice peg for Muslim League propaganda against the Congress Ministry. The recent Press *communiqué* issued by the Government of Assam will bring the issues into a clear relief and show that the eviction of encroachers is neither a new scheme nor an unreasonable one. The statement gives a terse history of the whole policy of eviction and its relevant antecedents.

The surplus population, mainly Muslim, of neighbouring Bengal districts like Mymensingh had been pouring into Assam in search of land for the last few years. The interests of the indigenous population naturally suffered to a great extent from this influx of immigrants, who were neither conspicuously peaceful nor particularly adaptable to new modes of life. So restrictions had to be imposed and boundaries were marked beyond which the settlers should not be allowed to penetrate. The operations were described by the phrase "Line System."

Describing the encroachment on grazing reserves, the *communiqué* says:

Very considerable areas, amounting to lakhs of bighas have been settled with immigrants in the last twenty years, but the demand for land continuously outstripped the progress or ordered settlement, and the immigrants have for long been encroaching on and in some cases completely occupying lands set apart from settlement as professional grazing reserves, where the graziers (who pay grazing tax to Government at Rs. 3 per buffalo), keep the large herds of animals which are essential for the milk supply of the province as well as for the provision of draught

animals. The district authorities found it very difficult to cope with these mass encroachments, and during the period of war emergency, when the growing of as much food crops as possible was a vital necessity, no decisive steps were taken to clear the reserves, and the then Muslim Ministry was unwilling to incur the odium of undertaking a vigorous policy of eviction of persons who are mainly their co-religionists.

The Coalition Ministry which came into office in March, 1945, decided to stop the encroachment on grazing reserves but concessions were granted to those who had been in occupation of land in the reserves since 1938 or earlier, and those who had lost their land either by reason of military acquisition or by erosion. The Congress Government is now only pursuing the policy of the Coalition Government and the policy is also being implemented in practice. The clearing of the "unprotected" encroachers from professional grazing reserves in Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgong has begun. The *communiqué* also states that the programme of eviction of encroachers which will affect some two or three thousand encroachers in all, will not be continued during the monsoon. The whole operation is expected to be complete before the end of the next cold weather. It also adds that the Government have instituted enquiries as to the amount of waste land available in the province and when these have been completed, they propose to plan an ordered settlement of these waste lands, in which immigrants will be allotted a share after making due reservation for the needs of the indigenous population.

This statement on behalf of the Congress Government is exhaustive and outspoken. It lays down the policy and history of eviction which, we think, has become an indispensable item of reform in view of the requirements of rehabilitation of the people of Assam. The irresponsible spokesmen of the Muslim League are spreading fantastic reports to excite the fanatics of the Muslim community. Even Sir Sadullah has lent his malevolent voice to this concert of organized slander against a policy which was followed even by his own ministry. Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi has plainly stated that this eviction policy was originally started by the Muslim League Ministry of Assam. He has also stated that the immigrants observed no bounds of law or decency and lived a life of invading marauders on these grazing lands. The League Ministry gave secret support to these turbulent people.

As a matter of fact, the influx of Muslim immigrants had been started as a definite item of League programme against the Hindu majority of Assam. The Muslims thought that by adding to the Muslim population of Assam and thereby counterbalancing the existing ratio they would be able to make a strong case for Pakistan. Their scheme has been partially successful so far. The population of the Assam Valley (excluding the Garo Hills) in 1911 was 355,220. The number shot up to 585,963 in 1921, to 943,252 in 1931 and to 1,803,902 in 1941. In the light of these statistics it is not difficult to see the game the Muslim League is playing.

Railway Strike

The General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation decided on May 5 to give the Government of India a notice on the 1st June that railwaymen on all Indian railways including the Indian States will go

on strike on June 23 unless their demands are sanctioned by that date. In its resolution, the General Council strongly condemned the attitude of the Government in not acceding to the demands of the Federation and in refusing to settle the dispute by the appointment of an adjudicator to go into the main points in the dispute, namely, (1) no retrenchment, (2) revision of scales of pay, (a) unskilled Rs. 30-3-45, (b) semi-skilled Rs. 40-4-60, (c) skilled subordinate and administrative Rs. 60-5-100-10-200, (3) adequate dearness allowances as per the recommendation of the Rau Committee and (4) three months' pay as bonus for all.

The resolution further stated that although an adjudicator to go into the question of leave rules and working hours had been appointed the situation remained unchanged because the decision only side-tracked the main issues. Therefore, it resolved to non-co-operate with the adjudicator until the Government agreed to refer the vital points to adjudication.

The meeting directed all Unions to build up the following machinery to conduct the strike: (1) To raise a strike fund, (2) to establish station shops and departmental committees, (3) to form a voluntary corps, (4) membership drive, (5) election of strike committees on each railway, (6) wherever more than one Union of action should be formed, and (7) regional committees in each area.

We do not know if the efforts at reconciliation will be successful before the announced date. The disaster can be averted only by a cautious and wise move for settlement from both parties. Maulana Azad has written to Lord Wavell urging upon him to intervene in the matter and avert a serious crisis which a strike of railwaymen at the present juncture is bound to cause. He has also urged upon the Viceroy to prevail upon the Railway Board either to meet the demands of the railwaymen or at least agree to refer their demands to adjudication so as to reassure the men that their demands are not being neglected. Mr. V. V. Giri has made a similar request to the Viceroy in a letter written after the decision had been taken by the General Council.

But the strike threat did not cause any surprise in the official quarters in New Delhi. And the statement issued by the Railway Board on the resolution of the A.I. R. F. is disappointing and not much convincing. The most deplorable evasion is the unwillingness to refer the vital issues for adjudication. Regarding the most important question, namely, the revision of scales of pay, the Board admits that this "complicated matter" has been under consideration "for a long time." The effects of red tape and bureaucratic inefficiency are scandalous, and the delay shown by the Government makes one doubt the *bona fides* of the authorities. The Railway Board has assured the public that the revision of scales of pay is to be considered in respect of "all" Central Government servants. As a matter of fact, this is the invariable answer which the Government of India has given to all sections of its employees as an excuse to refuse the demands of all severally and collectively.

The Rao Committee recommended a D.A. of Rs. 45 per month for those drawing pay up to Rs. 250 per month. The demands of the Federation have gone no higher. But the Railway Board has tried to cloud the issue by raising the question of the total expenditure. But the question cannot be avoided by talking of crores of rupees. Even the figures presented by the

Board show that the average Railway employee in the lower scales of pay draws not more than Rs. 26-8 to 34-4 per month inclusive of everything. Lastly, the Railway Board has raised the bogey of increased establishment cost, and the consequent necessity of raising rates and fares to something like 40 per cent. The Board knows full well that they can counteract people's sympathy for the railwaymen only with the menace of increased fare.

The moment of crisis is approaching and the time for decision may be lost in vain by the Railway Board. But while we reiterate our full sympathy with the cause of the railwaymen, we make no apology in sounding a clear note of caution and tact. It cannot be denied that in the present context of India's political development any serious disturbance may retard the progress of our emancipation. Apart from the exigencies of political tension, there is also the overriding issue of the terrible famine ahead. Suspension of communication and transport will vitally affect the food situation and by one stroke will throw the famished millions of India into the pit of actual starvation and death. Maulana Azad rightly observed in a statement issued on May 3:

The railwaymen of India should, however, remember one thing. They are a part of the nation and, therefore, what concerns the nation concerns them equally. They know that at present delicate negotiations are going on for a settlement of India's political problem. They must realise that there can be no real solution of their own difficulties till the country is free. They also know the acute food situation in the country. May and June threaten to be the most difficult period and any dislocation in transport during this critical period may prove to be disastrous.

Some have argued that famine would occur even if there be no strike and the strike does not much worsen the case. This is indeed puerile logic. It will be folly to take any precipitate action at this stage and we hope that the railwaymen will not sacrifice reason in a frenzy of emotional excitement. The people will naturally think that those who could wait during the six years of war, when they did not strike for even one hour to protest against the mass-slaughter of their innocent countrymen, can certainly afford to be patient for a few months more.

Labour Problems in Bombay

Commerce has given a graphic account of the Bombay Labour politics and the unrest in the Bombay Cotton Mills. It says that one of the strange developments that have occurred in the sphere of industrial labour soon after the Congress returned to power has been the spread of the strike wave. Bombay witnessed one of the worst strikes—the sweepers' strike—practically on the very next day of the assumption of office by the Congress Ministry. It is now threatened with a strike of the textile labourers who, the Commerce says, are probably the best paid at present. This threatened strike is already having a very bad effect on the already acute cloth position of the country, a 10 per cent cut on the very slender supply of cloth has been announced.

On an examination of the undercurrents, the Commerce gains the impression that the sole motive behind these moves is not a genuine desire to raise

the economic standards of the workers. There appears to be a clear move on the part of the Congress elements to gain the affections of the labourers by trying to do something spectacular for them and thereby outwit the communists who have been endeavouring to gain the loyalty of labour by putting forward extravagant demands and have, in fact, vied successfully with the Congress in Bombay in the recent provincial elections. From its own knowledge and observations, Commerce believes that recent instances in Bombay provide sufficient ground to warrant such a conclusion. Many other observers will also incline to the same view.

A little detailed study may be necessary to understand the position. There are two labour associations in Bombay, namely, the *Rashtriya Girni Kamgar Sangh* (also known as *Rashtriya Mill Masdoor Sangh*) and the *Girni Kamgar Union*. The former body has its leanings towards Congress while the latter owes allegiance to the Communist Party. Between the two, the *Girni Kamgar Union* is known to have a greater following among the workers than the *Masdoor Sangh* and this fact was more or less established at the last election to the Bombay Legislature in which, Mr. S. A. Dange, the representative of the *Girni Kamgar Union* was elected. Both the Unions, however, have no *locus standi* under the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act as neither of them possesses the requisite minimum membership. Strictly speaking, therefore, neither of the unions can put forward demands on behalf of the workers. In the absence of any recognised trade union, if the workers have any grievances, they should be presented by the workers themselves to the employers and a dispute will arise only if the employers refuse those demands after a reasonable time-limit. Such, it should be noted, is the position under the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act which is a measure passed by the Congress Ministry in 1938.

The Commerce has traced the origin of the present dispute and has used the word dispute within quotation marks because according to a strict interpretation of the B.I.D. Act there is no dispute between the workers and the employers. No specific grievances or demands have been placed before the employers as required under this Act. Even if it is assumed, such has been done, albeit in a round-about manner, no reasonable time-limit has been given to them to consider the demands, and the employers have not said "no" to any such demand. The Congress Ministry assumed office on April 3. Two days later, on April 5, the *Masdoor Sangh* sent a representation to the Commissioner of Labour, Bombay, putting forward certain demands in regard to revision and standardisation of wage rates in the cotton textile mills of Bombay, payment of adequate dearness allowance, and of unconditional and adequate bonus. The representation also stated that the Board of the *Sangh* had passed a resolution deciding to give notice under the B.I.D. Act and also a strike notice of fourteen days, but refrained, according to the Government Press Note, from giving such a notice to enable the Government to arrange an early settlement of the matter. No direct demands were addressed to the Mill-owners as required under the Act. In referring the demands of this *Sangh*, the Government have dropped one of the demands, namely, that for "unconditional and adequate bonus."

About ten days after the *Masdoor Sangh* had sub-

mitted its demands to the Labour Commissioner, the *Girni Kamgar Union* followed suit; and as is only to be expected, it pitched its demands even higher. The demands of the Union are: Restoration of the 13 per cent wage cut which remained unrestored in 1936-37, payment of bonus equivalent to one month's earnings, increase of 12½ per cent in basic wages, introduction of a living wage standard as recommended by the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee, standardisation of wages, and introduction of eight hours' duty without any reduction in the present level of wages and earnings. The Union also demands the immediate introduction of three shifts of 7½ hours each with the same remuneration as for 8 hours in view of the urgent need to increase the supply of cloth and of the necessity to provide greater employment. Yet another demand of the Union is an extra-allowance of 15 per cent of the wages as night-allowance.

The Bombay Government have referred to compulsory arbitration by the Industrial Court only the demands that have been placed by the *Mazdoor Sangh*. The same facility to the *Girni Kamgar Union* has not been afforded and this act of the Bombay Government has been interpreted in some quarters as a seemingly partial treatment. It has also made some feel that the *Mazdoor Sangh's* representation might have been a pre-arranged move of the Congress Party to reinforce and extend its hold on the mill-workers.

Apart from the political manoeuvrings of the Labour leaders, for whom, it seems, their own interests in maintaining hold on the workers take precedence over national welfare, the actions of the Government also have come in for a good deal of criticism. The *Commerce* expresses the view that by taking sides in labour party politics, the Government might precipitate labour trouble. What concerns the industry most is the manner in which the Bombay Government is handling the demands of a section of the workers. First of all, the Government have overlooked the fact that the Union which has put forward the demands has no *locus standi* under the Trade Disputes Act. In having done so, it has by-passed the Act which owes its existence to the very members of the present Government. Secondly, the Government has compulsorily ordered the arbitration of the issues raised under Section 49-A of the B.I.D. Act. This section empowers the Government to refer any industrial dispute to arbitration, without obtaining the consent of either party to the dispute, only under conditions where a serious outbreak of disorder is threatened. There is enough room for doubt whether the situation is so serious as to warrant invoking the aid of this section. Under such circumstances, the question has openly been raised, whether by patronising a particular union, whose claims to speak for the majority of the workers are questionable the Government has not provoked the *Girni Kamgar Union* to put forward extravagant demands in order to retain its hold on the workers. The Government, in our opinion, should not by any of its acts raise the suspicion that it is open to partial treatment. The important question of standardisation of wages has already been examined by the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee and its findings are there for the Government to proceed with. Why should not the Government, instead of going to the Industrial Court, discuss the issue with the employers or raise it in the Legislature with a view to implementation?

Conference on Planning

The provincial ministers in-charge of post-war reconstruction recently met at Delhi at a conference on Planning. Great changes are expected to occur in our political life and they are sure to determine the nature of India's post-war economy. But whatever be the future constitution, the importance of co-ordinated and planned reconstruction will never be minimised. So the Planning conference deserves the attention of all economic and sociological experts of the country.

Plans had already been drafted for individual provinces and the object of the conference was to co-ordinate the different plans and to determine the precise nature of the relation between the Centre and the Provincial units, particularly in the exercise of controlling power and the allocation of Central grant.

It has been proposed that the Central Government would grant Rs. 500 crores for financing the first five-year plans. It would grant Rs. 500 crores out of revenue surplus and also raise another 500 crores for financing the plans. Out of the Rs. 500 crores from the revenue surplus, Rs. 300 crores will go to the provinces.

But the most important thing to be decided at the conference is basis of distribution of this Central grant. It seems that the recent Conference at Delhi is in favour of allocation on population basis for initiating the interim schemes. In the meantime Mr. V. Nagahari Rao, Secretary, Finance Department, will be studying the Australian system of grants and his recommendations will vitally affect the final decision on the apportionment of grants. The Conference has always laid proper stress on the special needs of the backward areas like the N.-W. Frontier Province and provinces like Assam which have been particularly affected by the war. As a matter of fact, special conditions obtaining in different provinces should naturally mould a uniform policy of allocation on a population basis.

As yet no details regarding the plans of expenditure by the provinces of Rs. 83 crores sanctioned for interim schemes have been published. The new Ministries will, of course, be free to alter the plans of previous administrations. But whatever be the plans of individual provinces, some basic principles of national planning must be always given due consideration. For one thing, the maintenance of the economic unity of India is an essential condition of any effective planning. But unfortunately the economic repercussions of dividing India are not always adequately realised. Vital questions such as communication, irrigation, public debt, sterling credit, national army, etc., should be taken into consideration before any discussion on dividing India. Provinces like N.-W. F. P., Sind and Bengal have received subventions from the Central Government without which they would have been in a bad plight with their provincial economy. Baluchistan is a responsibility of the Central Government. Above all there is the important issue of trade relationship which with its accompanying problems of tariff, currency, exchange, river navigation, coastal shipping, rail and road travel, and commercial discrimination make a strong case for a vigorous Central planning. In nothing was the importance of economic unity of India so evident as in the food crisis during the war.

But a strong national economy does not rule out the possibilities of regional planning and decentralisation of industries. In the U.S.S.R. some of the most ambitious projects were intentionally launched in back-

ward Republics. A basic principle of the third Five-Year Plan was the utmost possible distribution of productive forces over the wide territory of the Soviet Union with industry located near sources of raw materials and consumption wherever possible, to level out national economy and to eliminate unnecessary haulage. Such decentralisation of industries is essential for a country like India where regional planning is necessary to prevent excessive concentration and ensure equitable distribution of wealth. But regional planning never precludes the free flow of different factors of production between regions. India's economic development depends on a strong Central economy with ample elasticity on sound socialistic lines.

Future Ports of India

The Ports Technical Committee which met in Bombay is reported to have made far-reaching recommendations to the Government of India regarding the country's future port policy. The Committee is strongly of the opinion that the following considerations should govern the formulation of an all-embracing progressive port policy for India :

Economic indivisibility of British India ; evolution of a sound policy of defence for the whole country ; geographical position and importance of India in the Indian Ocean and the strategic importance of India in the development of the world order in the Far East ; desirability of the dispersal of industries.

The committee then recommended that Visagapatnam's east coast should be developed as a sheltered deep sea port which can accommodate ships at least 650 ft. in length.

As regards Madras, the committee recommended that the wet dock scheme for four berths should be completed within the period of 10 years.

The committee further emphasised the need for a major port between Karachi and Bombay in the gulf of Cutch and recommended 'Sika' for the purpose.

The committee felt that the development of Bhatkal as a major port is essential for providing an outlet for the large and rich hinterland of the Mysore State.

Lastly, the committee scrapped a proposal for developing the Cocanada harbour into a major port in the interests of defence strategy and disapproved the proposals for a ship and canal scheme and river training works as suggested by the Calcutta Port Commissioner.

In the meantime, the construction of a thirty-mile ship canal from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour has been announced and it is understood that the work has been taken in hand. We do not yet know under whose authority this decision has been taken ; in the press report of the Ports Technical Committee's proceedings we find that such an idea was disapproved. We are fully agreeable to support the proposed Calcutta ship canal if we are satisfied that such a canal is really needed to maintain Calcutta as a first class port. It appears in this case that the Port Commissioners have ostensibly gone against the recommendation of the Technical Committee and as such deserve no support. The matter is important and urgent. The members of the Calcutta Port Commission have not

always been in the national interest. They had persistently opposed the establishment of the Sodaia Ship-building Yard in Calcutta and it was due to their intransigence that they had to go to Visagapatnam. We consider it a fit subject for the issue of a *communiqué* by the Government of India.

Building of a New Egypt

Reuter's staff correspondent from Cairo reports the big national reconstruction plan adopted by Egypt which is admitted to be the biggest in the Middle East.

Egypt's three main enemies—poverty, ignorance and disease—are being brought to battle by a Higher Council under the Chairmanship of Ismail Sidky Pasha, the Prime Minister.

The Higher Council is under no illusions as to the magnitude of the task it is tackling. Not much more than 10 per cent of the entire population of about 17,000,000 are literate, and only a small proportion of the fallaheen (peasant) escape the two most common diseases—Bilharzia, caused by a small parasite in the River Nile, and Trachoma.

The plan against PID, the diminutive by which the three enemies are known, envisages many projects.

One of the biggest of these, is the building of 1,200 social centres to care for mothers and children, and provide baths and washing places and lecture halls. Each centre, it is estimated, will cost £7,000 and all are due to be completed within the scope of a ten-year plan. The Government is including a credit of £500,000 in the forthcoming budget to start this £3,400,000 scheme.

Another project is the construction of six centres for industrial workers, including one in Cairo and another in Alexandria, which will have sports grounds, lecture halls, libraries, medical clinics and restaurants. These centres will cost from £40,000 to £100,000.

Malnutrition problems will be tackled by the building of public restaurants in "people's quarters" where nourishing meals will be served cheaply.

Reformatories costing from £40,000 to £100,000 each will be established throughout the country to deal with child vagrancy, a big problem in Egypt.

Already the Higher Council has approved a scheme for workers' insurance providing for medical aid in cases of sickness, old age pensions and compensation on the death of workers.

Government, employers and workers will each subscribe one-third of the cost of the scheme, which will be applied experimentally first in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, Suez, Ismailia and Damietta and then gradually extended throughout the country. The Chairman of the Social Insurance, Department of the International Labour Bureau, is expected in Egypt shortly to make a final revision of the scheme and give advice on its application.

Travelling cinemas with instructional films will tour the country to show the people how they can help the Government and themselves in raising their standard of living. Every effort will be made to encourage the fallaheen themselves to participate in the administration of the new scheme, which is one of the biggest and boldest ever launched in the Middle East.

With the withdrawal of British Army from Egypt, that country has begun to breathe the fresh air of complete independence and have immediately launched its bold and ambitious reconstruction plan.

Technical Terminology in Indian Languages

Modern education in India, especially in scientific subjects, is greatly dependent on Western terminology and it is very difficult to express modern thoughts and scientific ideas through the medium of Indian languages. This difficulty is sought to be removed through the preparation of a comprehensive English-Indian Dictionary for use in the various Aryan and Dravidian languages of India and Ceylon. Thus, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sinhalese, Tamil and Telugu equivalents of English terminologies will be included in the Dictionary. Dr. Raghuvira of the International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore, has undertaken this stupendous work and deserves all support. Prof. V. K. Mathur of the Academy gives the following plan of the Dictionary :

The plan of this Dictionary consists in the substitution of about two million words of Western terminology, covering nearly six hundred special branches of knowledge, by Indian words derived from Sanskrit roots and stems and appearing in four scripts—Devanagari and Bengali for Northern India and Canarese and Tamil for Southern India.

Since time immemorial, Sanskrit has been the fountain-head from which all languages of India have drawn their learned and technical vocabulary and by providing Sanskrit terminology for all the Indian languages, an attempt is made to build up a common and uniform technical vocabulary for the whole of India. The principle followed in forming technical words is mainly to make each word self-expressive, *i.e.*, to make its etymology explain its meaning and connotation. For instance, a number of words of English scientific terminology begin with a proper name. Such words have been translated in Indian languages on the basis of their properties and qualities to make their meaning clearer than it is in English. This feature, coupled with the fact that the students of various sciences will now be enabled to learn them through the words of their own languages, without the need of having first learnt a difficult foreign language will, it is estimated on the basis of experiments, shorten the course of scientific education by three years. Bacteriology for instances cannot be taught to Indian students below the age of 18 in India (16 in Western countries), but they can now be made to start at 15.

In order to make the Indian terminology as perfect as possible the task is being performed with the co-operation of some of the most eminent scholars of East and West who are specialists in various branches of knowledge. Besides, all possible materials necessary in the building up of the Dictionary from both Indian and Western sources are being exhaustively utilised.

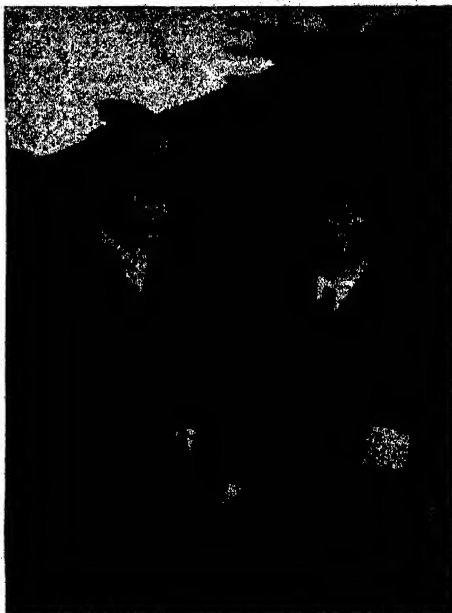
So far the Great English-Indian Dictionary has come out with its first volume on Inorganic Chemistry and the third volume on Chemical Apparatus. The second volume on Organic Chemistry, and allied Sciences is passing through the press ; so also the fourth volume on Chemical dyes. The work is being done on Bacteriology, Biology, Anatomy and other Medical Sciences. The preparation of the entire Dictionary is expected to cover a period of ten years.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose

In the death of Dr. Sudhindra Bose India has lost

one of our few cultural ambassadors who made it their mission to work for the cause of India in a foreign country all over their life. For the last forty years he had been in the United States of America working for the furtherance of Indo-American cultural communion as also for the social and political regeneration of his mother country.

Dr. Bose, hailed from the district of Dacca and received his early education at Comilla. It might be incidentally remembered that his elder brother late *Shri* Satyan Bose was Principal of the Victoria College. The conventional pattern of the life of an average Bengali boy could not satisfy the ardent spirit of Sudhindra who was destined from his birth to build up his own life along an untrodden path. The path was the path of daring adventure, and as early as when he was a schoolboy Sudhin left for America to find his own career.



Dr. Sudhindra Bose and Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa

At Iowa Sudhin settled finally and received his school and university education. After completing his academic course he obtained a doctorate in Political Science.

Even when he was a student there Sudhin made an extensive tour of the western and southern states of America and delivered public speeches on India, her problems and her message. Thus Sudhin earned a lot by these lectures while satisfactorily prosecuting his studies in the University. Again this touring brought him in close contact with every aspect of American life in both rural and urban areas.

Sudhin became a lecturer at the Iowa State University by the year 1914. He used to lecture on the politics of the Far East, the Middle East and the Near East as well as on the problems of Africa and Latin America. These apart, his courses included other general colonial questions too; as a lecturer he was eminently

successful and his remarkable grasp of his subjects was recognised in American circles. An episode will show how his scholarship and worth were recognised by the American people. When discussions were going on about the legislation regarding the exclusion of the Japanese, Chinese, Indians and other Asians from settling in the United States, Dr. Bose was invited by the Federal Government at Washington to give evidence. He always worked for international affinity and tried to promote the unity of inter-human relationships.

Sudhin did all he could to create facilities for Indian students in America. He worked a great deal for the establishment of the Hindustan Students' Association of America. The Association published a journal for the Indians staying in America and the journal became one of the links between people of America and the students from India. It is difficult to estimate the importance of the work that Dr. Bose did for India through the medium of this journal and similar other activities. It moulded to a great extent the American attitude towards India and considerably helped the Americans to have a correct view of the true state of affairs in India.

Dr. Bose used to contribute regularly to Indian journals. His connection with *The Modern Review* was of long standing and he always kept in touch with it even from that distant land. The articles that he regularly contributed to Indian journals, specially to *The Modern Review*, were on the social, economic and the constitutional developments of America and these came out in a book form under the title, *Fifteen Years in America*. It was about 1920.

It was largely due to the efforts of our late Editor that the ban against Bose's entry into India was lifted and he was permitted to visit his motherland.

Dr. Bose paid a visit to India in 1928 as an American citizen accompanied by his American wife. He utilised his visit by gathering the latest first-hand information about India and her problems. He had a mind to make another visit—a wish which was never fulfilled.

The British Government put a restriction on his visiting India and it was after much ado that he secured the permission of visiting it once. However, the work he did for India on a foreign soil will make him remembered as one of the ablest sons of India. His articles published in *The Modern Review* will remain as a record of his deep intellectual attainments. The future historian of India will surely make a proper estimate of the worth, integrity and courage of this exile son of the country.

Bhulabhai Desai

The death of Bhulabhai Desai will be mourned by all; it has inflicted an irreparable loss on our public life. With him passed away one of the ablest lawyers of India and one of the very best parliamentarians of this country. A brilliant speaker, a formidable constitutionalist and a shrewd adviser, Bhulabhai was above all a true patriot to whom the cause of the country as a whole was above the limitations of party, creed or group.

Born on October 13, 1877, at Bulsar in Bombay Province, Bhulabhai started his career as a professor of History and Economics at the Gujarat College at Ahmedabad. After a few years he gave up the academic vocation and joined the Bar in Bombay and built up an extensive practice within a very short time. The record of Bhulabhai's legal career is a glorious one, and

he became one of the leading lawyers of India by virtue of his forensic skill, marshalling of arguments and convincing eloquence.

The successful lawyer was flung into the vortex of India's political struggle when he appeared on behalf of the peasants of Bardoli in 1928 and 1931. Since then he made himself one with the cause of the Congress, and even if he occasionally differed from the Congress programme as in the case of Desai-Liaquat Pact, his association with the Congress ideal remained as close as ever. He did his last service to the cause of nationalism when he defended the I.N.A. prisoners; and his unforgettable closing address will remain as a monument of magnificent legal acumen.

At this critical moment of India's history the loss caused by the death of a man of Bhulabhai's calibre cannot be overestimated. We record our deep sense of grief and regret at this sad event.

Text of the Statement Issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy

The following is the full text of the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy yesterday (May 16):

1. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:—

"My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision."

"I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so."

"But if she does so elect, it must be her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible."

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India.

After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded.

Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of H.M.G. in the U.K.

UNITY OF INDIA

3. We have, accordingly, decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being.

We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

PAKISTAN

6. We, therefore, examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas, one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged.

The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the

Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

NON-MUSLIM MINORITIES

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures (latest census of 1941) show:—

North-Western Area—

	Muslim,	Non-Muslim.
Punjab ..	16,217,242	12,201,577
N.-W. F. P. ..	2,788,797	249,270
Sind ..	3,208,325	1,326,663
Br. Baluchistan ..	438,930	62,701
	<hr/> 22,653,294	<hr/> 13,840,231
	62.07%	37.93%

NORTH-EASTERN AREA—

Bengal ..	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam ..	3,442,479	6,762,254
	<hr/> 36,447,913	<hr/> 34,063,345
	51.69%	48.31%

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

BENGAL AND PUNJAB

7. We, therefore, considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of

Sylhet, and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6% of the population.

We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition.

Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

POINTS AGAINST PAKISTAN

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India.

The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective.

The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

CONGRESS PLAN

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element.

To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with Compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to these Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

INDIAN STATES

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India.

The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation

during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

THE SOLUTION

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for All-India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form:—

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislature, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary, however, for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

CONSTITUTION-MAKING MACHINERY

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new Constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution.

The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250.

Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48% of the total, although they form 55% of the Provincial population.

After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

- (a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.
- (b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population.
- (c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India—General, Muslim, and Sikh, the "General" community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs.

As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (i) We, therefore, propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote:—

TABLE OF REPRESENTATION

SECTION A

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
U. P.	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
C. P.	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

SECTION B

Province	General	Muslim	Sikh	Total
N.-W. F. P.	0	3	0	3
Punjab	8	16	4	28
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

SECTION C

Province	General	Muslim	Total
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70
Total for British India	..	292	..
Maximum for Indian States	..	93	..
Total	..	385	..

NOTE.—In order to represent the Chief Commissioner's Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to

be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council. To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

IMMEDIATE MEETING

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C, in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

COMMUNAL ISSUES

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolution varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new Constitution.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union constitution.

21. The Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives, and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

TREATY WITH BRITAIN

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult task that face the Government of India.

Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect of India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary.

The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people.

The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

APPEAL TO PEOPLE

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all this has not been possible.

We, therefore, now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust, will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen, and the world as a whole.

We, therefore, lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past.

Other relevant statements and documents relating to these proposals are given elsewhere in this issue.—Ed. M. R.

SQUARING THE CIRCLE IN PALESTINE

By **ST. NIHAL SINGH**

I

Ask anybody, anywhere in the world :

"Of what sport are the English the fondest?"

Or

"What is the most characteristically English sport?"

Some may answer "Rugger." Others "Soccer." Some may say "Tennis." Others "Racing." A few may even venture "Hunting."

Most persons will, however, plump for "Cricket." They will immediately proceed to reel off proverbs: "This is not cricket." Or "You are not playing cricket." Some of them will remind you of the Duke of Wellington's famous saying that the battle of Waterloo was won on the cricket fields of Eton.

My own view is different. Slightly different—as an Englishman would say, meaning thereby of course, very much different.

"Squaring the circle" is, I hold, the game of English games. According to the definition they themselves give, it is an attempt to "perform demonstrable impossibility" or simply to "attempt impossibility."

They are at it morning, noon and night. They are at it in their own baby's bib of a land. They are at it in other countries into each of which many a Britain can be put and lost. They are at it even in a land like ours, fit to support the Lord God's foot-stool.

II

Within my sight one such game was begun. Not quite thirty years ago, when it was started, only the prophets could have foretold that it would still be going on and that it would even today prove to be of absorbing interest.

Almost from the very commencement it has not been going on very well for the English. Every year it, in fact, has been going from bad to worse. So parlous, indeed, has it become that any player would be justified in giving it up in disgust.

Not the English, however. They go on and on, come what may. There is the bull-dog grip that never loosens its hold, once the teeth snap.

Of late I am beginning to discern a disposition upon their part to try to coax another player to lean over their shoulder as they play and to give, once in a while, a word of advice as to the move to be made, if not actually take a hand at it. An ingeniously worded, though a tentative, timorous, invitation has been actually extended to their cousins across the Atlantic. The Americans are, however, a canny people and they may fight shy of attempting to "perform demonstrable impossibility."

III

The board upon which this "squaring of the circle" was begun is known to the world as Palestine. Fifteen, it is called by the people who predominate there—the Palestinian Arabs.

They are in conflict with another people—the Beni Israel, or sons of Israel, or Hebrews, commonly called Jews, who would name this very land Zion, if only they could make their will prevail. This they would do because of a hill in the heart of the principal city in that land—Zuroshalam (Jerusalem). To them it—Zion—is the hill of hills in all the world—a magnet that draws them thither.

This holy hill attracts the Jews as irresistibly in modern times as it did in days of old. They fain would have their life revolve round it as it once did—as it did before the rulers of the day (the Romans) drove them out of the land and the great dispersal of their nation began about 1700 years ago. This tragedy they insist upon ending—ending once for all.

Back to Zion—Zionism, or the Zionist movement—has, therefore, two facets for the Jews whose hearts pine for it. On one side it shows the final scenes of a tragedy. On the other it displays the golden glory of an era of reunion that is ready to dawn.

IV

To turn the gleam of hope into the golden glory of fact, the squaring of this circle was begun in the first week of November, 1917. It was begun in London—not in Jerusalem. So it was, at least, in the first instance.

That moment seemed to be singularly propitious for turning one particular "demonstrable impossibility" into possibility. The problem resolved itself into three parts:

Part I : To make Palestine "a National Home for the Jewish people." This was meant to satisfy the Jewish longing for Zion. That was clear enough despite the very guarded language used. It was clear :

First, because it was something in the nature of a reward for a Zionist—Dr. Chaim Weizmann—who had rendered inestimable service to the British and their allies by finding a way to supply an indispensable ingredient for making the most powerful type of explosives. He would take nothing for himself—neither money, nor dignity. Being desirous of ending his people's 1700-year exile from Palestine, he did not, however, object to their profiting from his labours. Such, indeed, was the view entertained by the head of His Majesty's Government—the Rt. Hon'ble David Lloyd George. He should have known if anyone did.

Secondly, the declaration concerning "a national home for the Jewish people" by His Majesty's Government was put in hands that "itched" for this boon to the sons of Israel—the greatest of boons that could be bestowed upon them. Lord Rothschild, the recipient, had given liberally of his substance—no small substance, to be sure—to the Zionist cause.

Thirdly, Zionists all over the world and particularly in the United States of America, accepted the proposition as such.

Part II : Turn Palestine into a "National Home for the Jewish people" yet save it for the Arabs. Save it

by refraining from doing anything "which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

V

How could Part I of the problem be reconciled with Part II? Therein lay the squaring of the circle—the attempting of the "demonstrable impossibility."

The war—World War No. I—was then raging. I was going none too well for Britain and her allies. The pledge for the creation of "a National Home for the Jewish people" was, in fact, expected to unleash forces that would strengthen the allied hand.

Especially in the U.S.A. There the Jews had money. Lots of it. Also influence. Heartened by the declaration, they would pour both money and influence into the prosecution of the struggle. So the optimists fondly hoped.

The revolutionists who had managed to get the upper hand in Russia were, "in the highest stage," Jews. This wondrous pronouncement was expected to have a favourable effect upon them, too.

Both expectations proved illusory. In the fog superinduced by the war, expectations, if attractively tinted, pass however for realities. These did. That is what matters—at this stage of my narrative.

VI

Certainly that first week of November, 1917, was well chosen for rallying the Jews to the allied cause. It appeared, indeed, as if that moment had been specially ordained by the Unseen Powers for this particular purpose. Let me recall the situation to the reader's mind:

The campaign launched in Palestine soon after Turkey joined Germany in World War No. 1, was then nearing its climax. Another few days would see the enemy down on his knees. At the head of the victorious columns General Allenby would triumphantly enter Jerusalem.

The booty belongs to the victor. This has been the rule since man began to contend with man before the dawn of history. With that which he has wrested from his adversary, he has done as he pleased.

VII

At least the victor did so till Pandit Woodrow Wilson appeared on the scene. He was all right when he was teaching political philosophy at Princeton University in New Jersey, not far from New York City. He had, however, ceased long since to fill that chair of learning. At that moment he was at the head of the United States of America. Without the man-power, material-power and money-power of his people, the war in Europe could not be won—at any rate, won by Britain and her allies. Wilson must, therefore, be honoured in his "highfaluting" ideas.

Not all the people in the United Kingdom—very disunited at that moment, for the Sinn Feinners were up in arms across the Irish Sea—were realists. Some were idealists. Even many of the realists prattled about idealism. Had they not said from the outset of the war that they had unsheathed the sword in defence of the freedom of small nations?

It doubly suited Britons, therefore, to fall in with Wilson's idealistic patter. No. They were not in the war to gain anything for themselves. They would not add a

single square mile to their territories. Had they not, in any case, an Empire over which the sun never set?

VIII

There was, of course, Haifa. It was exceedingly well-placed by Nature to serve certain British purposes. Its water-front would tempt even a nation not possessing their maritime skill and experience—their vast and varied interests. What better terminus could there be than this for the pipe-line bringing oil?

'Oil.' Yes. There was oil in that region. Quantities of it—quantities not yet assessable, for only the sketchiest geological surveys had yet been made.

Had not Winston Spencer Churchill, with his God-given vision of the future, predicted that oil would be the world's most precious commodity especially during war? Had he not made an immensely rich oil-bearing area in the neighbourhood secure for his people?

Even so high an authority on the Middle-East as Sir Ronald Storrs has publicly stated that the British had their eyes on Haifa. Having been reared in diplomacy since his early manhood, having devoted to it his working years principally in Egypt and Palestine, his language is a little guarded, yet, I think, not unrevealing. "Those who had heard of the Sykes-Picot negotiations in 1916," he wrote in his essay on Zionism and Palestine, "cherished vague hopes of Great Britain being awarded Haifa as a British possession."

That "award" would, indeed, have completed the turning of the Mediterranean Sea into an English lake. Near it was Cyprus, that the Romancist-imperialist, Benjamin Disraeli—Lord Beaconsfield—himself a Jew, had added to the Empire. Then there were Malta and the Suez Canal, in complete British control. At the other end was "Gib" (Gibraltar)—the Rock, constituting the basis of British communications with the Empire—British Imperial strategy—Empire trade and what not.

Control over Palestine would, indeed, secure British imperial communications that ran through it eastwards—and westwards. It would, indeed, enable Britain to close the strategic and economic circuit—to borrow a figure of speech from the electrician's lingo.

IX

But . . .

There was not one "but" only. There were many "buts," in fact.

Certain promises had been made to the Arabs. Not specially to the Palestinian Arabs. But to the Arabs in Arabia. Still there were racial and religious ties between all Arabs. Till the opening of hostilities there were political ties, too. This tie was supplied by subjection to Turkey—subjection common to them all.

There were also the Muslims in India to be taken into account in this connection. They had not hesitated to fight the Turks any more than the non-Muslims from India had done.

In the zeal to please the Jews, nothing must be done to upset any of these elements. This was said and printed in Britain again and again. By all sorts of people. Of that I can bear witness, for, as I indicated before, I then lived there.

X

Here was a circle. A vicious circle it looked in most eyes.

Especially in the eyes of a Jew. Edwin Samuel Montagu was the very antithesis of the other two Jews I have mentioned. Unlike Weismann (who had been born in Russia and educated upon the continent of Europe) and Rothschild, he was not a Zionist. Left to himself, he would, in fact, forget that, racially, he was different from the fellows among whom he had been born. He had been brought up as an Englishman. As a boy he was sent by his immensely rich father to an English public school at Clifton, near Bristol. He became quite "pally" with Josiah Clement Wedgwood, who was a student there at the time. Thence he went to Cambridge, where he shone particularly as a debator, becoming the president of the Union. Entering politics, he had not the slightest difficulty in obtaining office. Until the summer of 1917, it had been minor office. Then he saw an opportunity to hoist himself into the position of Secretary of State. The opening was made by the scathing minority report that his former school-fellow Wedgwood had indited as a member of the Mesopotamia Commission.

Montagu seized the opportunity with both hands. He directed a withering fire upon the Government of India. It scorched every vestige of efficiency in which it had always garbed itself.

Lloyd George did the one thing that he could. He invited Edwin Samuel Montagu to step into the breach made in the cabinet ranks by the resignation of Austen Chamberlain. This was regarded as a stroke of genius upon his part. The critic was charged with the task of removing the grounds for criticism.

This was precisely what Montagu desired. Within a short time of taking over the Indian portfolio he went to India. With the Viceroy and Governor-General of the day as his principal companion, he perambulated India, met officials and non-officials, apologists of the administration and its critics. Not long after his return to London, with the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in his satchel, he had to give his colleagues of His Majesty's Government the benefit of his advice upon this Zionist adventure with which some of them were then fascinated.

XI

Now that the principal figures that started this game of squaring the Palestinian circle are dead and the lapse of time has made it possible for us to view their performance in perspective, we may well ask, did Montagu help or hinder his countrymen—did he save them from falling into peril's pit or did he, in fact, push them into it? To me he talked, from time to time, with freedom unusual for a man in his responsible position. My intimate association in those years with a London daily, presumed to be fed from the party funds under Lloyd George's personal control, and my acquaintance with the Prime Minister and several members of his family have often raised these questions in my mind.

Montagu meant very well, indeed. That was abundantly realised by even those who regarded him as something of a nuisance—L.G. for one and his neighbour across the Downing Street, Arthur James (later the Earl of Balfour), at the time the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for another. They were bent upon supporting the Zionist cause for purposes of their own, some of which I have already mentioned.

It is difficult for me to believe that but for

Montagu there would have been no warning. No. The warning would have come from India, if not also from the British Agency in Cairo.

Montagu or no Montagu, the circle would have been there. The British would not have supported—at least supported in the open—the Zionist cause without giving some sort of assurance for the protection of the Arab Palestinians' rights. Montagu's seal in the Indian interest might have resulted in the placing of a little stronger accent upon the proviso designed for this purpose. Hardly more.

XII

I take this view because of the English—or, I might even write, the British—fascination for checks or counter-checks, or, as some of them themselves would put it, because of their desire for balance, a desire feeding, at least in their own view, upon their sense of justice and fair-play. Cricket, in fact.

Then, there is the disposition of the principal figures to be considered. No one loved quibbles more than did Lloyd George or, for that matter, Balfour.

Phrase-making was L.G.'s strength as well as his weakness. No child took greater delight in lisping his first articulated word than did this great Welshman in turning off a neat figure of speech. What a genius did he have for it, too! With his mind stored during his childhood with the facts and fables chronicled in the two Testaments and the maxims and proverbs scattered through the pages of the Bible, he could always find—find apparently without searching—some name or incident, some episode or verse—that would hit off the occasion and, possibly, make his opponent look cheap in every one's eyes and even writhe and squirm. I have seen him doing it.

Balfour had a finer mind and certainly a better trained one. Philosophy fascinated him. Also philosophers. He delighted in entertaining Bergson. A Jew of course but in some ways the greatest thinker of his time.

I am convinced that Balfour's dialectical skill could draw upon causticity to greater purpose than could the verbal agility of any other contemporary of his—not excepting L.G.'s.

XIII

These master-minds produced, between them, the Zionists' magna charta—popularly known as the "Balfour Declaration." Though I have given its purport already, I now set it down in its entirety, especially because brevity is one of its many qualities:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Was there ever a greater masterpiece of vague phraseology. Delightfully vague at the time of publication. Not destined to be so delightful later on, however.

Why "a" national home? Why not "the" national home? Was it meant that there was to be another

home or, perhaps, several other homes, for the Jewish people?

What is a "national home," anyway? Were the Jews transplanted in Palestine to be masters over it? If not, what security would that home have for them? Who was to give them security? The British? Were the British to be for ever Palestine's rulers—at least its overlord? If not, who? How?

On the other hand, what did the phrase "the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" signify? Was "civil" used in contradistinction to "military." If so did it include "political" rights?

What of the "military" rights and responsibilities? Who was to shoulder the responsibility for defence? Britain?

Who were these non-Jewish communities? Did they have no name or names of their own? Or else why were they so negatively, so unceremoniously, if not actually somewhat derisively, lumped together? What ratio did their numerical strength bear to the Jews then in Palestine? What ratio would it bear after that land had become "a national home for the Jewish people?"

About the only thing in the "Balfour Declaration" that was not vague was the last proviso in it. It made it clear that "the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country" would remain untouched even after the establishment of this particular "national home" for them in Palestine. They were to gain something—a great deal, in fact—in Palestine without running the risk of losing anything in any quarter of the globe.

XIV

Questions of the kind I have asked here must have occurred to the framers of the Declaration. They did at least to some of us interested in Middle Eastern affairs. We had been told by the British that Germany coveted India—that Germany's road to India lay through this very region. We had seen our soldiers fighting in Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and neighbouring countries. We then had no idea that within another quarter of a century they would again be fighting in parts of this region. Confusion and contention in Palestine were, in any case, not merely of academic interest to us. The resultant conflict might easily react upon us—even involve us in sanguinary strife.

The war was, however, on. It was a jealous jade. It would not permit attention to wander away from the mud and blood that were being thrown up.

With the entry of Allenby into Jerusalem in the second week of November, 1917, Palestine became remote to persons not interested in it for some special reason. The phraseology employed in the "Balfour Declaration" was smooth and reassuring. It lulled even intelligent persons into the belief that the problem was solved. For them the only problem was the eviction of the Turk, unless they happened to be Zionists. For Zionists the problem was the entry of the Jews into Palestine and the Zionisation of Palestine.

XV

The Zionists seemed to be supremely happy. They had had their charter. This charter needed the imprimatur of Powers other than the one that had given it. With their riches and influence, support from the remaining allied powers was easily and quickly secured.

A Jew, Dr. Nabum Sokolov, was instrumental in having the French and Italian governments adopt the Declaration and even in securing the Pope's blessings for the scheme. He was later to appear at Versailles and have the plan accepted by the Peace Conference. He begged that the mandate over Palestine be given to the Power that had promised to facilitate the establishment there of "a national home for the Jewish people." The mandate was not signed till July, 1922: but Britain had been in effective control all along—the control that comes through the triumph of arms, and not through any "chit" issued by an international authority.

Just what talks Weizmann, Sokolov and other Zionist leaders had had with Lloyd George, Balfour and other British statesmen, for the implementation of this pledge, are not known to me. They seem, however, to have gone about their business as if the eventuation of the Palestine "national home" was only a matter of time.

To them "national home" meant just one thing. It was synonymous with the Jewish State. This State would be run by themselves. Its language would be the ancient Hebrew, kept alive and progressive by the pertinacity of the Lord's Chosen People.

In their mind's eye the non-Jews had already been reduced to a minority. That minority might call itself Arab. Was it not, however, largely Jewish, racially speaking?

I heard many a Zionist make that suggestion. Looking into the future he or she saw that minority content and even happy. While its "civil and religious rights" were respected, it had, for the first time in its history, a real opportunity to obtain plenty of work at remarkably high wages and to enjoy amenities of life that it could not have dreamt of. The work, wages and amenities were theirs because of the money the world Jewry had poured into Palestine and because of the intellectual, scientific and technical resources concentrated by the sons of Israel upon draining marshes, washing salt out of the saline lands, bringing waste areas into cultivation and building up exhausted acreages, harnessing waters for irrigation, hydro-electric and potable purposes, and initiating programmes of multifarious nature.

XVI

It looked for a time as if this vision splendid was in process of translation into reality. Allenby's first official proclamation was couched in Hebrew. Soon afterwards the foundations of a Hebrew University were laid in Jerusalem. The Commander-in-Chief (Allenby) was present on the occasion. The Jewish Commission, which had been in the country for some time, had ordered the Jews to use Hebrew exclusively in every day intercourse.

In this matter zeal certainly overran prudence and created no little irritation in the Arab mind. To the Arab-speaking Palestinian this regulation looked like an order for the eventual submersion of his mother-tongue. It certainly did not make for good-neighbourliness.

The Muslim attitude in respect of the "Noble Sanctuary" (Haram-al-Sharif) came as a rude shock to the Zionists. Known to them as "the Wailing Wall," its foundations dated, in Jewish eyes, from at least Herod's time, if they did not go back to Solomon's day. Neither money nor diplomacy availed in the attempt upon Weizmann's part to secure ownership

of the wall or the pavement adjoining it. A species of "passive resistance" organised by the Jewish community served no purpose other than to add to the bitterness.

XVII

The promise held out by material improvements following in the wake of capital sent in by the world Jewry lulled the Arabs into quiescence, even into satisfaction—for a short time. The sale of land to these monied people at inflationary rates did bring in the shekels to the Arab owner. The gain, however great, was only of a temporary nature. Even when the sum received was not frittered away, as it often was, the man who had been a peasant proprietor became a landless worker, utterly at the mercy of some small or large capitalist whose chattel he must of necessity remain to the end of his days.

As this realisation came, all joy went out of Arab life. The coming in of money in a steady, full stream lost its charm. The changing of land from hand to hand at unbelievably high prices became as wormwood and gall. The expropriation was not forced. No. Quite the contrary, it was recognised, however, that the lure of the Jew gold was irresistible. Only the good Lord could deliver the Arab from its witchery. And it looked to the Arab as if, for the nonce, the Lord God had gone to sleep.

The Jew and his partisans and propagandists may go on counting and recounting the advantages that had been flowing into Palestine in the wake of the Zionist immigration and settlement, at least so far as the Arab was concerned. There were . . .

True. There was, however, something else too. The Arabs were becoming landless serfs. In ratio to the Jews, with the ever-rising tide of immigration, their numbers were shrinking. What guarantee was there that, in time, there would not be as many Zionists as there were Arabs? Or for that matter, what assurance was there that these people, alien in speech, social structure and culture and resolved to remain aliens, would not, at some date, and probably no distant date, outnumber them—them, whose patrimony Palestine was?

If the Jews could have their way they meant to go on increasing in numbers and in political might. Everything that the Jews said or did conveyed that impression to the Arabs. They, therefore, insisted upon knowing what was to be their status in their own country. They had been there for 1,200 years. Was that fact of history going to be ignored? Or were they to be given political security—the political security that was their due, that in fact was to them overdue.

Or was it intended that the Arabs were to remain eternally adolescents—charges of the Mandatory Power—of Britain appointed mandatory at the express Jewish wish and through Jewish lobbying.

Or worse still, were the Zionists, in time, to preponderate—preponderate numerically and politically? The very thought was revolting to the Arab soul.

XVIII

As stated earlier, nor were the Zionists pleased. Pleased they might have been at one time. Even in the early stages, they, however, were not satisfied. Their population was not growing at anything like the rate they wished. If immigration continued to be regulated—if only a trickle were allowed from the outside—their concept of Zion would remain merely a concept for at least this generation of Zionists and probably for many generations yet to come.

What was there to assure them, anyhow, that Palestine was to be their National Home in the one sense in which they wished it to be? They could see no signs of the laying of even the foundations for the Jewish State. Naught else was good enough for them.

Whatever the Mandatory did in his effort to placate the Arabs as the Arabs became openly rebellious, set the Jews on edge. They were enraged particularly by the restriction and later the suspension of immigration.

The proposal to partition Palestine, as the one way of settling the dispute enraged both parties. That proposal was rejected by Arab and Jew alike.

Resentment stopped long ere now finding expression simply in verbal protests. The Jew, erstwhile noted for his slinking, shuffling, submissive ways, took to armed resistance and even to acts of terrorism. What he could not achieve by legal—peaceful—means, he began obtaining by violence. He did this despite the admonitory shaking of heads by the elders, who continued to detest the use of force for such purposes.

XIX

No wonder that the Mandatory shied at the American insistence upon the admission of 100,000 Jews, hunted out of home and country and in the last stage of extremity. The nimble-witted Government of the day in London got Washington to consent to a joint enquiry. Two purposes were thereby accomplished:

- (1) Suspension of the issue for a few months; and
- (2) joint deliberation—joint deliberation that might become the fore-runner of joint action.

Will it, however? If I am any judge, there seems to be a disposition in the U.S.A. to regard Palestine as Britain's war-baby. In American eyes it is, in fact, joined on to the British Empire as Siamese twins are.

Still Jewry over there is rich and influential. Some scheme of wet-nursing Britain's war-baby may yet be evolved that many secure relief for the Attlee government, worried—almost anguished—at the way the Palestinian issue is upsetting people all over Middle Asia and India.

All this talk and all the proposals for joint consultation and action show, nevertheless, that Britain has failed to square the Palestinian circle, for all the lightheartedness with which it took up that game in the midst of the first World War.



SOUTH-EAST ASIA IN WORLD POLITICS AND THE FUTURE*

By TARAKNATH DAS, ph.d.

Watmull Foundation Visiting Professor of Public Affairs, Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies, New York University

I

Those who are earnestly interested in getting a full understanding of the role of South-East Asia in world politics should study the much neglected history of the peoples of Asia and their place in the past history of the world. This is imperative, because world politics, like other phases of world history, has a continuity and inter-relations. The peoples of Asia have contributed their share to the world culture and progress; and possibly their share, before the advent of European domination of Asia, was greater than those of Europe even in the fields of pure and applied science. In passing I wish to emphasise that the ancient Jews of Asia, the peoples of the Near East (mostly Semitic in origin), the Persians, the Hindus, the Chinese, the Arabs and the Turks were far more civilised at certain periods of world history than the peoples of the West. This I say, not to claim any superiority of the peoples of Asia over the peoples of Europe; but to remind some of the western peoples and even scholars that the peoples of Asia did build empires, ruled themselves and even subjugated the peoples of Europe and thus they are not inherently inferior to them and they can govern themselves, unless they are deprived of the opportunity through some peculiar civilised devices which are termed as training them for self-government.

Furthermore, it must be also remembered that because the peoples of Asia have been subjugated by the peoples of Europe, that does not imply that the peoples of Asia are to remain permanently enslaved. To clarify the significance of this statement I wish to point out that the Arabs or the Saracens as they were then called, conquered Spain, and ruled over that land for several centuries, but the Arabs were not only expelled from Spain, but Spain developed one of the largest empires in the world which spread in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Americas for several centuries. The Turks also ruled over a vast portion of Europe, including the large portion of Central Europe and Southern Russia, but these subjugated peoples have attained their freedom, after several centuries of loss of independence. At least for four centuries parts of Russia were under Asian domination but to-day Russia has developed into one of the greatest and ever-expanding inter-continental empires of the world. What has been true for Europe and certain peoples at certain periods of world history, the same thing might become also true for other peoples under the same peculiar world forces. What I am trying to emphasise is this: No people has a special monopoly for continuous domination over other peoples—the rise and fall of nations has been the history of the world; and in studying world history, we find only one constant factor and that is the phenomenon of "constant change" for progress or for fall.

II

The history of the region that is known today as South-East Asia—Burma, Malaya, States, Indonesia, Siam, Indo-China—may be divided very broadly into

several historic periods: (i) pre-Hindu period, (ii) Hindu period, (iii) advent of Islamic incursions specially in Indonesia, (iv) the period of European expansion and domination, and (v) the period of struggle for Freedom from Western Powers.

Even during the pre-Hindu period the original inhabitants of South-East Asia, specially those of Indonesia, according to such Dutch authorities as Kern and others lived in democratic village communities in which there existed joint-responsibility of the members of the community for the common welfare and public order. —(*History of the East Indian Archipelago* by Prof. Bernard Vlekke, Harvard University Press, page 8).

The period of more than a thousand years from the fourth century B.C. to the eighth and ninth century A.D. may be regarded as a glorious period of Hindu History when Indian immigrants colonised various islands of South-East Asia; and Hindu influence became the most predominant factor in cultural as well as political and economic life of the region which now is known as Indo-China where the monuments of Angkor are the best expression of Hinduised local dynasties. In Siam, in Malaya and Burma, there are undisputed evidences of Hindu and Buddhist influence. Regarding Indonesia, it is a fact that descendants of the Hindu immigrants and Hinduised Indonesians formed the upper class of society for several centuries. They flourished in Java, Sumatra, Borneo and even in Celebes. They established states and empires. The greatest of all the monuments of the Hindu period (Sailendra period between 760-860 A.D.) is the temple of Borobudur in Java. From the eleventh century on, the Hindu-Indonesian civilization became more Indonesian than Hindu.

Arab expansion into East Asia began through India. Before the rise of Arab seapower, in the Indian Ocean, Hindu sea-power as well as shipping was predominant; and merchants from Gujarat and Cambay from the western coast of India used to be the leaders in trading between India and the islands of South-East Asia. When the Arabs made incursions into Gujarat, they became interested in spice-trade between India and South-East Asia and through India they came to Indonesia and China in search for trade. This happened about the twelfth century A.D. Arab commercial penetration later developed into political and cultural one, although they did not succeed in completely destroying independence of Indonesian States. For instance, Gaja-Medha, the founder of the Javanese Empire and sea-power ruled for more than thirty years 1531 to 1566 over a unified empire spreading in various islands.

The next period of history of East Asia, starts with European expansion in Asia which began with the discovery of the Sea route to India by Vasco de Gama in 1498. This followed a period of Arab-Portuguese

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rivalry for the control of the trade routes and trade of the regions of Indian Ocean, including Eastern Asia. The Portuguese Empire under the leadership of Albuquerque established its headquarters at Goa as early as 1511; while the Spaniards who were expanding in America, arrived in Asia and established themselves in Manila in 1571. The Portuguese dominated East Asian trade and controlled many islands and even established themselves at Macao in China and sought for trade with Japan. As time will not permit us to get into details of the sixteenth century European expansion, it may be summed up as Arab-Portuguese rivalry in world trade and world politics; and South-East Asia, with the spices and also Indian textile trade with these islands played an important part.

In the seventeenth century we find the advent of Great Britain, Holland and France towards the Orient to search for trade and to overthrow Portuguese trade monopoly. From this time on, we find certain fundamental features in relation to world politics of Eastern Asia. These can be summed up as follows: (i) Quest for wealth of Asia by European Powers through commerce and political subjugation of oriental countries by various means, specially by fomenting civil wars and using one faction of oriental ruling group against the other and using oriental man-power whenever possible; (ii) While these European Powers were in agreement in exploiting and subjugating the countries of the Orient, they were not unanimous about their shares of trade and conquered countries. This developed into rivalry among European Powers in the Orient; and in this game of Power politics oriental countries became mere pawns. For instance, Anglo-Dutch rivalry against Portugal led to elimination of Portugal as the predominant power in Asia while the Dutch in South-East Asia—the present Indonesia, Ceylon and even in South Africa, took the place of Portuguese supremacy, and the English began to spread their commercial influence in India. After the elimination of the Portuguese, we know that the history of the seventeenth century in East Asia may be characterised as Anglo-Dutch rivalry in this region and the Dutch assumed supremacy by ousting the British, the Danes and others from equal trade opportunity. By 1680 Netherlands controlled the whole of East Indian archipelago. Seventy years later about the year 1750 only two major islands remained free from the dominating power of the Dutch.

The eighteenth century as a whole and a part of the nineteenth century until the Napoleonic War, might be characterised as the period of Anglo-French rivalry in world politics and this rivalry was keenest in India. It resulted in British ascendancy and elimination of France in India. During the nineteenth century, Britain not only consolidated her mastery over India, but she from India began to expand in many directions and so far as East Asia is concerned she expanded in Malaya Archipelago, conquered Burma, fought China in the opium wars and imposed extra-territorial jurisdiction over China. France during the nineteenth century also expanded in South-East Asia and established her Indo-Chinese colony through stages of conquest. Siam also lost her territories both to France and Britain due to the existence of Anglo-French rivalry in this region during the latter part of the nineteenth century, while during the twentieth century Siam again became a victim of Anglo-French concert.

I hold that there has been and still is a kind of European concert to maintain European supremacy in

East Asia at the cost of freedom of Asian peoples. However, during the last century, i.e., the middle of the nineteenth century there has been an effort for reassertion of Asiatic states to regain their freedom. This effort did not have any appreciable success until the victory of Japan over Russia at the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905. This victory became a psychological factor in giving greater impetus to all nationalist movements which began in various Asian countries during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Imperial powers like Britain in India and the Dutch in East Indies and the French in Indo-China had to make concessions to the peoples of these lands so that they may have some share in the government of the country. In international politics, the new trend took the form of efforts for eliminating European control of Asia—Japan taking the leadership in this activities. By the time the World War I broke out, Asian Powers—China and Japan in particular—decided to act with the primary objective of eliminating German influence in East Asia in which they succeeded. This war and the Russian Revolution had their repercussions in all Asian countries in the form of nationalist movements taking the form of revolutionary character. The Imperialist Powers had to make concessions to the moderates of these countries and used severe repressive measures against the so-called extremists who were asking for independence and not reforms. This struggle for Asian Independence is one of the most important and the third phase of world politics of East Asia.

III

To be sure Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor was the immediate cause of American-Japanese war. But the war was in the process of development for many years, specially since the days of the Washington Conference. Japanese southward expansion which began after the Sino-Japanese War when she got possession of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands was at first not regarded as a menace to the Anglo-American Powers. When Japan after the World War I secured German rights in China and German islands in the Pacific, above the equator and when the Japanese economic expansion began to menace commercial supremacy of the British, Dutch and also the Americans in Eastern Asia, Anglo-American Powers and Holland adopted concerted economic and political and defensive measures against Japan's southward expansion. Imposition of special tariffs and quotas on Japanese goods in British and Dutch colonies and the Philippines was nothing but the result of economic rivalry. Building of Singapore naval base was also directed as a protective measure against possible Japanese expansion to the south. As early as the days of the Washington Conference, the United States Government by a note to the Dutch Government gave a guarantee of security of Dutch possessions in South-East Asia. We know that long before Pearl Harbor i.e., early in 1941, Anglo-American-Dutch military and naval officers had discussions at Singapore over measures to be taken to check Japanese expansion to the South. In fact it is now established beyond doubt that Japanese march through Indo-China towards Siam brought about a condition menacing British and Dutch possessions in South-East Asia which led to sharpest protest from the United States and became a contributory cause of the inevitable conflict between Japan and the United States. Japan wanted to eliminate Western Powers from controlling the vast and rich regions of

South-East Asia, of course primarily for her own benefit; but she was conscious of the opposition from a "concert of Western Powers" dominating the region. Japan in order to counteract the "concert of Western Powers in Asia" devised the programme of creating a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Area in which Asian peoples would act in a concert under Japanese leadership against their Western masters. Japan was utilising nationalist movements in East Asia to her advantage. To be sure Japan has been eliminated as a political and economic rival of those Western Powers which control East Asia; but the movement for Asian Independence has not been eliminated. On the contrary it is asserting its power in various parts of Asia, particularly in South-East Asia. It is interesting to note that a new type of concert of Western Powers is asserting itself to crush these Independence movements and a new type of concert of Asian peoples is also trying to bring about a new solidarity. This is manifest in every part of Asia specially in South-East Asia in connection with Indonesian and Indo-Chinese struggle for freedom.

IV

THE ATTITUDE OF GREAT POWERS

What is the attitude of the great Powers which have become victorious over the Axis Powers—with great help from Asian peoples in men, materials, etc.—towards Asian freedom and freedom of the peoples of South-East Asia?

Of course we know that the United States of America was committed to establish a free Philippine Republic, even long before the outbreak of the last World War; and there is not the least doubt about carrying out this solemn promise. Regarding other Powers and other Asian countries which are not free, the situation is somewhat and radically different.

We know that there is not very great difference in substance about British Foreign and Colonial Policies during the Tory and Labour administrations. The great British Tory Imperialist Patriot, the ex-Premier the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, for whom I have great respect for his frankness in matters of imperial concern, told the whole world that the principles of Atlantic Charter would not apply to India and other British colonies. He made it definitely clear to his late friend President Franklin D. Roosevelt who respected the wishes of his friend "Winston" more than he cared for the principles upon which the great republic of the United States was founded. Of course, as a great statesman and war-President, he was concerned with winning victory over the Axis Powers first and to him it was clear that Anglo-American co-operation might have been ruffled, if he insisted that there should be any international guarantee for the Freedom of the subject peoples. After all, the principal concern of the United States was 'its Survival' which was assailed by the Axis Powers and also the necessary destruction of Axis Powers which pursued a policy of world conquest. Mr. Churchill also made it clear to the Soviet Russian statesmen that Anglo-Soviet Agreement (the so-called Churchill-Molotov Agreement) was based upon the fact that Soviet Russia would not meddle in Britain's "private affairs"—of course affairs of India and colonial affairs are according to the recognised principles of international relations among the Great Powers are Britain's private affairs. Mr. Churchill took up the question with General Chiang Kai-shek before and at the time of Cairo Con-

ference, and made it clear to him that His Majesty's Government would not tolerate any form of Chinese interference with Indian and British colonial affairs in the East; because they were Britain's exclusive and private affairs. Mr. Churchill, I was told by a reliable Chinese spokesman, was indignant with General Chiang, because he suggested to President Roosevelt to take the initiative in settling Indo-British problems through mediation of the United States or United States, China and Russia. Mr. Churchill also made it clear that Britain would not give up her control over Hongkong.

The British Government has extended fullest support all along to the Dutch Government-in-exile to the proposition that Holland must not be deprived of her colonial empire in which Britain has a very large share of economic interest; and this British support to Dutch Imperialism is the corner-stone upon which the edifice of Anglo-Dutch co-operation in world politics is based—the Dutch Government is committed to Anglo-Dutch co-operation in European politics.

The position of the French Government-in-exile under General de Gaulle and the present French Government is to maintain its empire in Asia, Africa and America. Although the British Government had some difference of opinion regarding French position in the Near East and Africa, it was always ready to support the French claims to the recovery of Indo-China as a part of the Empire. The Government of the United States did not wish to take the initiative in opposing French Imperialism in the Far East and held that the question of Indo-China's freedom should be settled in such a fashion as may be agreeable to the Chinese Nationalist Government. But as the Chinese Government was forced to concede at the Cairo Conference Britain's right to retain control over Hongkong, it could not very well oppose French claims to Indo-China, unless she received support from the United States as well as Britain. But it is needless to add that British policy was definite that no European Imperialist Power be deprived of control over its colonial possessions in the Far East, because that might serve as a precedent against British Imperialism in India, Burma, Malaya and other quarters.

Thus it may be safely asserted that at the Cairo Conference, by secret written or unwritten agreement, the question of freedom of the subject peoples of South-East Asia was adversely decided; because the United States sided with Britain while China, dependent upon Anglo-American Powers for her very existence, had to concede to the unholy decision.

V

At Teheran Conference, the question was not so much what would be done with the Far East, but what should be done in Europe and the Near East. Soviet Russia was pressing the Anglo-American Powers to open up the Second Front and also to concede to her claims to the border states in Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Black Sea. She was also interested in maintaining her position in Persia. We do not know the texts of the agreements of Teheran, but from the subsequent developments in world politics we can surmise that Russian claims were conceded to, not because Anglo-American Powers were interested in augmenting Russian Power in Europe and the Near East, in place of the Axis Powers, but they felt that if they did not concede to Russian demands, Germany might make

more lucrative offers to Soviet Russia for a separate peace which should be prevented at any cost. Thus we think Soviet Russia did not raise any objection to decisions arrived at Cairo, regarding continuance of colonial imperialism in the Far East, so long as Anglo-American Powers were agreeable to her demands for the Baltic States, partition of Poland, domination over the Balkan States and recognition of her rights in Persia. Of course Teheran Agreement guaranteed independence of Persia, although Persia never asked for it; and historians know that such agreements are often made regarding a country which might be partitioned by the protectors. Today Persia is being partitioned through a revolt inspired and supported by Soviet Russia. Thus it must not be forgotten that Soviet Russia was a silent partner in upholding European Imperialism in the Far East, provided these imperialist nations agreed to Soviet Russian demands in other parts of the world.

At Teheran Conference, the concern of Anglo-American statesmen was that Soviet Russia should be appeased to prevent any remote possibility of a German-Russian peace or Soviet Russia not continuing to fight Germany for receiving compensations in territories in the Eastern Europe and Balkans. But at Yalta Conference, the concern was that Soviet Russia should be induced to give up her neutrality against Japan and join the Anglo-American Powers and China so that America and Britain would not have to make great sacrifices in men to fight the Japanese land forces which were virtually intact. Here began the question of Soviet demands in the Pacific in more concrete form. There is no doubt that at Yalta it was agreed that Soviet Russia would get Kurile Isles, Shagalien, and part of Korea at 33 parallel, Port Arthur (as a compensation, because Britain was retaining Hongkong) and virtual dominance over Manchuria.

The decisions at Yalta which might have affected China were to be re-negotiated with China and Soviet Russia. It may be recalled, even at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, Soviet Russia did not participate at the same conference with the Chinese representatives of the government of General Chiang Kai-shek. It was through the good offices of Washington Government, Soviet Russia and Nationalist China began to discuss problems affecting their interests in the Far East after the defeat of Japan. When the Potsdam Conference was in progress, at Moscow Soviet Russia was negotiating a treaty of alliance and friendship with China and making her decision to get into the Pacific War against Japan, so that she would be entitled to get her share of division of territories in East Asia. We do not know of all the secret agreements that were made at Moscow, but it is certain and definite, that China had to give up her claims of suzerainty over Inner Mongolia as well as Outer Mongolia which is virtually a part of Soviet Russian Empire in the East. We know that Soviet Russia is not satisfied with what she has acquired in the Far East and she wanted to occupy northern Japan—Hokkaido—adjoining Shagalien Island, and she has been so far prevented from doing so and thus there is the lack of Soviet Russian co-operation in the Far Eastern Commission. *What I am trying to making clear that Soviet Russia at the present time is more interested in getting as much for herself in the Far East with the consent of the Anglo-American-Chinese Powers than freedom of the subject peoples.*

VI

After the death of President Roosevelt and fall of Mr. Churchill as British Prime Minister, President Truman took the initiative in reconciling France and bringing France back on the side of the Anglo-American Powers, to carry out the programme of formation of a bloc of Atlantic Community of Powers within the United Nations Organisation. De Gaulle was invited to Washington and several economic agreements have been made with France and Washington. De Gaulle decided to co-operate more with Anglo-American Powers than with Soviet Russia, and the price paid to France was Anglo-American support fully so that France will again secure control over Indo-China.

After the surrender of Japan, when the Indo-Chinese nationalists (who are regarded by some people as pro-Japanese) declared their independence, it was decided that both China and Britain would send their forces to disarm the Japanese forces in that region. Indo-Chinese Republicans wanted to have their regime recognised; but the British forces entered Indo-China and is holding the country for the French to re-occupy. This act of co-operation by the British to uphold French imperialism in the Far East has paid a very great dividend to British diplomacy, which has succeeded to have an Anglo-French alliance in the Near East on British terms about which Mr. Sulzberger of *New York Times* has given the information in the issue of December 14, 1945.

After the question of Indo-China being settled in favour of France, it is quite natural that Britain should take an aggressive control over Siam which has been a bone of contention between the British and the French for nearly a century. Siam was allowed to exist as an independent buffer State because both Britain and France agreed to the continuance of its independence after they rounded out their territories at the expense of Siam and concluded the Anglo-French Entente of 1906. Siam has been a pawn in the game of international politics; but the dangerous significance of Siam controlled by a Power which may be opposed to British control of South-East Asia, has been fully demonstrated by Japanese control of Siam and through Siam the conquest of Singapore to Burma, threatening the very heart of the British Empire in India. Thus it is quite natural to the interest of Great Britain that Siam should be free to the extent it would serve her imperial interests and there must not be any dominating influence of any other Power in Siam which may be hostile to British interests. It has been reported, according to the *New York Times*, that the British Government has presented to Siam some ten demands, the compliance of which would reduce that country to a dependency of Britain. The British authorities deny any such intention, but it wishes to hold Siam accountable for not putting up sufficient resistance against Japan and also for annexing certain territories which were under British control, but which originally belonged to Siam.

The truth of the situation is that as "Atlantic Charter" does not apply to an enemy country and the British do not wish to have a government in Siam which is not approved by the British (the present Government is headed by former Siamese Minister to the United States—Seni Promaj) they have adopted the measures suitable to them. Those who wish to criticise the Siamese situation should think of the

precedents established by Soviet Russia in having only such governments in neighbouring countries which must be wholly agreeable to her—following common foreign, economic and defence policies. Siam may remain independent, but its government will have the same kind of independence as the government of Iraq or the government of Haile Selassie, under the dominant influence of Great Britain. There are Americans who may be opposed to such an arrangement, but we do not know whether such an arrangement was not agreed upon by the late President Roosevelt and the ex-Prime Minister Churchill.

VII

THE SITUATION IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

What has happened and is happening in Indonesia during and after the Second World War has some significant historical parallels of what happened during and after the Napoleonic War and the Congress of Vienna. To make the story as simple and as brief as possible, I wish to emphasise the following points which may not be known to many of you and which are not emphasised even by average historians and students of international affairs.

The Napoleonic War was surely an important chapter in Anglo-French rivalry in world politics which lasted for a century. It was a world war and it had its African, Asian and American as well as European aspects. India was the centre of Asian aspect (Napoleon made an alliance with Tipoo Sultan of Mysore to drive the English out of India and to re-establish French influence there, if that was possible). The South-Eastern theatre of conflict was in Dutch East Indies—in the island of Java and its environs.

During the Napoleonic War, French forces overran Holland and the Prince of Orange fled from Holland and established a "government-in-exile" from 1795 to 1810 at Kew, near London. The Government of Holland was taken over by a puppet government, headed by one of the brothers of Napoleon. This Dutch Government made an alliance with France against England. After this happened, the combined forces of the French Republic and the puppet Dutch government took steps to strengthen their position in Java, menacing British interests in South East Asia, even constituting a possible menace to India. The combined French and Dutch forces under the command of General Janssens were no less than 17,000 men with 250 guns. Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, under the East India Company, in 1810, on his own authority decided to send an expeditionary force from India to take possession of Java. This force "numbered 12,000 combatants, conveyed on fifty-seven transports, and conveyed by more than forty ships of war, great and small." Needless to say that the majority of the forces was Indian and India through the East India Company footed the bill. The military command was under General Sir Samuel Ahmuty, while Sir Stamford Raffles, the later founder of Singapore, was entrusted with the task of conquest of Java and its administration.

To make the story short, the British defeated the superior forces of General Janssens; and on September 18, 1811, the latter surrendered to the British. The East India Company directors were not interested in occupying Java permanently, but they were interested in destroying French power in the island and ordered Lord Minto to give up occupation of the island. But Lord Minto, disobeying the order from London

continued its occupation, because he was afraid that the native population of Java, which was infuriated with the Dutch policy of exploitation might have injured the Dutch inhabitants. This control of Java by the British broke up Dutch monopoly of the spice trade of that region. At least for five years the British ruled over Java and later on after the Congress of Vienna, transferred the island to the Dutch, with certain understandings that Britain would gain possession of Cape of Good Hope and surrounding Dutch possession and also Ceylon. Of course, the British favoured Dutch occupation of South-East Asian islands, because Holland in Europe was disposed to follow a foreign policy favourable to British interests and Dutch occupation of South-East Asian islands was a factor in Anglo-Dutch co-operation in world politics and a guarantee against any form of independence of the people of these islands which would have been detrimental to the cause of 'bearing whiteman's burden' and 'civilising the heathens' with the boons of 'imperialist and exploitative government'!

VIII

During the Second World War, the main cause of which might be termed as "Anglo-German Rivalry in World Politics," which began during the latter part of the nineteenth century and continued until the fall of Hitler, the situation in the Dutch East Indies has resolved into the following: It was Hitler, in place of Napoleon, who in 1940 overran Holland and menaced Great Britain; and Queen Wilhelmina established the "Dutch-Government-in-exile" in London. It was Hitler's ally Japan which in 1941-42 after defeating the combined forces of Holland, British and the United States occupied Java. In 1945, Japan surrendered to the United States, but the Japanese forces in Java were to be disarmed by the British and the Dutch, and the Dutch Government was to be re-established. In 1811 the people of Indonesia were not in a position to assert their independence by opposing British arms; but in 1945, the Indonesian nationalists who want their country to be free and independent have proclaimed the establishment of a Republic of their own. They are of course regarded as extremists (because they do not want to have Dutch rule re-established under the protection of Anglo-American support, and they are of the same type of extremists as George Washington and his followers in the United States were and who refused to make compromise on the issue of absolute independence).

As in 1810-1811, the British landed forces from India to conquer Java for the Dutch, so this time Indian soldiers are also playing the major role in subjugating the nation of 70,000,000, supposedly led by extremists who want freedom of their country from a foreign yoke. It has been reported that the Dutch soldiers equipped with American arms and trained in America, after landing in Java, shot down many Indonesians violating all civilised methods of warfare. (I for myself, in these days of Atomic Bombs, do not know the limits of civilised methods of warfare). This has led to reprisals and counter-reprisals to the extent of burning Indonesian villages by Indian soldiers, of course, led by British officers. Much criticism has been heard from statesmen, newspapermen, radio commentators and others in the United States about the existing situation in Java. There has been some criticism of the British policy in Java even in England by some members of the British Parliament such as Mr. Sorensen. But

the British Labour Government spokesmen have made it clear that Britain is going to hold the Indonesian islands for Holland.

IX

The criticism of British policy in Java has reached in the United States to the extent that no less a person other than the British Ambassador Lord Halifax, the great Churchman, on December 14, 1945, speaking before the twenty-fifth anniversary dinner of the English-speaking Union, held at Washington, made the significant and illuminating statement, defending *British policy as Anglo-American policy*. The great Christian gentleman said :

"Some people in this country are inclined to blame us (the British) for what is happening (in Java). But what are the facts? We did not send our troops to Java on our own initiative. They went there to carry out work which had been assigned to them by the combined chiefs of staff. *The decision is not British, but Anglo-American.*"—*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1945.

This statement makes sense ; and it makes the deep-rooted policy of the victorious powers in Asia clear. In China, the United States has been assigned to a certain task and American forces in co-operation with the Chinese Nationalist Government is carrying out this task. In Indonesia, possibly in the region, south of the Philippines and beyond China, the task of enforcing the decision of the Anglo-American statesmen has been assigned to Anglo-Dutch forces, which also constitute Indian and Australian forces.

The question has been raised by Captain Harold Stassen and other statesmen, who must be regarded as most visionary and impractical from the standpoint of Lord Halifax and other Anglo-American statesmen who also talk of the United Nations and Trusteeships for the subjugated peoples, etc., that there should be an immediate armistice in Java and the whole question should be settled by a committee of the United Nations which must be binding to all the members of the United Nations.

However, on the 14th December, Dr. Hubertus van Mook, Acting Governor-General of Netherlands Indies, on the eve of his departure from Batavia to Holland for a conference, has declared that

"The Dutch Government believes that the Indonesian Revolt should not be tossed in the lap of the United Nations Organisation. . . ."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, December 15, 1945.

It may not be out of place to mention that Indonesian Nationalist leaders have repeatedly asked for mediation by the United States, China and Soviet Russia or any of these powers ; but of course no mediation is possible unless both parties in dispute agree for such a procedure. The Dutch Government holds that *Dutch sovereignty over Dutch Indies is acknowledged by Anglo-American governments as well by France and other nations ; and it does not wish to prejudice its right to dominate over these islands in any form. This was also the position of the British Government regarding Indian nationalist demands and the situation in Burma and elsewhere.*

X

What will be the outcome of the situation in South-East Asia, especially in Indonesia? It is conceivable and apparent that the Concert of Western Powers are

already in agreement that French, Dutch and British colonies in South-East Asia cannot have absolute independence even to the extent what has been accorded to Albania. It seems that in near future certain concessions towards self-government will be made to these dependencies ; but these countries with immense rich raw-materials of oil, rubber, sugar, zinc, coffee, etc., must remain under the control of dominant Western Powers on the ground these Asiatic peoples are not qualified to govern themselves !!

Will such a solution be satisfactory to the Asiatic peoples as a whole? It may be that the peoples of Asia and their feelings do not count ; because there is a double standard of international morality among the statesmen of the West who are so determined to create a new world order for the benefit of humanity ! But one should probe into the situation as student of history. The seed of the future history lies in the present developments. History is not determined by 'rubber' 'tin,' 'oil' or by 'machines'. Human elements or psychological aspect of history cannot be ignored by any true historian or a statesman, when we hear today so much of 'psychological warfare' and 'propaganda weapon.'

At the very outset let us consider what have been the Indonesian feelings about the Second World War. Indonesians did not, as a whole, act as Japanese puppets, but were for their freedom. In fact they were opposed to Japanese imperialism no less than they have been opposed to Dutch Imperialism. They are fighting for their own freedom as well as Asian freedom. The following passage from Mr. Hallet Abend's book which was based upon an interview with an Indonesian patriot, early 1941, will throw light on the possible attitude of the Indonesians to the future developments :

"Obviously, if the Atlantic Charter is to be made genuinely effective, then the close of this war cannot see the perpetuation of a system whereby 8,000,000 Netherlands, most of them living half the world away, rule and exploit 70,000,000 of the peoples of these islands. We know that our only hope for the future lies in a victory of democracies, and we know that Japan as well as Germany and Italy must be defeated if we are to enjoy any existence short of political and economic slavery. . . . Some of the Dutch say we shall eventually have dominion status equivalent to that of Canada. For instance, your United States admits Canadians or Australians—but you would not admit us on an equal footing because of your exclusion laws against orientals. Does the Atlantic Charter mean the demolition of such barriers all over the world? We doubt it, and yet if it does not, then the Atlantic Charter betrays us. . . . We are willing to help the white man now with our lives and our blood and our treasure, but if the races with colored skins are not given justice at the end of this war, then an even more terrible war must follow it within two or three decades.

"Count us up and think it over. We shall be formidable. There are 450,000,000 Chinese ; 340,000,000 natives of India (380,000,000 now) ; in Thailand and Indo-China are another 32,000,000 people ; Burma and Malaya have more than 20,000,000. We in the Indies are 70,000,000, the Japanese are 70,000,000, and the Koreans nearly 25,000,000 more. We total more than one billion people, not counting the Arabs, the people of Iran, the Egyptians and others who might side with us, if the white man does not give us real justice.

"If Japan were not lying and treacherous, if she were really embarked upon a Holy War to free the peoples of Asia from injustice—political and eco-

conomic and social—which the white races have inflicted upon the yellow and the brown, then we would be on Japan's side. If we are betrayed by the eventual peace, then some Asiatic nation will arise as a genuine and unselfish emancipator, and the ensuing conflict will make the present war seem like only an amateurish rehearsal.”—(*Ramparts of the Pacific*, Hallet Abend, New York, 1942).

What is the Chinese attitude to the situation? The Chinese nationalist government is in a very peculiar situation. Asian independence is one of its creeds. Dr. Sun Yat Sen held that Chinese independence will never be secure, unless the subject peoples of Asia are freed, through Chinese help, from oppressive foreign yoke. This view is shared by all responsible Chinese, of all political parties, specially Communists. But at the present crisis in China in the midst of Civil War, the Chinese Nationalist Government cannot and must not take any stand in international affairs which might be opposed to the decisions of the “chiefs of Staff” or Anglo-American Powers whose active support in the field of international relations, finance and defence is essential for survival of China. China cannot take the active part in the liberation of Indonesians or others now; but there is no doubt China's voice and actions will be felt in due course of time.

What is the attitude of Philippines regarding the struggle that is going on in South-East Asia? The Filipinos are not only in favour of Indonesian freedom but are for freedom of subject peoples of Asia. The following news-item sent by Mr. McR. Johnson, on December 10, 1945, from Manila to the *N. Y. Herald Tribune*, will throw some glaring light on the situation:

“Indication of the foreign policy of the Government of the Philippines, when it becomes a republic next July, is seen by many in the passage by the Senate here (Manila) of a resolution of sympathy of the Filipino people for the Indonesians in their fight for independence.

“Although the problem of their own independence comes first, there is no doubt that political and governmental leaders would like to present an independent Philippine republic as a model for Pacific peoples who seek to break French, Dutch, and British bonds. Nationalistic Filipinos want to see their new nation achieve pre-eminence over any others which may be born as a result of political unrest and revolts in Netherlands East Indies, French Indo-China and India.

“The Senate resolution approved unanimously, was introduced by Mariano Jesus Cuenco. He pointed out racial ties between the two peoples and the inherent right of a people to be free from any foreign domination.

“He said the Indonesian people had proved by their culture and civilization their capacity to govern themselves, although Holland's attitude is ‘understandable.’ In introducing the resolution, however, he declared that the ‘civilized world’ should energetically protest against the intrusion of Great Britain.

“A considerable number of Filipino guerrillas agitated a month ago for the formation of a column to go to Java to aid the Indonesians in their fight for independence.”

• This makes abundantly clear that under ordinary circumstances the Filipinos will actively support the cause of Indonesian independence which is only a part of Asian independence.

WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA?

Indian soldiers, specially Gurkhas, are being used by the British authorities, to crush the Indonesian Republican Government and to restore Dutch Imperialism in South-East Asia. The use of Indian soldiers against the Indonesians should not be regarded as an indication of Indian support to the cause of Dutch Imperialism, championed by the British Labour Government, under the cover of various pretexts of restoring law and order as well as disarming the Japanese soldiers. Even the Gurkhas in India are opposed to the use of Indian soldiers against the Indonesian people. The *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta in its issue of November 2, 1945, gives the following news-item:

“Kurseong, October 31, 1945.—Mr. Shiva Kumar Rai, General Secretary, All-India Gurkha League, has sent the following telegram to the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief of India:

“We vehemently protest against using Gurkha troops in Indonesia. There is no justification. We urge you to recall the Indian troops immediately.”

From various news-items published in the same issue of this Calcutta Nationalist Daily, it becomes clear that Indian protest against the use of Indian soldiers against Indonesians is a part of a far more significant movement affecting the future of South-East Asia and the future relations between the East and the West. Under the leadership of All-India Congress (Nationalist) Party mass meetings—South-East Asia Day—in sympathy with the cause of the Indonesian people are being held all over India, particularly in the province of Bengal. *Nationalist India*, responding to the call of *Nationalist Burma*, has taken up the constructive suggestion of a *South Asiatic Countries Conference*, leading to “future federation of Asiatic nations.”

From the following extracts from the editorial published in the *Hindustan Standard* of Calcutta, one will get a clear idea of the possible future developments:

“The Congress President (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of All-India Congress Party) has endorsed the suggestion of the leader of the Burmese nationalist movement, U Aung San, for holding a South Asiatic Countries Conference, with the addition that the Conference be held in India. Srijut Sarat Chandra Bose (Nationalist leader of Bengal) has also approved of the suggestion and visualised the unity of the subject countries of the East as the foundation of the future federation of the Asiatic nations. This undoubtedly is the fitting complement to the recent celebration of all over India of the South East Asia Day to demonstrate India's feelings about nationalist aspirations and movements of the subject countries of the East.

“The oppressed and the exploited are all one irrespective of the geographical distance that separates one from another. Science has almost annihilated space and time. The war has completed the demonstration of the futility of isolation that might have been considered sometime ago as security against the flood-tide of aggression from distance. True as the dictum is in its general application, it is truer still in respect of the countries of South East Asia that for centuries have been growing under the iron-heels of the European imperialist nations. Burma, Malaya, Siam, Indo-China, Java, Borneo, Sumatra, Philippines are indissolubly linked with India on one side and China on the other. They have been so all along even in the distant past when space used to

be a formidable factor to reckon with and distance not as easily negotiable as now. Historically most of the countries of South-East Asia have been one alike in good and evil days. In the golden days of India these countries formed parts of the Greater India that had laid down the ideal of conquest without bloodshed and subjugation—of unification of races and creeds with the golden cement of the principle of the brotherhood of man. In the dark days of India's subjection as well, these countries have been organically united with India, linked through with the common chain of slavery of the European nations. In all ages they have stood or fallen together. The bloodiest war in history that has just ended, has also demonstrated the unity of these countries. Each one of them served as the stepping stone for the aggressor in his march towards the next. The subjugation of one at once constituted a threat to the nearest neighbour if it did not actually ring the death-knell of its freedom. It has, indeed, been obvious to the meanest intelligence that the countries of South-East Asia have been arranged by destiny to be one great unit in the organization of the world.

"One in freedom in the distant past and one in slavery in the current present, these countries must be one in slavery in the current present, these countries must be one also in the day that is about to break. In spite of local variations the problems of all these countries are fundamentally one—the problem of subjection to the imperialist Powers of Europe. The European imperialists have throughout looked upon and treated these countries as one unit and therefore those Powers too regard themselves as one unit, so that these countries may be kept under common European subjection. In peace as well as in war, these countries, for their rich natural resources, have always served as the strongest fortress of their conquerors. They have, indeed, been utilised for upholding Imperialism itself resulting in intolerable misery and unredeemable degradation of millions of men and women all over the world. It is imperatively necessary, therefore, that at this psychological moment in the history of the world, when the future of humanity is in the process of being forged, the colonial countries of South-East Asia must stand side by side in their just fight for liberation. U Aung San has sounded the clarion call just in time for unity among the subject countries of South-East Asia. His suggestion that a conference of these peoples should be held in order that a common plan for collaboration to obtain freedom for all the affected countries might be drawn up, is eminently sensible. The Congress President's suggestion that the conference be held in India, has given it a more concrete form. We have no doubt that such a conference will considerably strengthen the subject countries in the East in their fight for freedom and may lead to the formulation of a common plan of action as well as to the foundation of what Sriji Sarat Chandra Bose calls "a gigantic Asiatic Federation which will be proof against the machinations of Western Imperialisms for all time to come."

In these days of Atomic bombs, jet-propelled planes and super-bombs, fire-bombs from aeroplanes, tanks, etc.—the latest developments of civilised warfare—which are not possessed by the subject peoples and some of them are being used without any restriction even upon civil population of the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, Malaya, Burma and India by British forces, mere holding a conference of subject nations of South-East Asia including India, may not be very

effective now; but it has revolutionary potentialities of no less significance of European underground movements against the Axis Powers. This proposal and the attitude of India makes it conclusively clear that India is going to take the leadership in the field of Asian politics, i.e., in world politics of tomorrow. It indicates that isolation of Nationalist India in the field of world politics is over; and in future Indian strategic position, man-power, resources, political and economic support will not be so freely available to any power—Anglo-American powers not excluded—which will be opposed to Asian independence. This negative position may be changed to a positive Foreign Policy for India and it may take the form that the people of India and those of South-East Asia will actively ally themselves against the anti-Imperialist Powers and in favour of any Power that will co-operate with them in achieving their freedom.

XI

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I wish to point out that for the future of South-East Asia there are three alternatives: (a) Continuance of colonial imperialism of Western Powers, under various pretexts, with full support from Anglo-American Powers; (b) Consequent rising tide of revolt in all countries of South-East Asia, with the possibility of a Concert of Asian Powers and their alignment with any Power or any group of Powers, opposed to colonial imperialism, leading inevitably to the next World War; (c) Emergence of free and independent nations in South-East Asia, ending colonial imperialism, under the enlightened leadership of Anglo-American Powers within the frame-work of U.N.O. Naturally, I for one, hope for the last development, although there is no special reason for the immediate success of such a programme.

Every American citizen has a moral responsibility in this matter, because the future development in South-East Asia will largely depend upon Anglo-American policies, in the formation of which the United States will have the greatest moral responsibility. In this connection it would be well for us all to ponder over what General MacArthur, one of the wisest of American leaders fully familiar with the situation in the Orient, had to say after the liberation of P.I. from Jap on July 4, 1945, while giving an interview to Mr. Cedric Foster at Manila:

"When we win the war, as we will win it, I hope to God that we win it in a spirit of humility and that never again will the white race walk through Asia in the same spirit of arrogance which they have exhibited in the past. What right have we to assume that the present white ascendancy is anything more than one drop of water in the ocean of time. If we perpetuate that, if we would hand it on to our posterity, if we would give it untarnished to future generations, then we must so conduct ourselves that we will not jeopardize our security. The sooner we grant political freedom and liberty to all peoples of the world, the quicker there will be peace and stabilization."

This ideal can be fulfilled, if there be a single standard of international morality among Great Powers and the highest conception of ethical and religious life be practised in world affairs.

THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM

By Dr. PRAKASH CHANDRA, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (London), F.A.Hist.A.

NEWSPAPER reports make it abundantly clear that Great Britain is in for trouble in Egypt as in some other parts of the world. The fact is that Egypt though nominally an independent country preserves to this day some of the vestiges of her former British tutelage. Despite her wishes, British forces continue to be stationed on her soil and it is the demand for their withdrawal which is the immediate cause of unrest. The relations between England and Egypt are of long standing and a brief account of their development is essential for understanding the present position. Indeed, Anglo-Egyptian relations constitute one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Imperialism and are worth recounting for their own sake.

Egypt lies at the cross-roads of the maritime world. No international conflict can spare her. Hence her great strategic importance. The story, how the British got a foothold in the country, is well-known. The ruler, Ismail Pasha (1863-79) was a man of original ideas and a restless disposition. He introduced many admirable reforms and did much to make Egypt into a modern country. It was due to his enterprise that the Suez Canal was opened. All these grandiose schemes, however, cost money and his extravagance eventually landed him in serious financial difficulties. To extricate himself he offered to sell to the French the 176,602 shares which he held in the Suez Canal Company. These were promptly bought by Disraeli on behalf of England. He realised the immense importance of the Canal as a highroad to India. Further loans followed which culminated in the establishment of the dual control of British and French bankers over the Egyptian finances. The wedge having once entered went deeper and in 1882 Egypt came under the sway of Great Britain.

Bonds and the Suez Canal had made it inevitable for the British to occupy Egypt. About £30,000,000 of Egypt's debt was held in England and the stockholders feared that the Egyptian nationalists who had begun to resent foreign interference in their affairs would repudiate the debts. The Canal, perhaps, bulked larger in the estimation of public men who took the decision. Sir Charles Duke, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, put the position clearly when he said :

"The Canal is the principal highway to India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and British Burma, where 250,000,000 people live under our rule, and also to China, where we have vast interests and 84 per cent of the external trade of that still more enormous Empire. It is also one of the roads to our Colonial Empire in Australia and New Zealand."

From 1882 to 1914, Egypt though it continued to form a part of the Turkish Empire and to be ruled by a Khedive was really in the hands of the British. A sort of constitution was drawn up by Lord Dufferin which provided for a council of ministers and a legislative assembly, but the real government was a more or less invisible system of British 'advisers', supervising and controlling every branch of the administration. These officials took their orders not from the Khedive but from the British Consul-General at Cairo. This office was held by Major Evelyn Baring, the celebrated Lord Cromer, a man of masterful personality, who combined political sagacity of a high order with

consummate financial ability. For quarter of a century, from 1883 to 1907, Cromer ruled over Egypt as a monarch. He gave the country a sound system of administration and put its finances in order. British engineers constructed dams for storing the waters of the Nile so as to prevent famines and Col. Kitchener reorganised the army. The peasants benefited greatly under the new regime and the area under sugar and cotton crops leapt up. The population rapidly increased and the import and export figures showed a steady rise.

But though Egypt prospered materially under the British aegis, foreign rule was soon felt to be vexatious and galling. In his monumental work entitled, *Modern Egypt*, Cromer laments that, "the want of gratitude displayed by a nation to its alien benefactors is almost as old as history itself." He forgets, however, that such benefits have been almost always accompanied by a contemptuous disregard of popular sentiment and by a denial of opportunities to the people to take their due share in government. There were instances of overbearing arrogance, and unfortunately in some cases, notably in the Denshaw incident, some Englishmen went out of their way to be needlessly ruthless in stamping out local opposition. But the chief and obvious source of trouble was the growing sense of national consciousness which European influences themselves had done much to foster. This spirit was intensified to the point of religious fervour by the Mahommedan hatred of Christianity.

In the Great War of 1914, Turkey joined on the side of Germany. The cloak of Egypt being a Turkish province was then cast aside and Great Britain openly declared it to be a British protectorate. The pro-German Khedive was deposed and a new ruler with the high-sounding title of the 'Sultan of Egypt' was installed upon the throne. During the war, the national movement was suppressed with a heavy hand. The sessions of the Legislative Assembly were suspended, the press was muzzled and popular literatures vanished into thin air. If the idea was to smash up opposition, it failed miserably, for the influence of Zaghlul Pasha, the venerated national leader, grew tremendously. At the conclusion of the war, Egyptians appointed a delegation to put their country's case before the Paris Conference. The eloquent speeches of President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George about the right of self-determination of every nation had filled them with hope and led them to believe that their hour of liberation was near. But before the delegates could embark on their errand, they were quietly arrested by the British police and spirited off to Malta. In March, 1919, the agitation for independence reached fever-heat and bloody riots occurred in Cairo and other places in which many British residents lost their lives. To root out the rebellion, England appointed Lord Allenby, fresh from his exploits in the Near East, as the Special High Commissioner.

Allenby took steps to restore order. A number of Egyptians were sent to prison and Zaghlul Pasha was exiled. Then Britain sent a mission headed by Lord Milner, a veteran colonial administrator, to enquire into the Egyptian problem. In the appointment of members of this Committee, England committed the fatal mis-

take which she was to repeat on the occasion of the appointment of the Simon Commission, of including only Englishmen. The insult was deeply resented and the arrival of the mission became the signal for boycott and riots. The delegation was, however, convinced of the genuineness of the national feeling and in its report admitted that, "the spirit of Egyptian nationalism cannot be extinguished." Accordingly, in February, 1922, Egypt was recognised as an 'independent sovereign State.' But this independence did not amount to much considering the reservations by which it was hemmed. They were (1) the right of Britain to defend the Suez Canal and to use the Egyptian territory for military operations, if necessary; (2) the right to defend Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference; (3) the right to protect foreign interests in Egypt; and (4) control of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. British troops were not withdrawn and the Egyptian army continued to be commanded by a British General, Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan.

The Egyptians scorned the gift and they were unmoved when the Khedive, to signify approval of Britain's proposals, proclaimed himself King in March, 1922. Nevertheless, Egypt seems to have obtained the semblance of constitutional monarchy when the new constitution came into operation in 1923. It provided for the government of Egypt as an independent territory with King Fuad as sovereign, a cabinet responsible to parliament and a parliament popularly elected. But the revolutionary fires were not quenched and the continued presence of the British troops remained an eyesore. In September, 1923, Zaghlul Pasha returned from his exile and in the elections which were held, his party swept the polls. The Wafd captured 188 seats while the combined gains of all the other groups were merely 29. Zaghlul became the Prime Minister and lost no time in declaring from the floor of the assembly that a foreign officer in command of the Egyptian army was inconsistent with the dignity of an independent Egypt.

The advent of Labour Party to power in England kindled fresh hopes which were, however, soon dissipated when Zaghlul found that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was not prepared to modify the existing arrangement. Though the signs of growing discontent were visible on the surface, Britain continued to insist that the campaign for complete independence was the work of a few extremists who misled a simple, non-political people. Their self-complacency received a rude jolt when Sir Lee Stack was murdered by the Egyptians in November, 1924. The British decided on quick reprisals. An apology and an excessively heavy indemnity were demanded, all the Egyptian forces were driven out of the Sudan and Zaghlul Pasha was compelled to resign. These demands were enforced by the forcible occupation of the Customs house at Alexandria. But an even harsher measure was the fiat that in future Britain alone would decide how much of the water of the Nile, which has its source in the Sudan, was to be retained for irrigation purposes. This meant the power of life and death over 'independent' Egypt. The Egyptians retorted by letting off the murderers of Sir Lee, only one being awarded the death punishment.

As may have been expected, the retaliatory action of the British Government only served to inflame public opinion and at the subsequent elections the Wafd was again returned with a clear majority. The King who had a fancy for autocratic rather than constitutional rule, thereupon dissolved the parliament

and appointed as Prime Minister a person of his own choice. This has been the bane of Egyptian politics. The party which really counts is the Wafd, but on account of the machinations of the King and the subtle support of British representatives, it has been repeatedly kept out of office. The inevitable consequence has been the instability of Ministries. In the past 27 years, there have been 28 Egyptian governments.

But to resume the story, Allenby was succeeded as the High Commissioner by Lord Lloyd, a convinced Imperialist and cast in the mould of the grand pro-Consuls. He encouraged the King to set up dictatorial rule and openly interfered with the formation and dismissal of Ministries. The mildest demands for reforms were enough to provoke him to summon British warships to Egypt. At length the constitution was suspended and the British High Commissioner now possessed all effective legislative power. Lord Lloyd's triumph ended when the second Labour Government assumed office in 1929. Arthur Henderson, the new Foreign Secretary, stood for more conciliatory methods. He recalled Lloyd, abolished the protectorate and offered to make a new treaty with Egypt as between two equals. Egypt, however, remained unsatisfied.

Following the widespread ferment during the Anglo-Italian crisis of 1935-36, London felt obliged to make greater concessions. On August 26, 1936, a treaty of alliance was signed by which Egyptian sovereignty was recognised. Britain undertook to withdraw her troops but was given the right of maintaining a garrison of 10,000 and 400 aircraft on the Suez Canal, of using Alexandria and Port Said as naval bases and of moving troops across Egypt in case of war or threat of war. Britain also shouldered the responsibility for the defence of Egypt. In token of Egypt's new status, ambassadors were exchanged between the two countries and Egypt was accepted as a member of the League of Nations.

Soon after the 'Anglo-Egyptian' relations became cordial, World War II started. Egypt severed diplomatic connection with the Axis but did not go to the extent of declaring war. Nevertheless, permission was granted to Britain to use Egypt as a base for military and naval operations. The point to be noted is that during the dark days of the Libyan campaign when the cause of the United Nations seemed lost, Egypt did not waver in her moral support and no disaffections broke out.

With the coming of peace, it was natural that the national embers should stir again. If the purpose of war is to banish tyranny and secure freedom, all the nations suffering from foreign domination should raise their heads. The present turmoil in Egypt started about three months ago when the Egyptian Government applied for a revision of the treaty of 1936. The whole of Middle East is seething with discontent. On the top of the incidents in Persia, Syria and the Lebanon, and Palestine have come the anti-British riots of Cairo and Alexandria. Serious clashes have occurred between the student demonstrators and the British soldiers. The Egyptian national demands are mainly two, (1) Full independence for Egypt including the evacuation of all foreign troops and (2) Egyptian control of the Sudan, now under British rule. The British reply to the note though couched in friendly language and written with extreme caution, carefully avoids committing the British Government on these vital issues.

That the problem is extremely difficult nobody would deny. As long as Great Britain is determined to

hold her Empire together, it is imperative that she should keep her forces at Suez which is a focal point in the Empire's life-line and defence system. And there is the word of Mr. Bevan, the British Foreign Secretary, who declared before Parliament only a month ago, "I am not prepared to sacrifice the British Empire."

Indeed, according to English statesmen, there is nothing inconsistent in the presence of British troops in Egypt and Egyptian independence. In a remarkable despatch of October 7, 1924, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said:

"The effective co-operation of Great Britain and Egypt in protecting these communications might in my view have been ensured by the conclusion of a treaty of close alliance. The presence of a British force in Egypt provided for by such a treaty freely entered into by both parties on an equal footing would in no way be incompatible with Egyptian independence, while it would be an indication of the specially close and intimate relations between the two countries and their determination to co-operate in a matter of vital concern to both. It is not the wish of His Majesty's Government that this force should in any way interfere with the function of the Egyptian Government or encroach upon Egyptian sovereignty. It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to assume any responsibility for the actions or conduct of the Egyptian Government or to attempt to control or direct the policy which that Government may see fit to adopt."

While this may be the British view, it is clear that it is not shared by the Egyptians who regard the continued presence of British soldiers as derogatory to their self-respect and limiting their freedom of action. Every Egyptian, no matter what his class or creed, is agreed on one point—"not one foreign soldier on Egyptian soil." If then a British army is maintained, it can be done not with the people's goodwill but by sheer force of arms. The Egyptian argument is that any threat to the security of the British Empire must be dealt with by the United Nations Organisation and that it is no longer necessary for British forces to be billeted on territories belonging to other peoples. Total and immediate evacuation of the British soldiery—that is Egypt's demand No. 1.

Demand No. 2 is for the unification of Egypt with the Sudan. Here the situation is no less complicated. The Sudan is a vast expanse of territory covering about a million square miles and lying to the south of Egypt. In diplomatic language, the country is under a condominium, i.e., it is jointly ruled by Britain and Egypt. The Governor-General is appointed by Egypt on the recommendation of the British Government; the British and Egyptian flags are both used, and all laws promulgated by the Governor-General are notified to the British Consulate at Cairo. Virtually it means British rule. Egyptians claim the amalgamation of the Sudan on the ground that it is an integral part of their country. Hidden behind this political argument, is the stubborn fact that as explained above the upper reaches of the Nile valley lie in the Sudan territory. The British, on the other hand, have built up vast interests in this region. They have poured money, talent and engineering skill into this land and evolved order out of chaos. Since their arrival, they have invested some \$125,000,000. In spite of the assertion of the Egyptian Prime Minister that "it is the aspiration of both Egypt

and the Sudan to bring about a real union of the entire valley of the Nile . . . We are one community, one people, and our interest is one," it may be doubted whether the Sudanese themselves are keen about the contemplated fusion. It is only in the northern Sudan that the Egyptian agitation for union has met with a favourable soil; the south is wholly different in traditions and interests. Remark- ing on the Egyptian demand first forcefully made in 1922, Parker Moon in his *Imperialism and World Politics* has the following interesting comment to make:

"So exuberant were the newly emancipated patriots, that they even ventured to insist in firm tones, that the Sudan must be turned over to Egypt as her rightful heritage; one backward people hardly freed from alien rule, demanded its right to rule another backward people—such is the circular path of human logic."

A political merger with Egypt may or may not be in the interest of the Sudan but there is no doubt that so long as a first class foreign power maintains its hold in that country, there is potential danger to Egypt.

The situation in Egypt is made graver by the personal ambitions of the King who in return of being recognised as the Caliph of the Moslem world is willing to lend his support to the Arab League. This league has long been the dream of Ibn Saud, who seeks to weld a powerful Pan-Arab Federation with Saudi Arabia and Egypt as the principal powers. The federation would embrace 33,000,000 people, control the fourth largest petroleum deposits in the world, stand sentinel over Suez and the routes to the East and revive once more the fiery zeal of Islam for world conquest. In the face of such a confederation, it will no longer be possible for the Imperial powers to pursue their old policy of divide and rule. What is even more sinister from the British point of view is the interest which the Soviet Union is taking in the developments in this quarter. She has expressed herself in sympathy with the formation of the Arab League and demanded the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt. According to the British, this attitude of the Soviet is explicable in terms of her struggle to grab as much oil-land as possible. But whatever the motives, an alliance between the Soviet Union and the Arab League must mean a major disaster to British diplomacy.

The negotiations for the revision of the treaty between England and Egypt are to start soon. The Egyptian Government has appointed a delegation of twelve to participate in the discussions. But the circumstances for the success of the negotiations do not appear to be propitious. It should be emphasized that the Wafd, the only party in Egypt which can deliver the goods, is not represented on the official committee. The conditions on which it was prepared to co-operate were turned down by the Prime Minister. These conditions were, (1) that Nahas Pasha, on whom the mantle of Zaghlul Pasha fell on his death should lead the delegation; (2) that the Wafd members should be in the majority on this body and (3) that an assurance should be forthcoming that new elections would be held at the earliest possible date. It should be borne in mind that the Wafd does not find a place on the present legislature, having decided to boycott the last elections.

IRAN IN OUR TIMES

By Prof. SUDHANSUBIMAL MOOKERJEE

IRAN, official name of Persia since 1934, and its people the Irani, are derived from the well-known term *Arjan*. The name Persia is an accident of history which made the province of Pars or Fars—the 'Parsis' of the Greeks—predominant in Iran when the attention of the Greeks was attracted to the country for the first time. One of the most romantic wonderlands on our planet, Iran calls up in the mental horizon a galaxy of romantic and hoary names like Zoroaster, Darius, Naushirvan, Firdausi, Omar Khayyam, Saadi, Hafiz and the like. Every generation in Iran has had its prophets and the country has raised and reared a number of religions—Zoroastrianism, Mithraism, Manichaeism, Mazdakism and Shiism.

Iran became one of the most powerful States in the world under Cyrus in the sixth century B.C. and her empire extended from the Punjab to the sands beyond Egypt. Under Darius she grew into an empire still vaster, which included the whole of the known world and a good deal of territory unknown till then, and "stretched from the burning sands of Africa to the ice-bound borders of China," vast but obedient. For a very long time to come Iran retained the power and eminence thus acquired. Cambyses, Darius and Xerxes are the names at which once "the world grew pale." Iran grew into a great land and naval power under them and was within an ace of wiping out the nascent civilisation of Hellas. But then "the paths of glory lead but to the grave" and Iran was no exception to the general rule. Decadence set in under the successors of Xerxes and the Empire was finally overthrown by the Arabians in the seventh century A.D. Iran lost for ever her place of honour in world-politics.

The emergence of Iran to the forefront from the backwater of world politics dates from 1925 when an obscure military officer Reza Khan after a successful *coup d'état* in 1921, did away with the Imperial Kajar family and set himself up as the ruler of the country. Under Reza Khan, who after his elevation to the throne assumed the name of Reza Shah Pehlevi, and his son Mohammad Reza Pehlevi on whom his mantle has fallen, much that was old Iran has been swept away. The process of modernisation is well under way and is daily nearing 'completion'. The country pulsates with a new life. New horizons have been discovered, new avenues opened.

Iran in modern times was upheld, so to say, by the rivalry between England and Russia. When the rivals left the country after the first World War in 1920, Iran left to herself, was tottering to fall. As Gunther puts it in *Inside Asia* :

"Tension between the two great powers supported her; when the tension was withdrawn she collapsed. Corruption ruled Teheran, and banditry all but ruled the country."

It was at this critical juncture of Iranian history that Reza Khan, Commander of the Cossack Division of the Imperial Army, came to the limelight. A group

of youngmen under a journalist Sayyed Zia-din aided by Reza Khan effected a bloodless *coup d'état*. Its authors did not want to dethrone the Imperial Kajars, but to revitalise the government by reforms long overdue. The Fates, however, had decreed otherwise. Reza Khan henceforward knew no stopping. War Minister in 1921, he became Prime Minister in 1923 and 'Shah'—which, by the way, is the title of the Emperor of Persia—in 1926. A measure rushed through the *Majlis* (Parliament) in October, 1925, deposed Ahmad Shah, the last of the Kajars. Reza flirted with the republican idea for a time and thought of establishing a Republic. The idea was subsequently abandoned and he was crowned as Reza Shah Pehlevi on April 25, 1926.

Even the bitterest critics of Reza Shah admit that he had in abundance the gifts of courage, vitality and vision. He succeeded in putting an end to the weakness of the old regime and breathed new life into a decadent country. A patriot to his finger-tips, Reza Shah was much in advance of his time, and his sole ambition was to put the country in working order. He achieved much in this direction. Hospitals, orphanages, welfare houses and free milk bars were established to check death-rate, specially among the infants. The establishment of schools and colleges and the introduction of scientific methods of teaching have gone a long way to instruct the people in the simple rules of hygiene and self-protection. The Medical College at Teheran has done and is doing much to fight diseases in the country. The work begun by Reza Shah is being continued by his successor Mohammad Reza Pehlevi. "A modernised and industrialised Iran, a happy, contented and prosperous nation, and a cultured and healthy generation" are the ideals the present Shah has set before himself.

The Government aims at the industrial self-sufficiency of the country among others. A great impetus has been given to local industries through protective tariffs, monopolies, etc. Carpet-making, silk-weaving, embroidery, metal-working, wood-carving and miniature-painting are the more important cottage industries of Iran. Iranian carpet is famous all over the world for its fineness and superior quality. The Government wide awake to the need of maintaining the standard of this industry has imposed an embargo upon the export of carpets of an inferior quality. Weaving schools have been established to teach and to maintain as well the workmanship and the well-tried methods of the industry. The administration of Industrial Supervision endeavours to increase the domestic output of handicrafts. As Iran consumes more cotton piecegoods than she produces, the Government encourages textile-weaving in all possible ways.

So far as the organised industries are concerned, the Government encourages the country craftsmen and local bodies to make the best use of Iran's raw materials like cotton, wool, silk and sugar, instead of simply exporting them to foreign lands. Factories have been started at various industrial centres with the object of supplying requirements of the country. Silk industry

has received the special attention of the Government, which shows a keen interest in the production of silk and in reviving the old silk industry of the country. The efforts in this direction have not been altogether barren of results. In 1943-44 Iran exported 641,785 kilograms (1 kilogram = 2.205 lb.) of silk. There are well-managed flour-mills near the silos of Teheran, Tabriz, Quazvin, Hamadan, Meshed, Isfahan and Shiraj. The rice mills turn out about 14,000 tons of rice per year for domestic consumption. The three beer factories in the country—2 in Tabriz and 1 in Teheran—manufacture about 2½ million bottles of beer per year. For the last few years dry fruits are being collected, packed and exported from the country and there are good markets for them abroad, specially in Europe and America. A number of factories all over the country, particularly in Khurasan and Ajerbaizan areas, store and select dry fruits, treat them scientifically and pack them in up-to-date fashion for export to foreign lands. Distillation industry is also rapidly growing and there are nine distilleries in the country. Sugar industry is yet in a nascent stage and does not meet the requirements of the country. There are eight sugar factories in Iran which produce about 22,500 tons of sugar annually, hardly meeting 33 per cent of the country's requirements. Iranian sugar, it may be noted, is manufactured chiefly from beet roots. Some tea and vegetable oils too are manufactured.

Cotton, silk and wool are available in abundance and Iran has in consequence a very flourishing industry. Isfahan and Chalus are the silk-weaving centres. The best calico-printing factories are located at Du, Shahr Shahi and Bi Shahr. There are textile mills at Teheran, Kerman, Quazvin, Meshed, Tabriz, Shiraj, Kashan, Bandar Abbas, Simnan, Qum and Ahwaz. The biggest hosiery mill in the country is situated at Teheran. The jute mill industry seems to have a bright future. The Caspian region produces jute on a fairly large scale and there are jute mills at Resht and Shahi, their total annual outturn being about eight to ten million metres of gunny and about 4,000 kilograms of strings and ropes.

Due primarily to the comparative poverty of Iran in iron ore and coal, Iranian iron and steel industry has not been able to make much headway. Some progress is noticeable nevertheless. Teheran today boasts of an iron factory for making iron-rails, boilers, locomotives, etc., an aeroplane factory and a copper-melting work. All these factories are state-managed. There are besides private foundries and iron works in Teheran and other cities. These latter manufacture articles of everyday use like vessels, lamps, braziers, iron beds, tricycles, perambulators, etc.

The development of mining is one of the most ambitious schemes before the government. A large number of coalfields and iron, manganese, lead and copper mines have been located already by the Government experts and leased out, to interested parties on contract basis. Oil is one of the principal mineral resources of Iran. It is the fourth greatest oil-producing country in the world, the annual yield being eleven million tons in 1940. The oil of Iran, it should be remembered, constitutes a potential threat to the world-peace in future years.

The wood industry of Iran is yet in its early teens. It was introduced only in 1932 primarily to meet the requirements of the Trans-Iranian Railway then under construction. There are at present two factories which

annually produce, among others, 300,000 sleepers, 6,000 tons of tar and a considerable quantity of machine oil, grease and benzene. Cement, match, tanning, leather, glass, soap, glycerine, and cigarette industries are also making rapid headway. The cigarette industry is a State monopoly. Teheran is the centre of the tobacco industry where several thousands of persons are engaged in manufacturing cigarettes, and pipes and other kinds of tobacco. Tea and tobacco, by the way, are new items of production in Iran.

The Government is wide awake to the need of developing agriculture, which has received its due share of attention. A number of Agricultural schools and experiment-stations have been established for this purpose. The Government adopted a five-year agriculture plan in 1940. The plan "provides for an increase of 500,000 tons in cereal crop and 200 to 500 per cent increase in tea, sugar, beet, jute and flax. Further projects include the erection of fertiliser plants, more irrigation schemes, the importation of merino sheep to be crossed with native breeds, and extensive afforestation." To emphasise the importance of the last, March 15 is observed as the tree-festival day.

That fully developed transport facilities are the *sine qua non* of economic and commercial prosperity has not been missed by the Iran Government. The difficulties of communication have been considerably overcome by the construction of railways and metalled roads and by the development of air and water transport. The idea of constructing railways in Iran was mooted during World War I. But the matter ended there. In 1925, Ahmad Shah proclaimed that he would plan his own railway with purely national ends in view. It was decided to finance the project from taxes on sugar and tea. The work began on October 19, 1927, and the first train left Bandar Shah for Teheran on February 19, 1937. The Trans-Iranian Railways totals 1861.50 kilometers (about 1150 miles) in length and is divided into two main sections, viz., the Northern Section which runs from Bandar Shah to Teheran and the Southern Section, connecting Teheran with Bandar Shahpur on the Persian Gulf. It has a number of branches as well. More than a dozen of good motor roads run from the metropolis to different points on the frontiers. The total length of telegraphic lines in existence on March 20, 1944, was 18,153 kilometers (about 11,255 miles). There were at the time 429 Post Offices in Iran. The country boasts of ten Government radio-telegraphic stations. Only two, however, there at the metropolis and Lingah, work regularly. 185 towns have telephonic connections. There were 14,933 telephone receivers in Iran on March 20, 1944—6,000 being in Teheran alone. The Casp-Flotte Company's ships carry passengers and merchandise from Iranian to U.S.S.R. ports and vice versa. The vessels of no less than seven navigation companies ply in the Persian Gulf area.

Most spectacular has been the social and cultural progress of Iran during the last two decades. Kemal Ata Turk declared Turkey a Republic in 1923 and dis-established the church. The cue was taken by Reza Khan Pehlevi, till then the Prime Minister. But the ground that he had to tread, was more hostile, the elements that he had to tackle were more obdurate, than the Turkish. The Muslim divines of Iran rose against the Prime Minister and the parliament for their reformative propaganda and the hand of the reformer was stayed though only for the time being.

The first act of Reza Khan on his elevation to the throne was the promulgation of a commercial code which took away from the divines their right of deciding commercial disputes according to the Quranic law. Followed a new penal code. The compulsory Military Service Law of 1927 was the signal of the first open conflict between the forces of progress and those of reaction, the latter represented by the Mullahs. These latter, however, were won by a number of vague assurances. A decree of December 28, 1928, introduced uniformity of dress by making compulsory the wearing of European costume. The traditional Iranian garments *Ammama* and *Kullah* were banned.

A great change has been brought about in the status of women during the last two decades. Reza Shah's name has come to stay and will stay in history for the emancipation of women in Iran, if not for anything else. The Government launched upon a propaganda for this in 1927, the second year of late Shah's accession. Women in Iran till then were looked upon as objects of sensual pleasure. They were nothing but so many child-bearing machines. Hidden behind the black veils for centuries, women were men's social inferiors in every respect. It was enacted in 1931 that all marriage contracts and divorces must be registered with a civil official and not with a Mullah. The movement for the emancipation of women, however, came into full swing four years later in 1935. On June 28 of that year the Prime Minister gave a garden party at the Iran Club to which all the members of the Cabinet and other high officials were invited with their wives. It was unprecedented in the long centuries of Iran's chequered history. The appearance of women in public was thus officially recognised. The veil was tabooed and women were elevated to a status of equality with men. No woman was henceforward allowed to move under a veil. Shopkeepers were forbidden to cater to women in veils and bus and taxi-drivers to admit them on board their respective vehicles.

Education too has made considerable headway under the Pehlevi. Schools have been graded into kindergarten, primary, secondary and higher. The Ministry of Education prescribes text-books and prepares syllabus for all school classes. Schools are equipped with modern furniture, apparatus and well-qualified teachers, mostly trained. The National Assembly passed the Teheran University Act in 1934 and the foundation stone of the University was laid by the Shah in the following year. The University has at present six faculties—Law and Political Science, Medicine, Industry, Science, Arts and Theology. For professional studies there are courses in modern painting, sculpture, mosaic, carpet-weaving, miniature work, dress-designing, interior decoration and fancy work. The University is well-equipped and well-staffed. The curricula of the University classes seem to have been drawn upon the lines of the French residential universities.

There are three first class theatres at the metropolis—Theatre Farhang, Tamasha Khan Teheran and Tamasha Khane Hunar—besides a number of others of an inferior type. About a hundred of plays have been staged in course of a few years. The cinema is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the progress and development of the theatre and the Iranian theatres possessing neither the resources nor the capital to compete with films, the latter are quickly acquiring greater and greater popularity. Though the first picture-house was started in Iran only some 30 years back

during World War I, Iran today can boast of a number of good cinemas scattered all over the country. Teheran alone has about a dozen. There is, however, no film-producing concern in the country and Russian, English and American films have to be imported.

Broadcasting too has attained considerable popularity in recent years.

All these have been achieved during a comparatively short span of two decades. This proves, among others, that given political freedom and the will to act, much leeway can be made up at a speed commonly thought impossible.

Iran was thus forging ahead along the path of peace and progress when World War II broke out. The *Ivestia* had commented after the conclusion of the Soviet-Persian Treaty of 1921, "Persia is no longer the old Persia, on whose territory were roving foreign troops and diplomats." But the situation changed and British and Russian troops marched into Iran to eradicate Nazi influence and to facilitate and speed up the sorely needed American supplies to the Red Army. She passed under the virtual occupation of the 'Big Three.' Iran's territorial integrity was, however, expressly guaranteed by the 1942 treaty among Iran, Great Britain and Russia. The Teheran Conference (December, 1943) agreed upon the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country, six months after the conclusion of the war. At the request of M. Molotov of Russia, the date was extended to March 2, 1946.

That all was not well with Iran began to be known to the world outside even during the war. Teheran turned down Moscow's request for oil concession in October, 1944. Russia fomented public agitation against the then Premier Mohammad Said, who was forced to resign on November 10, 1944. The Government subsequently formed by Ghavam-es-Sultaneh has been more accommodating and Moscow has succeeded in extorting the much-coveted concession from Iran. The Russo-Persian Oil Corporation has been granted extensive monopoly oil concessions in Iran. The latter has solemnly pledged herself not to grant to foreign companies or to any company which either employs foreign personnel or includes foreign capital oil concessions in the territory allotted to the Corporation. During the first 25 years 49 per cent of the shares of the Corporation will belong to Iran and 51 per cent to Russia. For 25 years after this, the proportion will be 50 : 50.

Iran was prominently in the news when the Azerbaijan autonomy movement flared up towards the end of November, 1945. The 'rebels' made spectacular progress and within a short time Murtaza Qualikhan Bayat, the Governor of Azerbaijan, was asked to quit Tabriz by Jafar Pisheravi, President of the newly formed provincial government and leader of the Democratic Party. It might be noted in passing that the Shah's Government has since recognised the revolutionary Tabriz Government. Prime Minister Ghavam-es-Sultaneh recently announced measures offering partial autonomy short of recognising national government in Azerbaijan. His statement forms the basis on which future discussions are to be held with a view to greater concessions by Teheran.

There seems to be a consensus of international opinion that Russia had had a finger in the Azerbaijan pie. Nor can the grounds of suspicion be brushed aside altogether, the more so in view of the Russian policy towards Iran in the past—proximate and remote.

According to the Tripartite Pact of 1942, all foreign troops were to be withdrawn from Iran by March 2, 1946. When the time came for implementing the pledge, Russia far from being agreeable actually reinforced her troops in the country. She justified the retention of troops beyond the time-limit agreed upon, on the strength of the Russo-Persian Pact of 1921. She, however, subsequently changed mind and has since evacuated her troops from the Persian soil. Quietus has been thus given to the Persian affair after it has given many an anxious moment to the Security Council where tempers of the Big Three, who run the whole show, were frayed over the Iranian tangle on several occasions. Heads, thank God, have yet to be broken.

Time is not yet to say if the curtain has been finally rung down upon the Iranian drama. History makes us doubtful. Iran in the past has been the happy hunting-ground of power-politics of the nations of the

West. Iran's 'black gold' together with her strategic advantage makes it extremely unlikely that the power-mad and lust-blind nations of the West will ever slacken their stranglehold on that country. Who can say definitely that World War III is not brewing in the simmering cauldron that Iran is? Moscow's policy to her, both during and after World War II may rightly be construed as an indication of the shape of things to come.

Iran today is a pawn in the tense game of international power-politics. A free and modernised Iran will, however, be a potent factor in the maintenance of world-peace. Iran thus transformed can immensely benefit herself and help the other struggling Asiatic nations to put their houses in order.

Will she be given the time and opportunity necessary for the purpose?

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OUR FOOD PROBLEM

By PROF. S. VENKATRAMIAH, M.A.

IN a country like ours, where more than 70 per cent of the population depends upon agriculture, the problem of increased food supply and its equitable distribution forms the crux of her economic planning. The growth of the population during the last two decades is unprecedented in the history of the world. It has been estimated that of the present population a full one-third are under-nourished while a still larger portion are ill-nourished, for lack of a balanced diet. The Famine Enquiry Committee recently made some suggestions with regard to the increase of cereals and it came to the conclusion that self-sufficiency in cereals is not only feasible but practicable and advocated that there should be a large increase in protective supplementary foods, such as pulses, vegetables, fruit, and fish. At present as we are all well aware of the fact that the lack of adequate purchasing power is the root cause of malnutrition. Sir John Woodhead's Commission found that among the upper and professional classes, the birth-rate is falling steadily and it is indeed one of the encouraging features in the otherwise gloomy horizon of population growth. The food situation has taken a serious turn from the last two months for various reasons. The failure of the monsoons is not the least to contribute to the already deteriorated food position. Before dealing with the present crisis it is beneficial for us to review the situation in brief from the beginning of this war.

The war has ravaged many food-producing countries and consequently there is a world shortage of food-supply. We used to import large quantities of rice from Burma prior to war; nearly from the last five years the imports of rice from Burma stopped because of its occupation by the Japanese troops and the failure of the crops there also.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee pointed out that the pre-war period of food-grains in India even when supplemented by imports and protective foods fell short

of the nutritional requirements of the country. According to him, assuming the daily calorie requirements of the average Indian to be 2,800, India in 1935 fell short of food for 48 million of her average men. The average deficit was 423 calories in each man's daily ration. The composition of a well-balanced diet for an adult according to the calculations of Dr. Aykroyd is as follows:

Balanced Diet
(Ounces per day)

Cereals	..	..	..	15
Pulses	..	..	..	3
Vegetables	..	..	..	6
Fat oils	..	..	..	2
Fruits	..	..	..	2
Milk	..	..	..	8

This balanced diet yields approximately 2,600 calories which are necessary for the maintenance of normal health. But unfortunately the Indians cannot afford to have a balanced diet, for the per capita income is too low, and therefore, the immediate as well as the urgent task is to see that the per capita income is raised. The Bombay Plan envisages the doubling of per capita income but we know fully well that it is not possible to raise the level soon. There should be besides a systematic planning and improvements in agriculture. Crops have to be planned with special reference to their nutritive value.

During the few years preceding the outbreak of the war the net imports of food-grains into India averaged 1½ million tons a year. With the continuation and progress of war imports were cut off. In 1942-43 actually India exported 3,61,000 tons of food-grains. Realising the gravity of the situation the Government of India launched the Grow More Food Campaign. Though it made some strides the progress achieved is not remarkable. At this time again there was shortage of the energy foods. There was a heavy slaughter of cattle for

the military. And again as Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee points out, there has been a continuous increase in the production of inferior food-grains at the cost of rice and wheat during the last two decades, a tendency ominous to the general food position. Some of the factors responsible for the gravity of the food situation were failure of monsoons in the different parts of the country, war-time curtailment of transport facilities, government purchases for the military requirements, hoarding and profiteering on the part of some merchants. There are some other reasons for which the Government of India has to take the sole responsibility, they being the inflation which increased the prices of foodstuffs and thereby rendered the purchases by poorer classes difficult and the haphazard and half-hearted controls of the Government over food-grains and food-products, lack of co-operation between the Central and Provincial Governments and the countrywide activities by the profiteers. The Provincial Governments cannot be exonerated from the blame as some of them especially Sind and U.-P. made enormous profits in the sale of food-grains to the deficit provinces. As a result of the grow more food campaign, there is an increase of only 12 million acres or about 6 per cent in India's food supply as compared with 70 per cent increase in Great Britain during the wartime.

There is a need for mixed diet. The people of South India are habituated to rice-taking but due to scarcity it is not possible for the Government to get enough rice. Even if rice is imported from Siam which has been promised to us by the Combined Food Board still we shall be short of the minimum requirements. The Combined Food Board sanctioned us more wheat and the people should be trained to take besides wheat also. It will be advantageous and beneficial not only from the point of view of supply and equitable distribution but also from the standpoint of nutritive value.

The absence of foresight and planning has been revealed in the Bengal Famine. The Government of Bengal devised no stringent regulations against hoarding or measures of price-control or rationing while its efforts to purchase food-grains from outside were unsuccessful due to the apathy of surplus provinces or the limitations of transport. Due to the stress on Provincial Autonomy under the Constitution for 1935, the surplus provinces like the Punjab and Sind have been able to refuse to part with their wheat surpluses at reasonable prices. The Punjab at first stood out against the Government of India's policy of All-India Price Control, Rationing and Requisition of surplus stocks for deficit areas. This again stresses the need for an all-India Food Policy to be followed by the Government of India in consultation and co-operation with the Provincial Governments. It is the duty of the Government of India to see that the Provinces do not block the way. "Fixation of ceiling prices and rationing in all provinces including surplus provinces backed by grain reserves at the centre can alone ensure proper procurement and equitable distribution and at the same time abolish profiteering as well as high class consumption."

The Gregory Committee have recommended the need of India's importing 1.1-5 million tons of food-grains per annum. The Food Grains Policy Committee also recommended that at least 1.5 million tons of food-grains should be imported from abroad. But we must remember that imports could serve only as a palliative. India should be in a position to produce all the food

required by her without depending on other countries. The Indian farmer should be helped with manure, seeds, and enough water. On the distribution side, the Food Grains Policy Committee recommended the introduction of rationing in all the large cities which will involve proper procurement, machinery, and honest administration. It further recommended the institution of statutory price control over all the major food-grains in all provinces and the states. It is refreshing that the Government of India has carried into effect these recommendations. Exports of food-grains from India were all together stopped in 1944, thanks to the Government of India's belated recognition of the gravity of the food situation.

During this year unfortunately we are again faced with a grave food situation. The world shortage of food-supply, the failure of the usual monsoons, and the havoc wrought by cyclone are responsible for this position. Besides, there is a rice famine in Asia. In pre-war years Asia produced 95 per cent of the total production of rice. There was a decline in production in the three principal exporting countries, Burma, Siam and Indo-China. From August 1944 to July 1945, the world production of rice was estimated to be as high as 90-95 per cent of the average pre-war output. This estimate reflected the very substantial increase in the cultivation of rice in the United States and Central and South America, but the increase did not offset the decline in production in Burma, Siam, and Indo-China. All the factors in the production and supply situation in Asia combined to suggest that the post-war shortage of some duration is quite inevitable. The London *Economist* suggests that the only step which could be taken in the short run to ease the situation is increased shipments of other grains from the Western Hemisphere so far as supplies and shipping permit.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, the Food Member to the Government of India said recently :

"We have been allotted in 1945, 1,60,000 tons of rice from Burma and Siam. This year we have several factors in our favour. The demands of the defence forces will be reduced, internal movements by rail will be easier, and rationing has been well established."

But unfortunately his predictions regarding favourable position to India became false due to the reasons already mentioned.

Speaking on the food situation, His Excellency the Viceroy dealt on the gravity of the position and appealed for co-operation. His Excellency mentioned that we are short of some 3 million tons of food-grains of our requirements and cautioned us that because of the world shortage of food-grains we should not hope for the imports of this magnitude. Two plans are suggested: (1) That we should maintain our present basic ration of one pound a head, (2) To cut our consumption now and make sure that our deficit is spread over the whole year and over the whole country. Mahatma Gandhi has also appealed to the people to observe strictest economy possible. He said :

"Every person should confine his or her daily wants regarding food to the minimum consistent with his or her health requirements . . . All flower gardens should be utilised for growing edibles. Reduction should be taken up not merely by civilian population but equally by military."

In order to meet the situation, the Government of India should immediately take the following steps.

First, there should be a nationwide rationing. The use of wheat should be encouraged. In other words, a mixed diet should be given; secondly, the Government of India should immediately stop and prohibit all exports of food-grains and oil seeds including groundnut; thirdly, the Government of India should make strong representations to the Combined Food Board for getting the minimum requirements of ours. Already the food delegation has come home though disappointed. Mr. Attlee speaking in the House of Commons assured us that rice will be imported from Siam. Fourthly, the Government of India should intensify the Grow More Food Campaign. It should provide cheap loans to the cultivators. All the land tenure and tenancy laws should be modified and the Government should provide other necessary facilities to the cultivator. Fifthly, the growth of commercial crops should at once be discouraged. Already Sir S. V. Rammurthy announced that the Government of Madras is in favour of this proposal. Sixthly, there should be an All-India Food Board consisting of the representatives of the provinces and the States. This Board should follow a uniform policy.

As regards the long-range view, the following steps can be taken.

The Government of India should extend the irrigation facilities. No more should agriculture depend upon the vagaries of nature. The Government should besides encourage scientific farming. Unfortunately, the tendency for the small size of agricultural holdings has not been stopped. The subdivision and fragmentation of land, is responsible for the low yield of the crops and a standing block for the introduction of mechanization in agriculture. The consolidation of holdings on a voluntary or a compulsory basis through co-operative societies should be done. Further, some steps have to be taken with regard to the liquidation of the debt of the agriculturists. Thanks to the war a substantial portion of the debt is wiped out but the tendency to borrow persists and it is the duty of the Government to educate the cultivators on this point and if they are in need of money to provide them cheap loans.

Moreover, the population problem has to be tackled side by side. In spite of the great increase in food supply it is not possible to provide nutritive food if the present growth of population is unchecked. The Government should forthwith carry the post-war plans and raise the standard of living. The per capita income should be increased so that the people should be in a position to purchase the nutritive food. The Bhore Committee's recommendations are worth trying. The Committee favoured the introduction of birth-control in order to check the growth of population. But we must remember that this is not possible due to the illiteracy and the social and religious conditions of the people.

It is again necessary as Lord Hamilton stated that

"We must vary the occupations of the people for so long as 80 per cent of population is engaged in agriculture the danger in the recurrence of famine is all the greater."

The Government of India has proclaimed a new food policy :

"This includes the responsibility for providing enough food for all sufficient in quantity and of requisite quality. For the achievement of this objec-

tive high priority will be given to measures for increasing the food resources of the country to the fullest extent and in particular to measures designed to increase the output per acre and to diminish dependence on the vagaries of the nature. Their aim will be not only to remove the threat of the famine but also to increase the prosperity of the cultivator and raise levels of consumption and create a healthy and vigorous population."

But mere policies will not take us anywhere. If some of the above suggestions are taken into account, the food problem can be tackled successfully with great ease. There should be absolute co-operation among the people, provinces and the centre. Only then the Government of India's steps would bear fruitful results. There has never before been a greater necessity for the establishment of National Government than now. Only a National Government will be able to deal squarely the problems confronting us. Already popular ministries are coming into existence and we have to see how far they will be able to tackle the immediate issues facing us.

It has been recently contended by some that there is no remarkable world shortage of food and the available food supply is more than enough to feed the entire population of the world provided it is properly distributed. It has also been asserted that the main cause of world cereal shortage was not drought but the feeding of animals with grains and use of grains for industrial purposes. Of course, we cannot altogether deny the truth of these statements. If we take into account the United States of America, we find that it had a record crop in 1944-45, some 1079 million bushels. Considerable quantities of wheat are consumed in the United States for alcohol production and animal-feed. In 1943-44 some 108 million bushels were used for alcohol and this on a double subsidy basis. This quantity is nearly twice the total amount of food-grains demanded by the Government of India in their representations to H.M.G. and the Combined Food Board. It is somewhat amazing that when a large part of the population of the world is faced with famine large quantities of food-grains should be wasted in feeding animals and for producing alcohol. The U.S.A. should realise that human life is more precious than animal life. Also we hear reports from Mr. La Guardia, Director-General of U.N.R.R.A., that he had been reliably informed that American farmers were holding 100 million bushels of wheat. He declared that there was enough food in the world to feed famine-stricken peoples with a minimum subsistence ration which would permit them to work but charged that only 3,47,000 tons of wheat were shipped in March whereas we could ship 7,10,000 tons. Owing to faulty price-fixing it paid the American farmer better to feed wheat to animals or sell it for industrial purposes than let it go for direct human consumption. In Asia only 14 per cent of the total grain crop was used for seed or to feed the animals whereas in U.S.A. the proportion was 75 per cent. This clearly shows that the farmers are more interested in getting substantial profits than in realising their duty to their fellow-sufferers. We do hope that the people of U.S.A. and Canada would care for the welfare of humanity which they are supposed to be aspiring for and act to that effect.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEMPORARY ART EXHIBITION AT DELHI

By AGASTYA

When a nation is really alive, it is alert and active in all phases of existence and upholds the claims of the commonweal. In Soviet Russia, the claims of literacy receive equal attention with the claims of beauty in life. Even in capitalist Britain, the great social and spiritual values of Art are never neglected. And a very handy proof is provided by the issue of a Report on Art and its present condition in the intervals of the booming of guns and air-raids in England, during the last year. It is only in India that political and economic activities stifle the still small voice of Art. Our young

of Stoic resolutions. In order to strengthen the national character, a hard and strenuous programme of acrobatics is essential. The *Vina* of Saraswati, if it has to be saved from banishment or extinction, can only be utilized as a regulation *kathi* but not otherwise. One can only realize the hollowness of these false heroics, when one comes to Russia. Here we come across elaborate arrangements to train the minds of those labourers, intended to function as efficient operatives in comprehensive schemes of factories and machineries to approach, with educated sense, the spiritual flavours, the *rasa*-values of pictures. They have realized that those who are



"Portrait" (French School)
By Marie Laurencin

friends are in the habit of citing numerous analogies from Russia to guide us in reconstructing our national life, but they love to ignore the lessons that U.S.S.R. offers for the uses and development of Art for the education of the masses and the patronage of artists. The comparative position is very brilliantly set forth by Rabindranath Tagore in his *Letters from Russia* :

"In our country, whenever there is any talk of comprehensive political efforts, we begin to say that in order to feed the red flame into one supreme conflagration, all other lamps in all other departments of life must be put out, otherwise, distractions may discount the values of our work. Especially, the culture of the Fine Art is the enemy of all manners



"H. E. the Viceroy" (English School)
By Augustus John

not sensitive to spiritual flavours are barbarous savages, and savages, notwithstanding their sturdy exteriors, are actually feeble in spirit."

The above remarks are designed to announce to our readers the most important Art event of the year in India, which was opened on the 1st March at New Delhi by Lord Wavell. The shadows of the coming famine, and the turbulations and reactions of recent political events have helped to ignore the significance of the International Contemporary Art Exhibition sponsored by Major Henderson, Earl of Euston and Anil Roy Chowdhury of the Delhi Art and Crafts Society. The daily journals have almost systematically



"Uma's Toilette" (Modern Indian School)
By Amulya Gopal Sen

ignored this International Show where, for the first time in India, works of European and Indian masters of modern Art have been brought together for comparison and study. Hitherto Indian artists have been leading an isolated existence—without intimate contact and relations with contemporary European Art. Excepting the Exhibition of Designs of Kandinsky and a group of German moderns, arranged by the Society of Oriental Art, twenty-five years ago, there has been no representative show of modern European artists in India. And this fact alone lends a peculiar interest to the Delhi International, now attracting a steady stream of art lovers and other visitors. Some criticism has been made on the ground that the Western artists represented—Mathew Smith, Duncan Grant, Harold Gilman, Ivan Hitchens, Spencer Gore, Dame Walker, Robert Bevan, Augustus John and a few others—cannot be labelled as "Contemporary," a majority of them belonging to the last decade of the nineteenth century. But many of them have been associated with various phases of modern movements following the birth of Impressionism in England shortly after the famous Post-Impressionist Exhibition arranged by Roger Fry in 1910. Thus, Gilman was the first President of the London Group; Walker, created a Dame of the British Empire for her work, was a leading member of the New English Art Club; Gore had exerted considerable influence on the trend of English painting during the early years of the nineteenth century, and though not actually belonging to the contemporary phases has paved the way to the latest developments. Though Augustus John kept himself aloof from the radical tenets of Post-

Impressionism, he stands in solitary grandeur as the most representative of British artists to-day. A product of the old Slade School of Art, and later, as instructor in Art at the Liverpool University, John has trained more than a generation of young English artists who later broke away from the traditions of Turner and Constable, and led the revolt against academic painting and superficial naturalism on the high road of Modernism pointed out by Picasso, Cezanne and Van Gogh. As the trainer of contemporary English artists Augustus John could claim a vicarious share in modernistic Art, without revealing the characteristics of any definite "ism." John is represented by a sketch portrait of Lord Wavell, very sensitive yet strong. Though the position of honour was assigned by the hanging committee to Marie Laurencin's 'Portrait of a Lady'—Dame Walkers' 'Portrait of a Lady' with a cigarette challenged attention with a marvellous bravura of a summary technique, Duncan Grant's "Tulip," a Still Life of exceptional brilliance is, however, put to shade by the unconventional angle of a view of a housewife preparing the "Shopping List" to which Gilman has poured all the intensity of his vision. To the brilliance and moving rhythm of Gilman's colour scheme, a very effective contrast, almost a mild rebuke, is offered by the cool harmony of the "Winchester Road" contributed by Bevan. But the most daring innovation of the English modernists pale into insignificance by the half a dozen canvases contributed by the extremists of modernism across the channel. To contact the daring "Nude" of Van Dongen, the most "Parisienne" of Dutch painters, is indeed a rare privilege, and the piece cried out of

its neglected place in a far-off corner as if to avoid attention. Van Dongen, at one time a great vogue in Paris, with a catchy light sort of modernness, has lost much of his popularity and influence. But in the present show it easily claims a dominating position. It is a pity that the show does not include a Van Gogh and his absence is somewhat compensated by a Raul Dufy, a Pierre Bonnard and above all by the beauty of Marie Laurencin's "Portrait" in a delightful symphony in mauve, blue and white. Marie retains much that is typically, wholesomely, gracefully French. She has given way to modernist pressure to the extent of abandoning truth of aspect. But she has not carried on Cezanne's search for new forms. Her portraits occasionally go back to a simplicity that is Matisse's or a bit of his still life may catch something of abstract form, but in general, her emotional expressiveness is not very deep in her mannered archaism. Marie's virtues are rather in an adorable femininity and by virtue of this quality her "Portrait" easily dominates the whole section of the European group.

It will be unfair to draw any manner of comparisons between these representatives of English and French masters and the various canvases contributed by contemporary Indian artists devoted to Western technique. We have more than one examples of Indian writers—Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Ananda Coomaraswamy—who have handled the English language with a mastery equal to if not better than Englishmen. But could we claim that many of our Indian artists have handled brush and oil-paint, with the skill and agility of the Western artists! The names of Pestonji Bomanji, Lalca, and Sashi Heeh automatically come to our mind. But some of our patriotic critics are anxious to claim Sher-Gill, Lalit Sen, J. P. Gangooly, Atul Bose and Sailoz Mukherjee as able exponents of the Western manner of depicting things. Unfortunately, Lalit

Sen, the worthy Principal of the Lucknow School, is not worthily represented in the three landscapes shown. But his "Net-work of Shadows" gives a small indication of his daring visions and novel technique. J. P. Gangooly is not represented by a landscape, but his "Red Sari," though not very typical, has upheld his mastery over oil-paint in a masterly manner. But the votes of the visitors were unanimously cast in favour of the remarkable study of "Dhobi Ghat" which brilliantly visualized a typical Indian scene in wonderful technique of great intensity and essential abstraction. No recent example could be cited of such perfect assimilation of non-Indian methods and manners by an Indian artist.

The Indian section was somewhat disappointing as none of the young painters, with a few exceptions, have exhibited any miniatures in Indian manners of outstanding merits. Manishi Dey with a remarkable series of new experiments in brown and Indian red—"Brown Study" and "Cock and Hen"—was delegated to the Western section, though his outlook is fundamentally Indian, his study of Cocks and Hens reminding one of the techniques of the Mughal artists. Sushil Sarkar's much advertised "Abhiman" is a fantastic imitation of Nandalal's symbolic presentation "Kurukshetra." But the poverty of this section was happily covered by a series of cubistic pictures of Gogonendranath Tagore whose vision, originality, and analysis of light easily placed his works head and shoulders above all the exhibits. Yet several minor artists attained in this section signal successes, of which Duvedi's 'Dan Leela,' 'Coconut Day,' Jadav's 'Mothers,' Kulkarni's 'Rain,' Jijja's 'Village Beauty,' and Somlal Shah's 'Concert' earned high commendations. The Exhibition though somewhat hastily planned and hastily organised is a move in the right direction and deserved a success greater than it has actually achieved.

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

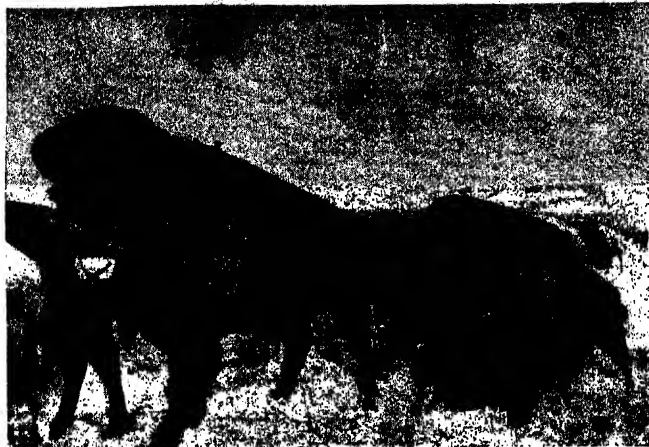
Miss TRINA ROY, daughter of Late Mohinimohan Roy, Kanchantala, Murshidabad, and a disciple of Mr. Jitendramohan Sengupta, stood first in the Surashree title examination held in April last with special mention for *Alap*. The board of examiners, consisting of Ustad Dabir Khan Saheb, Ustad Alauddin Khan Saheb (as the external examiner), Mr. Birendrakishore Roy Chowdhury and Mr. Satish Ch. Datta (Danibabu), appreciated the high standard of performance achieved by her.



Miss Trina Roy

UNUSUAL ANIMALS AND BIRDS OF THE UNITED STATES

The world's largest flesh-eating animal, the largest game-bird, the only poisonous lizard, and the giant sea-eagle which inspired the American national emblem, are only a few of the many living creatures which are found nowhere else in the world except in the United States and neighbouring parts of the Americas.



A herd of American bisons grazing on the central U.S. plains

In the mountains and deserts, the plains and swamps and the rolling hills and fields of the United States which stretch approximately 3,000 miles from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, these creatures are found. Many are common to the sight, while some are so rare they have been saved from extinction by federal protective laws. Some originated in the U.S., and others are distant relatives of animals in other lands.

Among the grazing animals now occurring wild in the U.S. are the bighorn sheep and the mountain goat, both of which have unusually large curved horns. The graceful pronghorn is the only antelope with a branch on its horns. The Grant Caribou, the only native deer in Alaska, (the U.S. territory in the north-western part of North America), is unusual in that the females have antlers. Among the native flesh-eating mammals are the Alaska brown bear, the largest carnivorous animal in the world, and the grizzly bear, the most terrifying North American animal. Both the mountain lion, which is actually a large member of the cat family, and the raccoon, the most valuable fur-bearing North

American animal, have no relatives elsewhere. The opossum, a relative of the Australian kangaroo, is the only pouched animal in the North America. The sewellel, found in several western U.S. states, is a rodent without a tail and is structurally one of the most primitive types of living animals. The small fur-bearers

include the moadobuck, the largest North American squirrel, and the skunk whose skin makes fine fur coats that American women wear. Figuring prominently is the American bison, popularly known as the buffalo, the only wild ox in the U.S.

Among the famous birds of America is the wild turkey, the largest game-bird in the world; the domestic species is the only New World domestic fowl found outside of its native region. The canvasback, "king" of North American world ducks, is also noted for its delicious flesh. The birds of prey include the turkey vulture, a helpful scavenger, and the striking bald eagle, the national emblem of the U.S. The gila monster, which inhabits south-western U.S. deserts, is the only lizard in the world with a poisonous bite.



A venomous lizard inhabiting deserts in Arizona and New Mexico, western U.S. states

Today most of the native species continue to exist, although some have diminished in number. The United States which has more laws than any other country in the world for the protection of wild animals, also has numerous national parks and game preserves where wild

creatures flourish unmolested. Beginning with the game laws of 1623 in the colony of Massachusetts, now a north-eastern U.S. state, the American federal and state governments have enacted an immense volume of wild life legislation for over three centuries. Through the establishment of sportmen's journals late in the nine-

prevents the extinction of non-game birds in nearly all of the forty-eight U.S. states, and succeeded in establishing government reservations in which breeding colonies of birds are protected.

The U.S. Federal Government has created numerous reservations where wild life is protected by



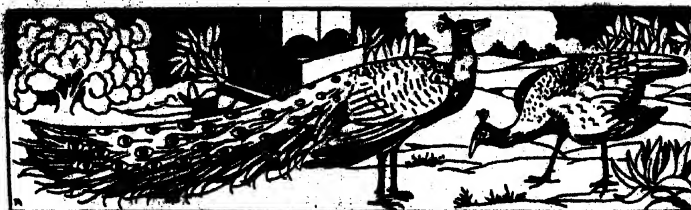
The Alaska brown bear, towering dramatically against a background of mountainous peaks in Alaska, U.S.A., is the largest carnivorous animal in the world.

teenth century, new impetus was given to game protection. Earlier laws for bird protection dealt with game-birds. With the formation of the National Association of Audubon Societies, non-game birds received extensive notice. The best organized bird-protective organization in the world is named in honor of John James Audubon, pioneer American ornithologist. The society secured the enactment of the Audubon law, which



The Grant Caribou with its expanding antlers is the only member of the deer family to be found in Alaska, U.S.A.

law. Today it supervises 163 areas comprising 21,569,069 acres including twenty-six national parks, military and historic sites and reservations in which wild life is preserved. The largest, the Yellowstone National Park, located within the boundaries of Wyoming, Montana and Idaho, western U.S. states, was established by an act of the U.S. Congress in 1872. Scattered throughout various U.S. states are 1,701 parks and areas totally 6,541,068 acres where wild animals and birds are also found.—*USIS*.

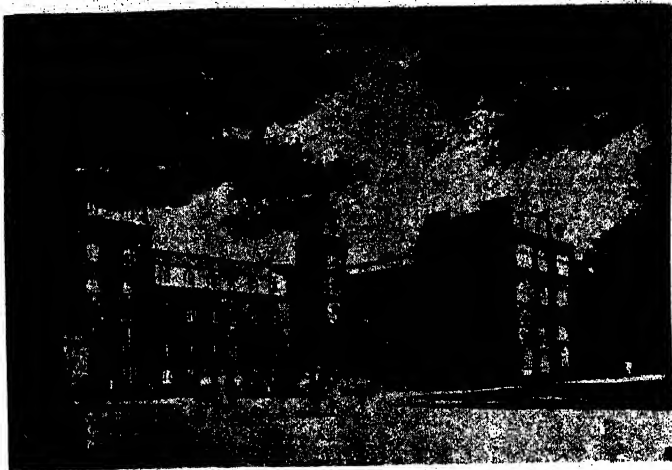


VASSAR—A FAMOUS AMERICAN COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

Vassar College, world-famous American women's liberal arts institution, is one of the oldest private women's colleges in the United States and the first to be adequately equipped and endowed. It is located

in Poughkeepsie, New York, and is equipped to offer many opportunities for sports and recreation throughout the year. Its clay tennis court permits enthusiasts to play indoors on the same type of courts that are used out-of-doors. There are adjacent courts for squash, basketball and badminton. A bowling alley, archery ranges and a fencing room are also located in Kenyon Hall, as well as rooms for gymnastics, corrective work and class in dancing. An open-air solarium and a swimming pool are part of the equipment. The Department of Physical Education supervises all athletics and co-operates with the Health Department in seeing that each student maintain sound health.

The college emphasizes education for citizenship in a democracy. It confers the baccalaureate degree of arts (A.B.) and a second degree in arts and sciences (A.M. and M.S.). While remaining within the field of the liberal arts, its curriculum and methods of teaching have always been closely related to contemporary life. Today, Vassar offers courses in the development and culture

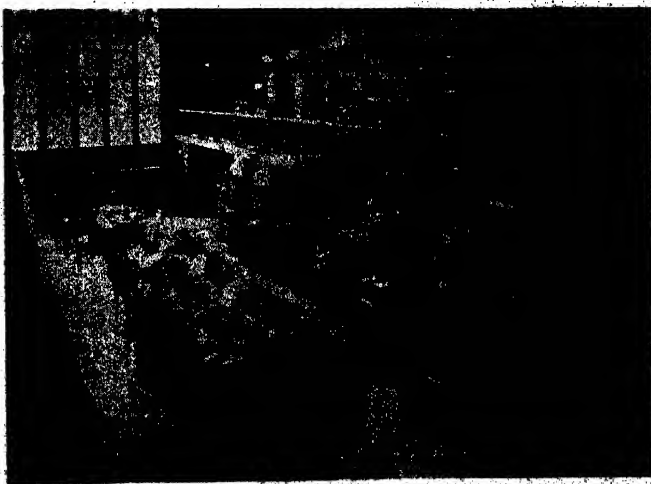


The main building of Vassar College was erected under the personal supervision of Matthew Vassar, the founder, in 1865

in the City of Poughkeepsie in the eastern state of New York, 75 miles from New York City. Founded by Matthew Vassar, American philanthropist, it was incorporated in 1861 and opened in September, 1865. Since 1915, when Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken was elected president, it has expanded enormously in scope and endowment. Its grounds comprise 950 acres; the endowment has reached approximately 10,800,000 dollars and it offers many scholarships, loans, fellowships and research funds to students and the faculty.

In 1942, there were 223,830 students attending private women's colleges in the United States. Each year, Vassar chooses incoming students on the basis of their fitness for college work. In 1942, 1,200 girls between the age of 16 and 22 from all sections of the United States and foreign countries were enrolled, living in dormitories on the Vassar Campus. With the adoption of an accelerated program of studies in 1943, more applicants were accepted. They enjoy powers of self-government and participate in discussions on educational problems with the faculty.

Vassar College has a rigid policy in controlling the health of its students, and Kenyon Hall, its gym-

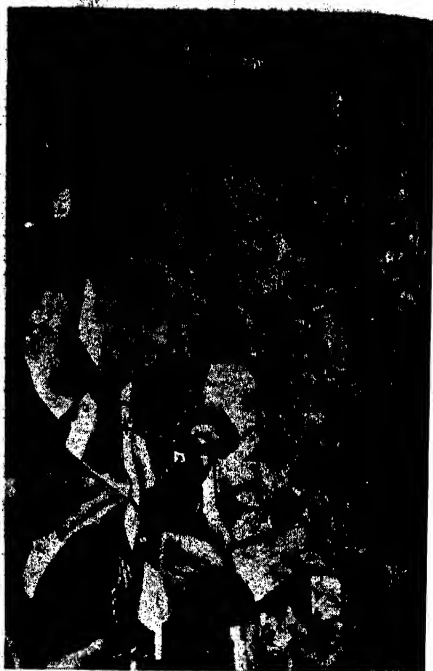


The easy-to-use Vassar College Library where the entire collection of books and periodicals is freely available to the students

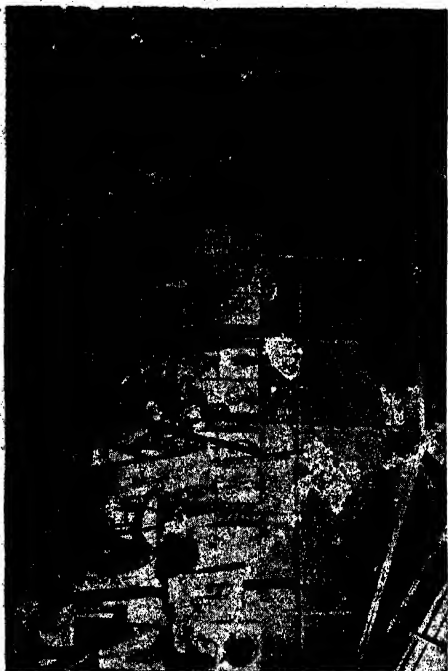
nasium, is equipped to offer many opportunities for sports and recreation throughout the year. Its clay tennis court permits enthusiasts to play indoors on the same type of courts that are used out-of-doors. There are adjacent courts for squash, basketball and badminton. A bowling alley, archery ranges and a fencing room are also located in Kenyon Hall, as well as rooms for gymnastics, corrective work and class in dancing. An open-air solarium and a swimming pool are part of the equipment. The Department of Physical Education supervises all athletics and co-operates with the Health Department in seeing that each student maintain sound health.

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of the United States, the Romance languages, Greek civilization and Spanish-American culture. Its students analyze problems and principles of reconstruction and prepare for work in teaching, engineering, medicine and public administration and government service in



Large classes at Vassar College usually meet in Rockefeller Hall, the central building for lectures



A group of art students at Vassar College are drawing directly from life



In the balmy days of spring small classes are often held in a cool comfortable spot under the spreading trees of the college compound



Students at Vassar College and their escorts are enjoying a formal evening dance

foreign lands. A unique feature is the study of eugenics, the application of the arts and sciences to the betterment of living. The Vassar Institute for eugenics offers a program of adult education to parents, teachers, nurses and social workers. In 1948, a number of Chinese students preparing for

Students at Vassar College are strongly in favor of the open-shelf arrangement of their library's contents, for the system makes the entire collection freely available and they have direct and comfortable access to books and periodicals. Every assistance is given by the trained librarians to the students who need it.

In the war emergency, Vassar adopted a three-year course for the A.B. degree, beginning 1943, and lengthened the academic year. The traditional four-year course is available, the curriculum being adapted to both schedules. In addition, new courses were offered for certain types of war services.

A generous program of informal education, in the form of lectures, concerts and art exhibits supplements instruction in classrooms and laboratories. Under the co-operative living system, adopted simultaneously with the three-year plan, students do some form of housekeeping an hour a day in their dormitories, but still have time to participate in numerous extra-curricular activities, such as sports, dramatics and musical organizations.

Students of the drama courses and oral English participate in the activities of the Experimental Theater, an American women's liberal art institution, as part of their curriculum. Others interested in dramatics become members of Philaletheis, a student society which sponsors three plays a year, one of which is given in the campus Outdoor Theater as a pageant.

One of the extracurricular activities in which Vassar students actively participate is the Dance Group, an organization of students interested in the modern dance and aims to study and develop techniques of movement and dance composition. The dance instruction, part of the physical education course, is taught by the Dalcroze method developed by Emile Jacques-Dalcroze, Swiss composer, whereby music is combined with rhythmic exercises. The Group meets weekly, participates in dance concerts and gives a performance of its own composition in the spring to which the entire college is invited.

Matthew Vassar foresaw unlimited expansion for the institution he founded. Throughout the years, the college has not only enlarged its physical equipment and facilities, but also extended its scope in uniting, in its curriculum, the field of liberal arts with preparation for contemporary life.—USIS.

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ART AND THE ARTIST*

By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A.

THE objective of the Conference is to unite artists in a congenial atmosphere and accommodate their convictions so long as they help the cause in which we are vitally interested. I think I ought to enlighten you at the outset that I have no intention to drag my address to various aspects of technical complications though I strongly feel that technique is the only means through which the artist must convey his emotions to the receptive agent. I have refrained from a comprehensive survey on this point purposely as I am afraid it

might be prejudicial before the matter is freely discussed.

Joy is the ultimate end of a creative function. Art is one such function. It infuses life into joy for a longer period than just a fleeting moment. A thing of Beauty made, radiates its virtues not only to one who claims to be the creator, but also to those who are endowed with receptive quality. This quality in the capacity to see the truth underlying the beautiful. It is the result of cultivation of sympathy and deeper understanding. It is born of constant contact with the thoughts of the artist and association with his creations as well. To

* Presidential address delivered at the All-India Artists' Conference, New Delhi, on 2nd March, 1948.

contact the beautiful is an inborn tendency of the connoisseur. He loves to penetrate deeper than the surface on account of temperamental affinity with the artist and profound sympathy for his vocation.

The relationship is almost identical with that of magnet and steel. But the inherent attractive quality of the magnet, however powerful may be, ceases to function when faced with non-receptive agents. Similarly, an indifferent approach to the beautiful will have no better result than a fruitless endeavour, because art is not for all.

I have stressed upon affinity and understanding of pictorial language with regard to assessment of values, because assessment of the true value of a pictorial pattern theme has often come to be confused and diverted from its goal by superficial appeal for the cultural drive manoeuvred by intruders in the field of art. The confusion is inevitable for the reason that the response of the subject-matter becomes so overwhelming that it forces the layman to submit to a total surrender to sentiment. Sentiment, thus fostered, develops into fatal consequences, particularly when initiated by unassimilated motives like religion, politics, nationalism and morals. Whereas subject is not a criterion in a pictorial pattern theme, it is only what is expressed; that is, the driving energy of the emotion, that compels the artist to respond to his calling.

It is only a cause; as such, cause cannot be valued in place of effect. To be more precise on this point, a few concrete examples are necessary. Let us compare two portraits, one of a king and the other of a beggar. The painter of royalty is a novice and that of the beggar a master artist. Now if the two pictures were compared and their qualities assessed on the intrinsic values of pictorial theme, the beggar's portrait will be held in awe and exaltation and not the king's, though the latter is more entitled to claim appreciation on the ground of the sitter's position.

The logical conclusion behind this estimation is that, though the king is identified in a canvas on account of faithful resemblance, yet what is portrayed is deprived of the majestic characteristics a ruler is supposed to be possessed of. The result is not only due to inexperienced handling but also lack of insight and sanguine execution. In the case of the king, it is the outcome of groping in the dark, and in the case of the beggar, a deliberate exposition charged with sincerity of study, a revelation of rich technical achievement and penetrating vision which found its way deeper than mere superficial resemblance.

Therefore to understand the beauty of a picture in keeping with its subject-matter, contact with the concealed skill of the artist is indispensable—the skill is the language—the vehicle that conveys the spirit of the effect to the receptive. It is the life-giving element which can make a dumb dead flat canvas live and speak, and in the other case resemblance of the living may turn out to be dead.

Here I may add that to make a picture vibrate with life, it requires a life-long study and struggle endowed with confidence and sincerity. The result eventually provides a means to create a thing of beauty which is transformed into a source of joy not only to the one who creates it, but also to those capable of reciprocating sympathetically.

Coming to the standard of beauty, I should say its range is so widely spread that the magnitude cannot be surveyed with a preconceived ideal or given

formula. For instance, I may say a scene of horror is no less beautiful than the altar of a divine service in its particular sphere. Slums in their grim poverty and agony are no less a pictorial subject than the grand courtyard of a palace where beautiful damsels assemble, decorated with jewels and gems and dance in rhythm to please the master. The former is a picture of pathos and the latter is a scene of lust. Each has its appeal to the proper receptive agent.

The man of the slums under the grip of poverty and hunger has no time to enjoy the forms of the dancing girls. He is in immediate need of food, for sheer existence. Nor will the man drunk in just extend pity to a suffering humanity, the reason being that pleasure and agony do not go together.

In the circumstances, value relative and to enjoy it is a matter of temperamental affinity. As such the merits or demerits of the subject in graphic or plastic art have to be assessed in relation to how pattern theme in keeping with the subject has been revealed.

Now coming back to the objective of the conference, it will not be out of place to say that such conferences are considered ridiculous by some who hold that a creative artist must live a secluded life completely isolated from disturbing facts and controversial opinions. Contrary to this conviction, the mission of the artist is likely to be jeopardized.

In defence of this plea, isolation is urged to enable the artist to get into the right depths of meditation and ensure accessibility to the royal road to perfection. This is a grand retreat towards renunciation. The rub comes from the fact that the artist cannot get away from his commitments, being pledged to society and his nation. Renunciation is no good to a man who must live in this world with his ego, attachments and ambitions.

The modern artist is not privileged to isolate himself from disturbing facts as his predecessors could. Patronage in olden days was assured by kings and religious institutions. Contrary to this, the modern artist is not only involved in economic problems but is also perplexed by successive invasions of foreign influence directed by current issues of fashion. They are ever changing, ever fleeting in accelerated speed. If one is accommodated, the other strikes a new note, and before the discord of the new is adjusted in tune, it is found to be out of date. It has to succumb to its natural doom no less quickly than it made its advent. Hence the question of distinguishing the alive from the dead keeps the artist preoccupied rather than permit him to pursue the path of his own choice. He has no other option because he does not know where he will be landed if he failed to submit to fashion.

Engulfed in environment as the artist is, one should not feel it strange if he did submit, maybe not necessarily in spontaneous response but as a result of coercion. The artist has therefore no business to shut his eyes to facts, nor can he afford it, since it will be courting physical starvation.

The problem has to be solved by selling the records of his emotions. But who is to buy? Who is prepared to share the joys and sorrows of his struggle? He gets lost in bewilderment in quest of a sympathetic patron.

In case his desperate efforts are rewarded with success, he soon realises that he has exposed himself before a person whose queer sense of patronage merely serves to uphold a self-constituted dignity. Such

patronage is pity in disguise, a motive for the buyer to live on reflected glory.

Similarly, there are critics who, I am reluctant to say, are in most cases no less susceptible to fashion, reinforced by a tendency to exploit the artist, whereas the virtue of a true critic is a helpful guidance in a constructive spirit, to point out the pitfalls that impatiently lurk round the corner.

This should not be, for obvious reasons. I need not go into details. But one point I cannot help bringing to the notice of the public, and that is the deterioration that has come to stay as a result of the assertion of perversities in art. It is deliberately designed to frustrate progress. I admit it is an inevitable result of the tremendous unrest in the creative mind which must pave its own path for an easy stride, and to make things easy, it is but natural for him to abandon the complexities, indispensable in academical conventions.

The upheaval in the mind tends to unearth primitive methods. These methods might indeed be bold and executed in an effortless child-like manner, nevertheless the execution was not childish—the reason being that artists of the primitive age were not subjected to conditional approach to art. In the circumstances, it is but natural that their attempts were sincere and innocent of the complications of science that have developed today.

Whether the primitive man felt the painting was a cultural urge or a decoration for his cave walls to enhance the beauty of his abode, or just a hobby or an aid to woo his lover, or a fine recreation after the toil of hunt, is not our concern now. What we are interested in, is his art, which was harmoniously adjusted with his primitive skill, his cave abode and the wild environment he was obliged to live in.

What suited well a cave, surrounded by gorgeous landscapes and wild ferocious animals thousands of years ago cannot fit in with a city of the modern world, since the way of living, climatic effect and conditions of life today are completely different from what they were then.

It is absurd to imagine that we could revert to the mental equipment of primitive men, having all the benefits and shortcomings of civilization.

The cave-man's sincerity might have been an asset to him considering his peculiar environment. But the same in our times will turn into a liability.

Let me now tell a sad tale—the tale of the fascination at large for a primitive cult. A full-grown adult having all the cunning and shrewdness that higher intelligence confers, trying to be innocent like a child, proves that something is wrong somewhere.

My contention has particular reference to those artists whose struggle for higher technical achievements is frustrated by obvious incapacity. One can understand the resentment against proceeding scientifically for self-expression. What amuses me is the incomplete and funny disguise of the artist who prefers to deny the joy of creation in pursuit of being proclaimed dangerously original—so dangerous as is capable to give the shock of life not only by its content but also for fear of its virulent type of contagion.

Those who have not succumbed to the contagion of dangerous originality have gone back to tradition which provides for peaceful existence. There is no taxation of brains in the pursuit of art, nor has the artist to bother about original patterns. He is perfectly happy to indulge in repetition just as a trained parrot does.

Tradition has a value of its own. It is a history of the past. But confining oneself to lost glory and exhuming the dead from the burial ground is a job that can lead the artist only to the glory of stagnation, where he must repeat and rot.

Repetition overdone often brings distaste even for dainty delicacies. But this is not accepted as truth because the cry of sentiment voiced emphatically by the mass overrules sense. Though I may say that the mass as a rule have no taste of their own, they have acquired one created for them by the thinker.

I think I have said enough by way of prologue to the Conference and the rest as to where we differ or concur may be left for discussion.

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JOURNALISM

Book-Reviewing

By C. L. R. SASTRI

We have been told that some men are born great, that some achieve greatness, and that on some—the most fortunate of the whole lot, undoubtedly—greatness is actually thrust. I have always had a sort of sneaking admiration for the last group. I mean, it must be such huge fun to wake up one fine morning and find oneself mysteriously marked off from the rest of humanity. The rest of humanity on one side, so to speak, and oneself on the other. No income is so sweet as what the economists term the "unearned" variety, and, by the same token, no distinction is so enviable as that which, as Lord Melbourne said of the Garter, has no "d-d merit" about it. Of course, the vast majority of us do not come under any of these categories: we conspicuously fail to touch greatness at any point—

commonness being our badge and mediocrity our bane. We may take any amount of thought, but not for all the wealth of the Indies can we add a cubit to our stature—mental, moral or spiritual.

As with humanity in general, so with books. Some books are born great, some achieve greatness, and on some greatness is thrust—almost by force majeure. With the passing of days one book no more tends to differ from another than, with the current phenomenal increase of population everywhere, one man can be set apart from another. At a time when books had been fewer than at present they were more esteemed, and, as a matter of fact, they deserved that esteem. Only the really erudite, only those born into the purple of the writing profession, took the trouble of writing

books, and, as they invariably wrote them in their hearts' blood, as it were, they were thoroughly worth while.

THE PLETHORA OF BOOKS

But that halcyon period was not destined to last long. We have now a plethora of books. They are as common as lip-sticks and powder-puffs. With the facilities of education reaching the remotest cottage-door this is, perhaps, inevitable: the supply has to catch up with the demand. Leisure also, owing to the bewildering multiplication of machines, to the employment of two where only one had been in service before (if I may parody Swift), is more abundant. One cannot, with the best will in the world, spend the *entire* day seeking (and ensuing) pleasure whether at cinema-halls or at cabaret-shows, at dog-racing or at pub-crawling. The public library system, too, has kept pace with this wide-spread advance in literacy. Poverty has ceased to be an insuperable barrier to a close acquaintance with the "Three R's," nor does sex interpose a marked hindrance. By this I do not imply that the man of scanty means necessarily enjoys the same opportunities as his brother of ampler resources. A lean purse has never been exactly conducive to the wooing of the Muses; but the "March of Time" (thanks be!) is gradually obliterating these ridiculous discrepancies.

THE WORRIES OF AN EDITOR

The supply, as I have indicated, has to catch up with the demand. That is one reason for the existing proliferation of books. There are always, however, two sides to every question, and I do not overlook the fact that this has its undoubted disadvantages: the principal one being that the much-harassed public cannot see the wood for the trees. One simply cannot cope with this gargantuan output. It does not, it is true, operate so very disastrously on the individual reader, because, after all, if he does not want to read a book he is under no obligation to go through that painful ritual. He merely turns his back upon the book and goes about his lawful occasions, the book forgetting and by the book forgot. But a newspaper staff *must* find a "way out" of this *impasse*, in the memorable phrase of the redoubtable Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Those that are unacquainted with the workings of a modern newspaper office, "in its habit as it lives," can have no conception of the weight of new publications under which an editor's table groans. Not the least of his worries is the (successful) devising of a method whereby he can deal with them in a manner worthy both of the traditions of his paper and of the merits of what Milton has rightly called the "embalmed treasures" of man's intellect. To aspire after perfection in such a state of affairs would be to aim at the starkly impossible: the spirit may be willing, but the flesh is weak.

Whatever his own personal predilections may be he is precluded from cutting the Gordian knot by ingeminating, "A plague on all your (publishing) houses", and depositing the whole undesirable lot in the municipal dustbins. Part (but only a part) of the difficulty was solved, in England and America, by engaging another person as the *Literary Editor*. Two heads are always better than one, and, anyway, there is much to be said in favour of decentralisation. But the difficulty was only transferred from the shoulders

of the General Editor to the *Literary Editor*, it being the *latter's* turn now to "hold the baby." Indian newspapers, however, do not enjoy even this limited blessing.

THE WAY OUT

It must be admitted that many books are not sent out to be reviewed at all; and that the few that are have not usually the luck to fall into capable hands. There is a noticeable difference in this matter between the dailies, the weeklies, and the monthlies. The dailies have seldom the requisite space for an elaborate review. I have not encountered in them reviews comparable to those in the weeklies, such as the *Nation*, the *New Statesman*, the *Spectator*, and the rest. The London *Times* has solved the problem by relegating them to a separate publication, *The Times Literary Supplement*. Except for a full-length "leader" (and even this is often a review) it consists only of reviews of books. The *Manchester Guardian* has also its own weekly. But it is not confined exclusively to reviews: it is an *olla podrida*, taking in, as it does, nearly everything that can interest newspaper readers. Other dailies get round the difficulty by providing for a few more pages once or twice in the week, like the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New Chronicle*. That monthly, so ably edited at one time by the late St. John Adcock, *The Bookman*, was, as its name implied, devoted mainly to books. The "Book Page" of nearly all English papers and periodicals is a delightful feature, and, in some instances, their most delightful feature. When the late Mr. H. W. Massingham edited the *Daily Chronicle*, he made its literary section the envy of all Fleet Street. It was the same story when, later, he presided over the destinies of the *Nation*.

INDIAN PAPERS

Indian journalism can boast of none of these things. The *Times of India* has, every Friday, a special column reserved for the reviews of books, and it is an eminently readable column. The *Statesman*, in its Sunday edition, contrives to dole out a little more space for this purpose, and that space, it is needless to say, is very eruditely filled. The *Hindu* is even more generous, and it makes a point (which may, with advantage, be copied by other papers) of not ignoring vernacular productions. Many other papers have also their Sunday editions, but book-reviewing is not a conspicuous feature in them. The *Hindustan Times*, which, in my opinion, is our premier daily, and deserves our highest praise in other respects, does not come up to our expectations as far as my present subject is concerned. I need not mention our weeklies in this connexion, because we have so few of them that are really first-class. As for the monthlies, *The Modern Review of Calcutta*, whose name must for ever be associated with that of the late Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, and which is decidedly our best monthly, is best in this respect also. It sets apart quite a large number of pages to cope with the new publications. But when this is said, all, or nearly all, has been said.

FAIRNESS

It now remains for me to deal with the most important problem—that of how book-reviewing should be done. It is all the more difficult for me to deal with it, as it is done very prefactorily in our country. At

the outset, however, I may state that we need not take into account what Charles Lamb, in his inimitable way, has described as "books which are no books—*biblia a-biblia*," such as Court Calendars, Directories, Almanacs, etc. But what about the rest? Here, as elsewhere, there is a great diversity of opinion. Let me be understood as treating only of *deserving* books, books where the reviewer is given that "generous amplitude," in the words of our beloved Secretary of State, Mr. Leopold S. Amery, without which, of course, even a modicum of justice cannot be done. Strictly speaking, such publications as *Mother India* and *Verdict on India*, for instance, should not be included in this category. But even here the reviewer would do well to be as fair as possible—going to the furthest limit of giving the Mayos and the Nicholls of this world the benefit of the doubt: for, after all, as Shakespeare puts into the mouth of one of his characters, God has made them and we should let them pass. Fairness in the reviewer is a very desirable qualification. To quote Mr. Robert Lynd, a master of the craft, we should gently scorn, not only our brother man, but our brother author or sister authoress. It is true that this dictum makes enormous drafts on our charity, for Mrs. Mayo came to India and discovered that the vast majority of the Hindu male population are impotent and subsist on cow-dung (she did not pause to enquire whether they are impotent *because* they subsist on cow-dung, and Mr. Nicholls's left foot sustained some serious damage in the same noble cause of traducing our countrymen right royally. Still, Mr. Lynd's advice should not be despised.

MORE THAN A MERE PORTRAIT

I am to be understood, I repeat, as treating only of deserving books where the reviewer has command of sufficient space to "spread himself" about them. I have insisted on one desideratum—fairness. Another is his obligation to render an *unbiased* report of the trend of the book. Obviously, the author has a certain object in view in writing his book: that *object must come out in the review*. A review, however, should not be a mere synopsis of the book in question: else, where does criticism come in? But it should not be *all* criticism and *no* portrait: that would be to err at the opposite extreme. A reviewer is a critic in little. Criticism *must* find a place in the review. But what kind of criticism—destructive or constructive? I have no hesitation in voting for the latter. Destructive criticism is the easiest thing on earth as Miss Mayo and Mr. Nicholls ought to know. The reviewer should not say, gloatingly: "I have come to bury Caesar, not to praise him." He should, on the contrary, come to praise him: *all other things, of course, being equal*. Else, let him keep away: there are others who can do the job better than he.

GOOD REVIEWING IS APPRECIATION

I am aware that this has its own dangers. At the present day there is more favourable criticism than unfavourable criticism. Good books, it would seem, are as plentiful as blackberries. They are to be met with in every publisher's window. The world is full to overflowing with, in another immortal phrase of Charles Lamb's, "perpetually self-reproductive volumes—Great Nature's Stereotypes." As Mr. P. G. Wodehouse puts it wittily:

"There are no good books now-a-days—only superb books, astounding books, genuine masterpieces, books which we are not ashamed to say brought tears to our eyes. Some people (who ought to be ashamed of themselves) say that the reason for this tidal wave of sweetness and amiability is the fact that reviewers today are all novelists themselves. Old Bill, they claim, who does the literary page of *The Scrivener*, is not going to jump on Old Joe's *Sundered Souls* when he knows that his own *Storm Over Britain* is coming out next week and that Joe runs the book column of *The Spokesman*. This, of course, is not so. Nobody who really knows novelists and their flaming integrity would believe it for a moment. It is with genuine surprise that William, having added *Sundered Souls* to the list of the world's masterpieces, finds that Joseph, a week later, has done the same by *Storm Over Britain*. An odd coincidence he feels."

All the same, I hold that adulation is better than vituperation. That is why Pater, as Mr. Lynd has remarked, has called his book of criticisms, *Appreciations*. That is why, in our own day, the late Mr. Chesterton's *Charles Dickens* is the most masterly book that has yet been written on that great novelist.

THE MASTERS

In England reviewing is almost a fine art. The reviews of such distinguished persons as Sir John Squire, Mr. Robert Lynd, Mr. Desmond MacCarthy, Mr. G. W. Young, the late Mr. T. Earle Welby, Mr. Edward Shanks, Mr. R. Ellis Roberts, and others have acquired a significance of their own: they have a rare value—quite apart from the books reviewed. Mr. G. W. Young's reviews, in especial, stand in a class by themselves: "they form a vast species alone," as Cowley says of Pindar's Odes. I cannot do better than counsel my readers to sleep themselves in the reviews of those masters. That is real book-reviewing.

I have a strong prejudice in favour of the essay-kind of review. If one has sufficient space at one's command one may let oneself go while reviewing a book, provided always that the book merits such treatment, and that the reviewer is a competent writer himself. If these conditions are satisfied, one may, without any undue risk, write an independent essay on the theme of the book, at the same time keeping an eye on its central point, or points. And why not? A review should not be a mere catalogue or prospectus: *it should throb with a life of its own*. Some of the most reputed reviewers have adopted this mode and have been none the worse for it. Did not Anatole France once observe that "the good critic is he who relates the adventures of his own soul among masterpieces?" This dictum loses none of its force even if the books under consideration are not masterpieces.

I should not like to conclude my article without entering a caveat against regarding book-reviewing as one of the minor branches of journalism. *It is nothing of the kind*. A journalist who is quite competent in the other branches may conceivably come a cropper when, once in a while, he is put on this kind of job. This is no place for mere rule-of-thumb processes: the man must be tolerably erudite himself before venturing to sit in judgment on the erudition of others. Were I an editor I should insist of an applicant for work that he should be an excellent book-reviewer. But this, obviously, needs a lot of stressing in our country.

THE SPIRIT OF HINDU CIVILIZATION

By BUDHA PRAKASH, M.A.

II

Not content with the work of cultural synthesis of which we have given only a few hints, Indian civilization overflowed the boundaries of India and impressed its mark on the world. The Tarim basin in Central Asia is scattered with ruins of small Buddhist shrines which contain stucco-images representing objects of Buddhist worship and Buddhist canonical writings in detached pothi leaves of paper. At Rawak, a great Buddhist sanctuary is discovered with an enclosing quadrangular court, the walls of which are lined with stucco images of the Buddha of colossal size. The hundreds of grottos honey-combing the rock-faces of Buddhist shrines, found at Miran and Kucha, reveal a profusion of beautiful tempera-paintings, showing the Bodhisattvas, often grouped in sumptuous settings of celestial attendants or Buddhist heavens with their wealth of mythological scenery.²⁰ Buddhist influence in Central Asia led to the growth of a new system *viz.* Manichaeism in 242 A.D. which spread in Asia Minor, North Africa, Spain, France and China. Even in Ptolemaic Egypt, Buddhist festivals were prevalent. Indian figures are found in Memphis and an inscription has been discovered at Thebados which is dedicated by 'Solon, the Indian.'²¹ Towards the east, the influence that India had on China is manifest from the large number of pilgrims who defying the hindrances of nature and braving indescribable risks, visited India, learnt her language and translated her literature in their own mother tongue. The works of the best brains of India—Ashva Ghosa, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dharmakirti and Nagarjuna, which are now lost to India, have been recovered in Chinese versions. In Korea, Buddhist figures are hewn out of the living rock in an environment of great natural beauty away from the haunts of man. It is from Korea that Indian art and culture reached Japan in the sixth century A.D. Prince Wumayado, who prepared the fourteen articles of the Japanese constitution, wrote some remarkable commentaries on the works of Nagarjuna. In these works we find a spirit of intense refinement and purity, such as only great religious feelings could have produced. Tibet received the light of Indian culture in the seventh century A.D., under Emperor Strong-Btsan-Sgam-Po (630-688 A.D.) who was converted to Buddhism under the influence of his Chinese and Nepalese queens. Under Khri-Srong-lde-Btsan (802-845 A.D.) who is called the Asoka of Tibet a great tide of art and culture of religious fervour and progress surged over the length and breadth of the land. The great pundits, Kumar, Silamanji, Tuna, Mahadeva and others translated the huge canon of the Buddhists in Tibetan language, the script or alphabet of which was invented by Thom-mi on the model of contemporary Kashmirian alphabets. Lastly, Emperor Muni-Btsan-Po (845-846 A.D.) who was brought up in an atmosphere charged with the extreme form of Bodhi-

sattva ideal, which viewed with great approval even the renunciation of one's own salvation in rendering services to others and removing their sufferings, translated in action the real spirit of Buddhism. He appropriated the wealth of the nation and redistributed it amongst all, thus carrying out to the letter the ideal of equality which Buddhism preached. The innate and fresh energy of the Tibetan people which expressed itself in a great empire stretching over Tibet and portions of Central Asia and China was directed by Buddhism towards the behoof and betterment of man.²² The result was that even the bloody Mongols under Kublai Khan succumbed to the charms of Buddhist culture and got the whole canon translated into Tukharien language. Similar were the cultural achievements of India in Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon and Burma. In Java stands the greatest monument of Buddhism—the stupa at Borobudur, where the naturalism of Ajanta appears in the shape of a veritable classicism.

This great saga of civilizing the world, of which we have noted only a few refrains, vouches for the inherent energy, vitality and vigour of Hindu civilization. It is now high time to jettison the false impressions which scholars like Maxmuller have created in our mind. At one place, the learned father wrote :

"Greece and India are indeed the two opposite poles in the historical development of the Aryan race. To the Greek existence is full of life and reality ; to the Hindu it is a dream, a delusion. The Greek is at home when he is born ; all his energies belong to his country ; he stands or falls with his party ; he is ready to sacrifice even his life to the glory and independence of Hellas. The Hindu enters the world as a stranger ; all his thoughts are directed to another world ; he takes no part even when he is driven to act ; and when he sacrifices his life it is but to be delivered from it."

How erroneous and gratuitous is this view is apparent from the sketch of the role of Hinduism as a civilizing agency of mankind, that we have given above. We take now some other aspects of Hindu life to show the falsity of this view. Let us first take art. Dr. Stella Kramrisch in a lecture delivered at the Calcutta University once said about the art of Bharhut and Sanchi :

"The symmetry to which Indian art subjects its gods has nothing of *transcendentism*. Here it is the subtlest vibration of an accomplished state of spiritual existence and still it preserves the faint perfume of life. Life's unbroken continuity is expressed by the revolving ringlets of the lotus-stalk on the Bharhut-railings. This lotus-stalk unswerving and undisturbed, patiently carries the Buddha throughout his former incarnations and rocks each of them with great tenderness between its undulations."²³

20. Sir Aurel Stein in "Revealing India's Past", published by the India Society, London, 1929.

21. Mahaffy : History of Egypt Under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, Vol. I, p. 257, et seq.

p. 125.

22. Rev. Rabata Sankrityayana in Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. I, p. 257, et seq.

23. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. IX, pp. 55-104.

About the art of Ajanta, a great French connoisseur has remarked :

"Jamais, non pas chez Kalidasa, on n'a célébré avec un tel lyrisme la valeur d'art de ses lignes et de ses attitudes, sa douceur inclinée et pensive . . . Il faudrait énumérer tous les couples d'amants d'Ajanta, dire leur langue voluptueuse et leur simplicité raffinée, leur douceur de poses et la sereuse retenue chaste de leur gestes. Surtout cet abandon spirituel, cette tendresse infinie grâce auxquels de tels motifs ne détonnent pas dans un sanctuaire Boudhique . . ."

The same love of life and universe is manifest in Indian literature. Amidst a scene of rare bucolic beauties and sylvan calmness, the poet Bana has portrayed the triumph of the instincts of blood over the capacities of brain. Kadambari's fervour proves as effective as Kapinjala's penance. In Kalidasa, the finest creator of forms and images and a harmonious interpreter of the noblest sentiments of human heart, we notice an atmosphere of rare richness and exuberance. Every aspect of Hindu life in all its aesthetic phases has been painted in brightest colours. Going backwards we witness Ashvaghosa, "poet, musician, preacher, moralist, philosopher, play-wright, tale-teller, satirist. He is an inventor in all these arts and excels in all ; in his richness and variety he recalls Milton, Goethe, Kant and Voltaire. He stands at the starting point of all the great currents that renewed and transformed India towards the beginning of the Christian era."²⁶ It should also be added that he gave a religious form to the purely philosophic tenets of Buddhism and was thus chiefly responsible for the expansion of Buddhist civilization abroad. Likewise in a multitude of other poets we notice the same elegance of arrangement, richness of colour, luxuriance of decoration, sonority of verse and concinnity of expression. The splendid *padavalis* of medieval Bengal and the stirring *powadas* of Maharashtra, the songs of Tamil saints and the strains of Hindu Bhakta poets—all point to the keen interest in life that the Hindu felt.

A passage may pardonably be devoted to Hindu science. Chapter IV of the *Shukraniti* contains highly developed Agri-horti-flori-cultural ideas. So much specialization took place in iron industry that it was divided into three classes—Munda, Tikshna, Kanta, and each into three subdivisions, Mridu, Kunta, Kurar.²⁷ Ayurvedic Shastras mention humitide and iron pyrites and show familiarity with the process of the preparation of chloride, oxide and sulphide of iron. Shipping was very advanced. Ships were classified according to the position of the cabins as Sarvamandira, Madhyamandira, Agramandira, etc., the last being eminently suitable for long voyages, and naval warfare. (R. K. Mookerjee : *History of Indian Shipping*, p. 20.)

Trade with the world was highly developed. Buddhist Jatakas mention sea-borne commerce with the Indian archipelago and land trade with Greece and Babylonia (Yona and Paramyona) in silks, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth and cutlery and armours, brocades, embroideries, drugs, perfumes, ivory and ivorywork, jewellery and

gold.²⁸ Varahamihira in his *Brhat Samhita* refers to the manufacture of dyes, cosmetics, artificial imitations of natural flowers and scents which were exported to Europe. Prof. Lacoperie believes that the monopoly of the sea-borne trade of China was in the hands of Indian merchants who transported to China pearls, rubies, sugar, aromatics, peacocks, corals, etc. According to Hamza Isaphan, the ships of India and China could be seen constantly moored at Hira near Kirta in the Euphrates.²⁹

We now take another feature of Hindu mind. The Hindu hates abstractions ; he eschews the dark and the mystic. He loves the concrete and the colourful. But all the same he is intensely deep and thoughtful. This is clear from the familiarity with which the Hindus approached their gods. They never stand in awe of them. A Vedic poet rebukes Indra for his parsimony and declares that had he been Indra, he would have lavished his gifts unstinted. The informality and friendliness with which gods mixed with people is manifest from a line of the *Harivansa-Purana*, which recalls the days when men and gods used to live together.³⁰ Likewise Asoka to have reunited men with

gods : जम्भीरपति ये इयम कालय भमिसा देवा हुषु ते दानि मिसा कटा —(M. R. E. I, Brahmagiri version).

These traits are mostly due to the character of Indian soil. Prof. Sylvain Levi has written in his inimitable style :

"La terre abreuvée de l'eau par les milles canaux du Gange, s'y pare d'une floraison capiteuse qui trouble l'imagination, mure avant l'appel précoce des sens. L'impénétrable nourricière semble répondre aux caresses fécondes du soleil par un hymne palpitant d'amour. Absorbe dours ses-effluves l'homme rêve à l'union de transports et d'extases incessamment renouvelées ; l'esprit veut transformer à son goût les lourdes jouissances de la matière. L'éternel féminin l'obsède."³¹

But this thoughtful feature should not be confused with pessimism. Another great French scholar warns us against this danger in the following words :

"Rappelons ce que nous avons dit plus haut sur ce qu'il faut entendre par pessimisme Indien. Ce pessimisme qui n'existe qu'à l'endroit de l'existence phénoménale se resout en une inexprimable félicité des que le sage atteint son objectif supra-phénoménal, Brahma-Atman or Nirvana."³²

The Hindu genius is anthropomorphic. He sees everything in the universe in his own image. Even the abstract qualities of mind, e.g., virtue, sin, kindness, truth, etc., appear to him possessed of human personality.³³ This paganism among the Hindus, is not a fetish

29 Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India*, p. 100.

30 For details see Warmington : *Commerce of India with Rome*, and S. K. Das : *Economic Condition in Ancient India*.

31 देवतानां मनुष्याणां वृथासौख्यमवस्था (Harivansa, III, 32, 1)

32 Sylvain Levi : Preface to M. Courtille's French translation of *Gitagovinda*.

33 Louis de la Vallée-Poussin : *Le Pessimisme Hindou*, p. 113.

34 Cf. the dramas— प्रोचयन्तोदय of कृष्णमित्र &

मोहकप्रसादय of वसःपाल

in which abstract qualities are actually represented as characters working on the stage.

26 Rene Croiset : *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient* Tome Premier, p. 148.

27 Sylvain Levi : *Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University* (Journal Dept.) Letters IX, p. 12.

38 Cf. the iron-pillar of Mahabali and the copper image of Buddha found at Salsangan.

or superstition but a perception of the fundamental unity of spiritual life."

Another characteristic of Hindu civilisation is its eminently practical nature. The word *Dharma* which is the pivot of the life and thought of the Hindus is a very wide and comprehensive term and cannot be adequately rendered by any expression as religion, ethics, morality or *Masab*. It is formed from the root *Dhri* with the suffix *-man* and literally means that which holds on, which sustains, which keeps together. Hence it means the entire framework of rights and duties in which the fabric of human personality is set. Philosophy in India is a part of *Dharma* and not a mere mental gymnastic. Thus the very first *sutra* of Jaimini's *Purvamimamsa* is, "Athato Dharmajijnasa" and the first *sutra* of Vaisheshika is, "Athato Dharma Vyakhyasyamah." This synthesis of religion and philosophy, or in other words the idea of carrying out the thoughts and concepts of brain into practical action, was the great cement of Hinduism inasmuch as it always kept open the avenue of free thought and always held together the fabric of Hinduism through many a period of stress and strain.

Hindu civilisation is founded on a democratic basis and an equalitarian conception of life. According to the Chidrupabrahmavada, taught in 108 Upanisads and enumerated in the *Mauktikopanisat*, every human being virtually represents a "small temple," a "power-house" and a "wireless station" all rolled into one. Any one without distinction of race, creed, caste or sex, can systematically develop the spiritual power within and utilise it to the best advantage, benefit and service of all concerned. Democratic Hinduism or the Sankhya-yoga is entirely free from priest-craft or ecclesiasticism.³⁵ I do not mean that all Hindus, at all times followed these ideals. The Brahmanas were not quite free from selfish or sordid motives and more than once they tried to imprison the forces of Hinduism in their parochial pretensions.³⁶ But always Hinduism has been producing great teachers and masters of thought who understood the inner essence of things and proclaimed its real message to the world. The greatest of them was the Buddha whose communistic and somewhat republican ideas, culminated in the Maurya State. This State was responsible for the livelihood of every citizen. The infants, orphans, aged, invalid and addicts were maintained; addled women and the children born to those in family way were kept in State

asylums.³⁷ Every trade, commerce, and industry was centralised in royal monopolies. All land belonged to the Crown and was leased to the agriculturists for life with no right of alienation, transfer or mortgage. Those who did not till it were ejected.³⁸ The State kept strict supervision over the manners and morals and income and expenditure of the citizens and both the extravagant and the miser were punished.³⁹ Citizens were made to take active interest in all that relates to public affairs. The whole community was thus enjoined to be an information bureau, vigilance committee and an association for public safety. Citizens passing in the streets are to be on the lookout whether the trader has paid the toll for his commodities at the Customs office or not.⁴⁰ The restaurant keepers had to examine the feelings of foreigners and the prostitutes were expected to spy and assassinate persons suspected of ill-will towards the State. A man not helping others to extinguish fires, which were common⁴¹ in wooden houses of those times, were fined. Every man was legally obliged to catch a certain number of mice in cases of plague, epidemic and failure to do was visited with fine.⁴² It may be recalled that this is the ideal of a true democratic state as laid down by J. S. Mill in his book on *Representative Government*. Every one is equal in the eyes of the State, for Asoka says in *P. E.*, IV (Delhi-Topra version):

इहितानि किति दण्डसमता विरोहसमता च तिया ति ।

These are enough hints to indicate the democratic foundations of Hindu society.

Another prevalent misconception in present-day educated people is about caste. Sir Henry Maine has described it as the most blighted and inhuman institution and Sir Jadunath Sarkar has attributed to caste all evils that led to the downfall of Indian culture. I need only submit that the four-fold caste organization was like Plato's division of mankind into men of gold, men of silver and men of copper, purely traditional and theoretical. In actual practice it never stood until recently in the way of social progress of the Hindus. The earliest instance of a Kshatriya becoming a Brahmana is that of Nahusa's son Yati who relinquished his kingdom to his brother Yayati and became

35 A poet gives expression to these feelings in the following verse:

आत्मानं विद्धि दात दातं सर्वं यतोऽपि दुःखमेव ।
आतमीयं विद्धि दण्डं सप्तमन्त्रस्य प्रथमोऽङ्गः ।
दुष्कृतान्मन्त्रोपायान्दुष्टादीन्कुरुदन्तिर्नरकः ।
अपराधस्तपसापराधैर्मुक्तिं लब्धे परं नृणां ॥
नृहृदि—योगसूत्रम्

36 *Upan.*, 4, 157.

37 See G. Kishan Chandra: *Democratic Hinduism*.

38 Cf. Gautama *Dharmastra* (II, 21, 2).

अथ—सूत्रम्

वेदशास्त्रात्तत्तदुपायं योजयितुमशक्यं विदुः कुरु
कार्यं कुरुतेः ।

39 Cf. Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, p. 47 (Ed. Sham Shastri).—

कालदण्डवर्षितम् अन्वयाच्च राजा विमुच्यत ।

सिद्धयप्रज्ञायां प्रज्ञातायाश्च मुच्यत ।

40 *Ibid.*—

अनुमताधिकारान्तेन प्रयोज्यते ।

41 *Ibid.*—

नृहृदयान्तरिकद्वारेण प्रतिवेद्यते ।

42 *Ibid.*, p. 119—

अथान्यधिकारान्तेन अहृतद्वारान् अनुमताधिकारान्तेन

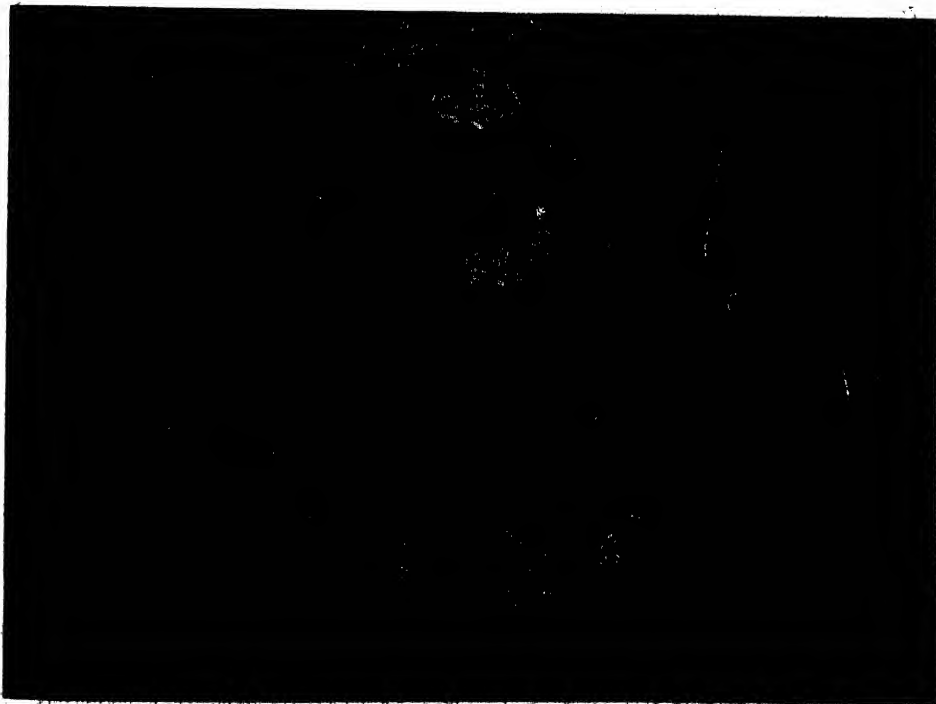
दण्डः । एविकीलविकसतिवृत्तः ।

43 *Ibid.*, p. 245—

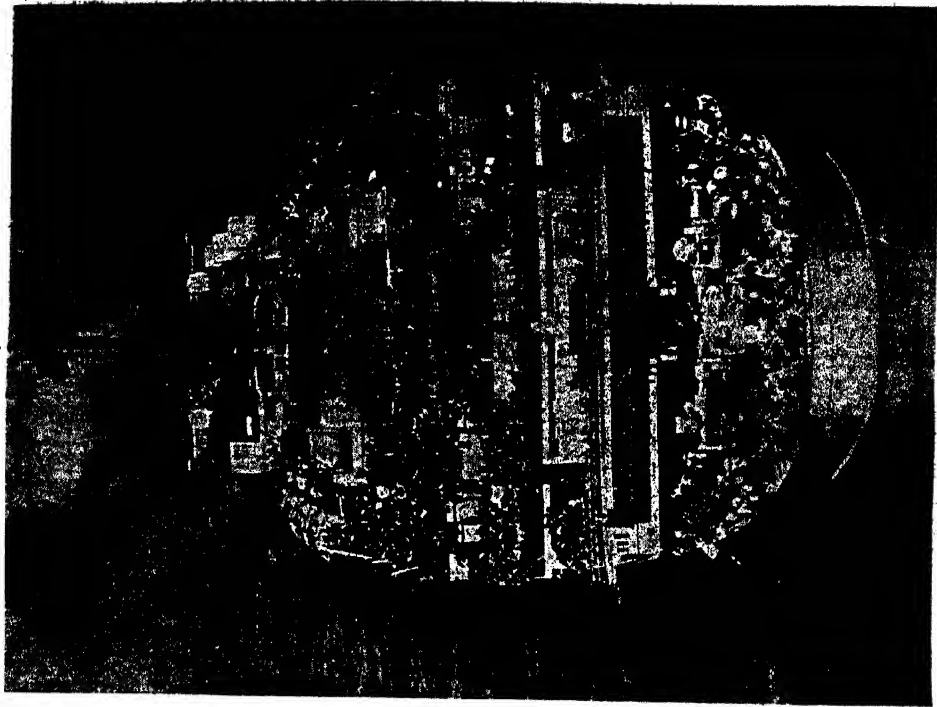
अतीतमधिकारान्ते अहृतद्वारान् दण्डः ।

44 *Ibid.*, p. 305—

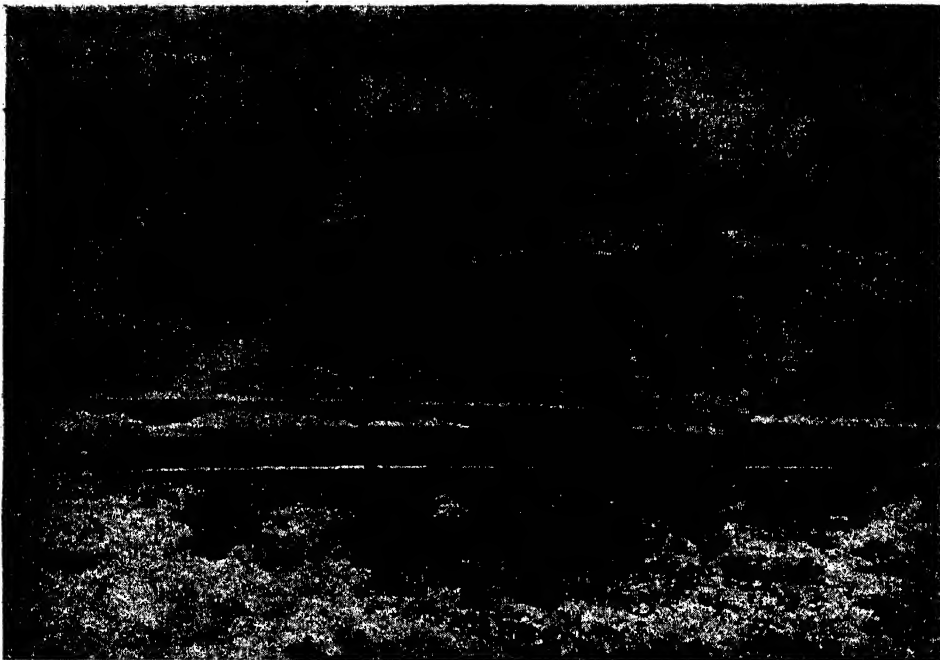
सुविचारं च अनुमतिम् ।



The two models of the famous electron microscope—the large model and the desk-size one—can magnify 100,000 diameters



The picture shows the British luxury liner Queen Mary bringing 14,526 Americans to New York from the European theatre of war



This photograph of man-made Lake Mead, 120 mile-long Boulder Dam reservoir, was taken
30 miles above the huge dam



These giant generators of the Boulder Dam provide electric power for millions of inhabitants
of several western U. S. states

a Brahmana Muni. Others prior to Visvamitra were Mandhatryaurvanasva, Kaasya and Gritsamada. Even the Bhagwata-purana (9th cent. work) and an avowedly Brahmana treatise acknowledges the origin of the Urukshaya, Kapi, Gargya, Priyamedha and Maudgalya families of the Brahmanas from the Paurava dynasty. The Nanda kings were of low origin, the Guptas were Karaskara Jats, the Palas were Sudras, the Vardhans of Kanauj were Vaishyas, but their title to rule was never questioned. Then in medieval times Namdeva, the tailor; Raidas, the cobbler; Dadu, the cotton scutcher; Kabir, the weaver; and many others hailing from lower strata were recognised as great teachers by all. The Yogis, Tantrikas, Nathpanthis, all eschewed caste. The predominance of Jainism in tenth and eleventh centuries in Gujarat, Malwa and western India liquidated the rigidity of caste. Such being the condition of India when she fell, how are we to attribute the whole disaster to an element, which had a limited scope. If we are to search the causes of the decline of Hindu civilization we shall find it in such things as growing urbanization, narrowing weltanschauung, oblivious mentality of the masses of those times and lastly, enfeebled morale brought about by the feudal order of society.

Lastly, one more fact should be noted. The Hindus are keen about duties rather than rights. They are more adept in giving rather than in taking. Com-

pare, for instance, Hindu cosmopolitanism with that of Rome. The Roman poet Rutilius Namastianus has written in a line, "Urben fecisti qui prius orbis erat" (what was previously the world thou hast made a city). The Hindu idea of the same is contained in the expression "Udaracharitanam tu basudhaiva kutumbakam" (for the magnanimous-minded the whole world is a family). Thus while Rome conceived of the world as a city, India viewed the same as a family. In the one, the idea of right is predominant, in the other the idea of duty holds the field. This necessarily follows from what we have said above about the spiritual nature of Hindu civilization.

All this was mostly due, as the quotation from Sylvain Levi cited above shows, to the richness and prosperity of Indian soil. In such a country which is a world in itself, the struggle for existence was not very keen. Materially the people were very affluent. Quite content with their lot, they set themselves on a quest for truth and ultimately they succeeded. They were perfectly justified in saying:

चोदयिनी सुव्रतानो चेतयन्ती सुमतीनां

यज्ञं दधे सत्त्वतिः ।

Rig-Veda (I, III, 11).

(Condensed from the inaugural address delivered to the History Association, Meerut College, Meerut, on 20th October, 1946.)

—:O:—

THE IMPENDING FAMINE IN BENGAL

By BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A., M.L.A.

THE Famine of 1943 was not only one of the most tragic events of history but it was also one of the saddest and most cruel commentary on the British rule in India. But it is still more tragic that before Bengal could recover from the shock of 1943 she is being compelled to face again, within three years, another famine of far greater magnitude and intensity. Conditions, this time, are far worse; there has been no bumper crop in Bengal this year or last year; there has been drought in other provinces as well; not only India but the whole world is facing acute food shortage. Possibilities of import are very slender and chances are that we shall have to depend on our own resources only.

Now, what is the present position? As usual, the authorities have begun bungling by first trying to suppress facts and then giving out contradictory statements and confusing the issue. On the 26th February last, Mr. Casey, the then Governor, assured us that the situation in Bengal was much better than that elsewhere and he did not admit the possibility of another famine. On the 20th February last, Mr. Williams, the then adviser to the Governor, stated in a Press Conference that there were no reasons to apprehend another famine, for the Government had sufficient stocks. Again, on the 20th April, 1946, Mr. S. K. Chatterji, the Director of Civil Supplies, Bengal, stated in a Press interview that "the food position in Bengal should not give rise to any alarm . . . the worst enemy in regard to the situation in the province is panic, not shortage. If people do not yield to panic and start hoarding, there is no danger of famine in Bengal."

But in a Radio discussion (broadcast by the Calcutta Centre of the All-India Radio on the 10th May, 1946) in which Mr. V. N. Rajan, I.C.S., Director of Supply, Bengal, Mrs. Renuka Roy, ex-M.L.A. (Central) and myself participated, Mr. Rajan, on being questioned, admitted serious shortage in almost all the necessary foodstuffs and indicated that outside help would not be available so far as rice is concerned.

The picture given by Mr. Rajan is something like this:

(a) RICE: Our annual requirement is estimated at 10.5 million tons. The carry-over from last year (427,000 tons) together with total rice production this year less seed requirements (9.3 million tons) will account for about 9.727 million tons. The estimated deficit is about 750,000 tons. No outside help should be expected.

(b) WHEAT: Our annual requirement is about 300,000 tons per year. This is covered by the Basic Plan of the Government of India and comes mostly from outside Bengal.

(c) DAL AND GRAM: The Provincial annual deficit is estimated to be 35,000 tons of Mug, 37,000 tons of Arhar, 70,000 tons of Masur and 50,000 tons of gram—all of them to be supplied by the Government of India from surplus provinces.

(d) SUGAR: Provincial requirement is estimated at 200,000 tons per year, but Bengal this year was originally allotted a quota of 149,000 tons which has been recently reduced by 13 per cent.

(e) **MUSTARD OIL:** Bengal requires each year at least 27,000 tons of Mustard Oil and 172,000 tons of seeds (equivalent to 57,333 tons of oil) besides her own production, but in view of the increase in population and the change in its character, a much larger quantity would be actually required. But the Government of India have allocated during the current year (April 1946-March 1947) only 45,700 tons of oil and 56,300 tons of seeds (equivalent to 18,767 tons of oil), thus leaving a total deficit of 19,866 tons in terms of oil or a deficit of 23.6 per cent.

The picture, in itself, is disheartening enough, but on scrutiny the position will be found to be much more serious than what it appears to be. Let us examine the position with regard to these foodstuffs in greater detail.

RICE

It is strange that contradictory and completely irreconcilable statements have been made by responsible men with regard to the rice position in Bengal. Both Mr. S. K. Chatterji and Mr. V. N. Rajan have agreed that the estimated deficit in rice will be 750,000 tons. But in the report submitted to President Truman by Mr. Hoover, it has been stated that according to his calculations, *with which the Government of India are in full agreement*, Bengal would require, this year, 302,000 tons only, to be distributed in the following manner:

May	..	..	nil
June	..	..	nil
July	..	..	90,000 tons
August	..	..	106,000 "
September	..	..	106,000 "

The public have every right to ask why there is such a huge divergence between the two estimates? Whose fault it is that Mr. Hoover has not been appraised of the true position? If it is the Government of India, then should not we be entirely in the right to infer that the Government of India are not serious to combat the impending famine, and are deliberately starving the people at least so far as Bengal is concerned? For, what other meaning this can possibly have? The Government of Bengal have estimated the deficit to be 750,000 tons and yet the Government of India inform Mr. Hoover that the shortage is not more than 302,000 tons? This is an unpardonable mistake, if it is a mistake at all; but it looks more like a deliberate policy to starve us to death than a mistake.

Coming now to the figures of the Government of Bengal, we have reasons to doubt their accuracy also. The estimated requirement of rice has been calculated to be 10.5 million tons. But taking the pre-war ration of 7 mds. per head per annum as the indispensable minimum, and taking, on the basis of 1941 census, 4,93,14,000 persons in terms of adults to be dependents on rice, the total requirement comes up to 13.0 million tons. (For detailed calculation, see my *Note on the Present Food Situation in India, Specially in Bengal*, dated, 29.3.43.) In taking 7 mds. per head per annum to be the minimum requirement what we are aiming at is not even the minimum nutritional standard but the bare subsistence level specially for the heavy manual workers in towns and rural areas. On this basis, the deficit, other things remaining the same, at once becomes as high as 8,278,000 tons, and not 750,000

tons. To calculate on the basis of an absurdly small quota of, say, 8 oz. per head per day, and to say that, on that basis, there is no deficit at all, is only another way of leading us to starvation and death.

Taking the figures of supplies we find that the carry-over from last year is supposed to be 427,000 tons and total rice production this year less seed requirement, to be 9.3 million tons. We first take the question of carry-over. From the final forecasts published by the Government of Bengal we get the following figures:

Production of Rice in Bengal

	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46
	Tons	Tons	Tons	Tons
Winter Rice	5,020,500	8,528,100	7,579,100	7,272,700
Autumn Rice	1,968,500	3,041,300	2,664,300	2,110,300

(For Winter Rice Final Forecasts, see *Calcutta Gazette*, 24.2.44, 1.3.45, 21.2.46; for Autumn Rice Final Forecasts, see *Calcutta Gazette*, 1.6.44, 18.1.45, 3.1.46).

It will be seen that the crop in 1942-43 was a very thin one, but the crop next year was a bumper crop. Yet in spite of it, the Famine occurred. It may be safely assumed that all carry-over was consumed during the Famine year and the year 1944 began with very small opening balance. But during 1944, the supply position, according to the Famine Commission, was satisfactory and the Government of Bengal were able to accumulate, by the end of the year, a reserve stock of 6,00,000 tons of rice and paddy in terms of rice. It is estimated by the Famine Commission that the carry-over at the beginning of 1945 was in all probability equal to several weeks' supply. But what has happened since then? Two factors which have reduced the carry-over should be noted. First, the Government of India refused to undertake any further the responsibility of feeding Greater Calcutta through outside supplies and demand had to be made on the Bengal supplies for feeding Greater Calcutta, which, on calculation, comes up to about four lakh tons per year. Secondly, Bengal has given substantial loans to other provinces. According to Mr. S. K. Chatterji, Director of Civil Supplies, the Bengal Government sold 42,000 tons to Ceylon, 9,500 tons to Bihar, 12,641 tons to the U.P. and 29,100 tons to Mysore and Cochin. Bengal Government also gave a loan of 15,000 tons to Bihar. In 1946, we have given a loan of 2,800 tons to Madras. In view of the admission made by Mr. V. N. Rajan that loans due for replacement are not being repaid, we might take it that they will not be repaid, or at least not repaid in time. These figures, taken together, make the substantial amount of 1,11,041 tons. It is easily imaginable that the carry-over, in these circumstances, cannot but be a very small one. That our stocks are gradually becoming depleted and we are consuming our reserves thus ever-reducing the carry-over is evident also from the fact that while by the end of 1944, the Bengal Government held a reserve stock of 6,00,000 tons, the total stock (including the reserve) held by the Government of Bengal on the 24th April, 1946, is, according to Mr. Rajan, not more than 3,55,000 tons. The Bengal Government procured only 2,84,900 tons of rice from 1st January to 24th April, 1946; the opening balance or the carry-over, therefore, is expected to be only 70,107 tons at the beginning of this year (i.e., 3,55,000-2,84,900 tons). This gives a direct lie to Mr. Chatterji's state-

ment that the carry-over from the last year is something to the order of 427,000 tons.

Turning to production this year, we find from the Final Forecast that the total supply less seed requirements may come up to 9.30 million tons. On the basis of these figures, the deficit turns out to be much greater than what has been officially estimated :

BENGAL, 1945-46				
	Current supply tons	Carry-over tons	Requirement tons	Deficit tons
Official Estimate	9,300,000	427,000	10,500,000	773,000
My Estimate	9,300,000	70,100	13,000,000	3,629,900

If we have to take a practical view of things and do not desire to delude ourselves deliberately by shutting our eyes to realities and calling a starvation diet a sufficient one not from any nutritional standard, but even from the point of view of barely keeping body and soul together, the deficit, then, would be much greater than the official estimate. *Instead of 773,000 tons, it is likely to be as high as 3,629,900 tons, i.e., about five times the official estimate.*

The question of paramount importance, therefore, is : how to tide over this difficulty ? Mr. Hoover has said that if we want rice, and not wheat, we have to look to our neighbouring countries for help. As it is not possible for us to change our habits all on a sudden and take to wheat and as imports of wheat are also becoming doubtful, we must think in terms of rice mainly. Mr. Hoover has indicated that Siam has got an exportable surplus of 200,000 tons of rice and Indo-China 50,000 tons. Even we get the whole of this amount (which in itself is an impossible proposition, for even if the whole amount comes to India, it is hardly possible that nothing will be allocated to Madras and South-India and the whole supply sent to Bengal), still it will meet a very small fraction of the estimated deficit, in fact, only 33 per cent of the official estimate. But Mr. Hoover himself has admitted that the duty of the Combined Food Board ends with the allocation of supplies and in actual practice, the surplus countries have invariably failed to supply their allotted quota. So, with so many proverbial slips between the cup and the lip, it would be prudent to leave out of consideration all possibilities of import, while devising ways and means for meeting the shortage. That is why Mr. Rajan, in the Radio discussion referred to above, categorically asserted that "there is little chance of Bengal getting any assistance from the outside in the form of rice." The official suggestions are that we must tide over this difficulty by (a) effecting economy in consumption and (b) reducing wastage.

It is necessary to examine how far these suggestions will go and to find out whether they are meant to be serious or put forward merely as platitudes. How far can economy in consumption help us in tiding over the difficulty ? In making an objective assessment of the possible measure of economy, it is necessary to distinguish between different classes and different income levels. It is a fact that persons of low income, residing in rural areas,—for instance, the majority of agricultural classes, live from hand to mouth and can afford to be barely on the subsistence level. To say that their rations can be further cut down is to impose starvation diet on them. The Government have not undertaken full rationing in these areas and have shirked their responsibility by initiating only the modi-

fied rationing scheme. So, it can be hardly expected that there can be any substantial measures of economy so far as these classes are concerned. It is true that urban people and persons belonging to wealthier classes are generally better off and are in a position to consume more than is necessary. But the Government have introduced full rationing in most of such areas. According to a newspaper advertisement put in by the Civil Supplies Department, (*vide, Hindustan Standard*, Dt. 31.3.46) the following towns have been put on complete rationing in Bengal, *viz.*, Calcutta and the industrial area, Dacca, Narainjan, Chittagong, Comilla, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurang. Full-scale rationing will shortly be introduced in eight more towns, Midnapore, Kharagpur and Kharagpur Railway Settlement, Bankura, Kulti and Hirapur. In the same advertisement we find the following information : "The cut in the cereal ration means a saving of approximately 25,000 maunds per week in the Calcutta area alone. This saving will enable Bengal to build up her Food resources so as to be in a position to meet any emergency." How hollow this claim is, becomes apparent even to the most superficial observer. A weekly saving of 25,000 maunds in the Calcutta area means an annual saving of 47,272 tons per year. So far as the other towns put on complete rationing are concerned, the cut will mean an extra annual saving of approximately 12,000 tons only. (The ratio of the population of the Calcutta area to all those towns, on the basis of 1941 census is about 4 to 1). It would appear, therefore, that the recent cut imposed on cereal ration cannot but effect an annual saving of more than 47,272 tons + 12,000 tons, i.e., 59,272 tons. It is, thus, futile to expect that the recent cut in the scale of cereal ration can reduce the deficit in any notable degree. It is rumoured that another cut of the same extent may be imposed from next July. To impose such cuts on people who are habituated to at least a scr of rice daily and whose only food is rice, substitute foodstuffs being beyond their power, is to force them to starvation. That, in itself, would, instead of solving the problem, lead to complications by imposing starvation on those people whom it wants to protect. But be that as it may, even such a cut would not bridge the gap ; for where the deficit is, according to the official estimate 750,000 tons, what does it matter if all our efforts for economy cannot reduce that deficit by more than 59,272 tons (or even double that amount) and that, by starving the people put on ration ?

BENGAL'S NET DEFICIT, 1945-46 (Rice)

	Estimate of deficit tons	Saving effected by cut in cereal ration tons	Net deficit tons
Official Estimate	750,000	59,272	690,728
My Estimate	3,629,900	59,272	3,670,628

Let us face facts squarely. It should be freely and frankly admitted that our deficit cannot be met by economy in consumption alone. The other method suggested by the Government is prevention of wastage. I shall not deal extensively with this matter. Suffice it to say that the Government is the worst offender in this respect. It has been calculated that the total loss, as reported in different newspapers, come up to a total of 19,386 tons of rice and 18,040 tons of atta from July

1945 to May, 1946. It is up to the Government to prevent such wastage. In fact, had the Government been serious, much deterioration could have been stopped. Instead the usual procedure of setting up a top-heavy department called the Directorate of Inspection and Control, has been adopted and this is being turned into a pretext, as usual, of providing for fat-salaried officers and bringing in foreign experts, though every day we find newspaper reports about deterioration of foodstuffs in Government and private storage. But, however efficient might be the arrangements for preventing waste, one thing is certain: the huge deficit that Bengal will have to face in the coming months cannot be met by such tinkering measures alone.

The conclusion, to which the logic of facts forces us to come, is that if Bengal has to be saved from another terrible famine, there must be imports, and imports on a very substantial scale. At the beginning of World War II, United Kingdom did not grow more than one-third of her annual food-requirement, and through intensive measures she was able to grow two-thirds of her needs before the war ended. But even during those dark days bread was not rationed there and the Government provided sufficient additional food. But here we have spent Rs. 72,65,000 on "Grow More Food" campaign in 1944-45, Rs. 10,300,000 in 1945-46 and the budget for 1946-47 has provided for one crore two lakhs and thirty-five thousands, but what has been the result? There has been an actual decrease of 6.4 per cent of area under winter rice in 1945-46 as compared to the previous year. But we are not prepared to tolerate that this "Grow More Food" campaign would be turned into "Grow More Officers" campaign and huge sums wasted for that purpose and we have a right to ask if it was possible for the United Kingdom to keep her cereals unrationed during the war and if it is possible for her not to put cereals on ration even now when there is acute food shortage all over the world, why should Bengal suffer from starvation in this way? Why not vigorous efforts be made for securing outside supplies, more so when such supplies are available in neighbouring Asiatic countries? Should we take it that such callousness in the face of such an impending calamity is possible only because the lives of subject peoples are nothing worth caring for?

OTHER FOODSTUFFS

I now turn to examine briefly the position with regard to other foodstuffs.

(a) *Wheat*: Our requirement stands at 300,000 per year and it is hoped that the Government of India will find it possible to supply the major portion of this requirement. We can only say that in view of the very pessimistic utterances of the Government of India spokesmen, these hopes may turn out to be only pious hopes and nothing more; (b) *Dal, Gram, Mustard Oil*: It is the same position with regard to these foodstuffs; (c) *Sugar*: Even a superficial observer will be struck by the highly iniquitous arrangements regarding sugar and the very grave injustice done to Bengal in this respect. Under the present system, local production cannot be reserved for local consumption, but must go to the Basic Plan of the Government of India and distributed thereunder. The quota for Bengal has been fixed at 200,000 tons. In the first place, this is a grave injustice done to Bengal, for, if other provinces with a

much less population get a proportionately much higher quota, why Bengal should not get what she is entitled to receive? But Bengal has not even received in full this meagre quota of 200,000 tons; she was, on Mr. Rajan's admission, originally given a quota 149,000 tons, but in view of the drought in other provinces which damaged the sugarcane crop, the quota was cut down by 13 per cent. But the matter does not end here. Recently an order has been issued prohibiting the production of *gur* in certain areas neighbouring sugar factories and over a certain period for maximising sugar production in Bengal. When questioned as to whether Bengal gets the additional sugar thus produced, Mr. Rajan stated that "Government of India distribute the entire quantity produced in all provinces and the Bengal Government cannot take over such extra sugar produced by factories." This is, to say the least, highly unfair. The order not only reduces the production of *gur* but also hits an indigenous industry. But in spite of such sacrifice we are not entitled to get what is being produced as a result of this sacrifice.

CONCLUSION

It is, therefore, desirable that the gravity of the situation should be properly realised. The first step towards that realisation would be the complete abandonment of the present hush-hush official policy and the usual habit of issuing misleading, if not deliberately false, statements. We had enough of this dangerous habit in 1943, when such statements from responsible quarters ultimately undermined public morale more than anything else. People refused to believe them even when they were true. We are again moving on those dangerous lines. Secondly, no efforts should be spared to have outside supplies, and if the India Government fail to do their duty that is no reason why Bengal Government should sleep over the matter. But, then, the people of Bengal cannot be blamed if they do not feel very optimistic about the Ministry that has been installed in office. Another Muslim League Ministry was in office during those dark days and some of the old faces have reappeared in the present Ministry. But what was their record? I quote a few lines from the Report of the Famine Commission:

"Due weight has been given in our report to the great difficulties with which the Bengal Government were faced, but after considering all the circumstances we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay in the power of the Government of Bengal, by bold, resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took place. While other Governments in India were admittedly faced with a much less serious situation than the Government of Bengal, their generally successful handling of the food problem, and the spirit in which those problems were approached, and the extent to which public co-operation was secured stand in contrast to the failure in Bengal."

Where is the guarantee that the tragedy will not be repeated on a much greater scale this time? It is difficult to find any solace from the composition of the present Ministry or from the complacent attitude of the officials. It is for the people of Bengal to force that guarantee, if they want to save themselves from death and destruction.

NABINCHANDRA'S RELIGION OF HUMANITY

By DR. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), F.R.S.E.,

Professor, Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta

I

NABIN CHANDRA SEN, one of the greatest of Bengali poets whose Birthday Centenary was celebrated all over Bengal on 12th February last, was essentially a poet of Humanism. He was a prolific writer, but all his works reveal an essential unity of thought,—a fundamental spirit of love and service of Humanity, of universal brotherhood and equality, of unselfish action and ungrudging self-sacrifice. His ideal was the great utilitarian ideal of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." According to him, God is the sole cause of the Universe, its efficient as well as material cause. As such, He is actually present in every part of the world. So, the world, the image of God, cannot be really impure or unpleasant. As the product of the All-blissful, All-beautiful Being, it too is bliss and beauty in essence, but it is through our own fault that we fail to see this eternal bliss and beauty inherent in the world. All the mundane pains and sufferings are due to our own narrow, selfish outlook, to our misconceived attempt to break ourselves asunder from the rest of the world. We can never be happy in selfish isolation, but we must learn to be happy in the happiness of others—for what is good for all, is good for us also, and nothing else. Hence, the summum bonum of one's life is to dedicate oneself to the unselfish service of humanity. No doubt, our individual natures, capacities, learnings, and destined functions are different. Each has a special destiny to work out, for which alone he is specially fit. This is called his *Svadharmā*. But, in spite of these different *Svadharmas*, the general goal, the highest ideal, the summum bonum is the same for all, viz., the ideal of universal love and service. Hence, Nabinchandra conceived of a Kingdom of God on earth in which there will be no distinctions of caste and creed, no special prerogatives for a favoured few, no crushing down of the poor and the lowly. This ideal of equality and fraternity is the keynote of Nabinchandra's philosophy of life. But, alas! our poet's great dream has not as yet come true, even after a century. The present world, torn between conflicts of nation and nation, community and community, white and black, rich and poor, has a special need for Nabinchandra's message of universal love and brotherhood.

For non-Bengali readers we give below English translations of a few extracts from Nabinchandra's famous epic poem "Kurukshetra." We, further, hope that the Birthday Centenary Committee will undertake a complete translation of his famous works, and thereby propagate his eternal message of patriotism and philanthropy. This, we think, will be one of the best ways of perpetuating the hallowed memory of one of the greatest sons of Bengal.

II

IDEAL OF WOMANHOOD

"O hapless one! would you endanger your health through thus not sleeping and not eating?"—said

Sulochana sorrowfully, when having returned to the camp, tired Subhadra, mercy incarnate, placed her withered, exhausted body on the bed half lying down. The loosened braid came down and the dusky, dust-covered hair fell down in a heap on the bed. Sulochana sat beside her and began to part it gently by her lovely, soft fingers.

SULOCHANA : "O hapless one! would you endanger your health through thus not sleeping and not eating? Days and nights alike you are sticking to the bodies of the wounded like a healing balm. Because of thus roaming through camp after camp in tending the wounded, what a state you have been reduced to! Your eyes have become sunken, your face filthy and pale, your hair dusky with dust.

"This is the eleventh day of this unfortunate war, and since then I have not seen a smile on your face. I do not know what pleasure you derive through thus dying for the dead day and night!"

SUBHADRA : "What greater happiness can women have? Alleviation in disease, mercy in misery, a soothing shadow of consolation in sorrow—such, my sister! is the heart of a woman in this world. What greater happiness can a woman have?

"Just as God created both fire and water, so having created, my sister, diseases, sorrows and miseries, He created the feminine heart, filled with infinite love.

"What other happiness can there be, if, alas! the holy river of a woman's life does not flow on by thus pouring nectar to the dead, alleviation in pain? Behold! many a gem of a man are daily sacrificing their lives by doing their respective duties. Are we similarly doing our own duties?"

SULOCHANA : "I agree that nursing the sick and the wounded is the highest duty of a woman, but why should one nurse one's enemies? Let them die for their own deed. Why should you bother yourself with them?"

SUBHADRA : "Enemy! Is the enemy not a human being like me? Is he not made of flesh and blood? Is not your and my life just the same as the enemy's life? Water is the same, only receptacles of water are different. Even he is made of the same elements. He is wounded by weapons all over the body in exactly the same manner. He too suffers the very same pain.—friend and foe alike fall victim to the clutches of the same death.

"Enemy! the same God lives in all, the One God, without a second, contains all. Who are you, who am I, who is a foe, who a friend? Whom do you call friendly and unfriendly?"

SULOCHANA : "But for that reason should we take even a foe as a friend? Are Karna and Duryyodhana our friends? Should we feel sorry in the sorrow of even the wicked? Should we welcome poison and nectar alike?"

SUBHADRA : "He who is virtuous, who does not love him? What magnanimity is in that? He who loves

the sinner, him I love—he really is Love incarnate. Behold ! on the lap of Mother Earth, fragrant and odourless flowers exist alike in exactly the same manner. The endless heap of sand is flowing inside the sea together with the brightest gems. Such is the principle of equality of the world, such is the blissful song of love—what a great example is it to man ! Everywhere the same love, everywhere the same mercy, everywhere what a great unity ! No, my sister ! we women are the living images of the Mother of the World. To us there is no difference between a friend and a foe. Let us go on pouring everywhere this ceaseless mother-love like the rain. He who loves a friend—selfish is such a love, it is nothing but a narrow give and take. He whose heart cries out in the same manner for friend and foe alike—he alone is a god to me.

"The narrow world of a child consists only of the faces of its parents. The child does not know anything else. Gradually the range is widened—the boy and the girl see their families as consisting of brothers and sisters, too.

"During youth, the husband and the wife gush forth in amorous sports, embracing earth and heaven. Gradually, filial love gives them a vision of infinity, the holy place where the river merges into the sea.

"This, my sister, is the mission of love. Yesterday my vision of the world was like that of Krishna and Arjuna. Today, with my heart filled with mother-love, I am looking on every one as my own son and daughter.

"This love of mine does not find full satisfaction in father and mother, brother and sister, husband and son, in this wide wide world. Even beyond this infinite universe, there is something else infinite—my ocean of love flows towards that." (3rd Canto)

III IDEAL OF ALTRUISTIC HAPPINESS

BHADRA says : "O Sailaja ! the whole world is longing for happiness. Search for pleasure is the prop, the motive force of the world. But this world is full of happiness, eternally full of happiness like its own Creator. Bliss pours down in a ceaseless flow with moonlight, blows both with storms, thunders with the thundering clouds, rains down with rain, sings with the song of cuckoos, breathes forth with the cool southern breeze, fructifies in trees, blossoms both in flowers, floats on the water, smiles in daylight. Bliss is in forest, bliss is in home, bliss is everywhere. Only man laments, failing to get this happiness. Man's happiness does not lie in home, not in forest ; alas ! he has failed to see that it does not consist in the world, in kingdom, in asceticism."

SAILAJA : "Say then, O respected Madam ! in what does the happiness of man consist ?"

SUBHADRA : "The whole world is replying in one voice eternally. The happiness of the bird consists in being a bird, that of an animal in being an animal, that of a flower in being a flower. Hence, O sister ! the happiness of man consists in being a 'Man'."

SAILAJA : "What is that you call 'Humanity'?"

SUBHADRA : "The summum bonum of a bird lies in the fulfilment of its destined functions as a bird. Say, O sister ! for what is a man a 'Man' ?—Because of his soul, mind and body. 'Humanity' is nothing but the fulfilment of the destined functions of these three. The

maxims that promote the physical, mental and spiritual functions of man—of the Humanity of Man—constitute the highest ideal of mankind. The more a man performs his own duties, the more he works out his own destiny in an unselfish spirit, the more he advances step by step, the more he attains 'Humanity,' pure happiness, perfect 'Humanity,' salvation from sorrows, Heaven, absolute bliss, and God."

SAILAJA : "Is it a Vedic Religion ?"

SUBHADRA : "Yes, Sailaja, it is a Vedic religion. This is the first step in the path to Heaven."

SAILAJA : "Madam ! cannot this 'Humanity,' cannot this ideal be attained in the forest ?"

SUBHADRA : "Sister, home is a better field for this kind of religion. The foundation of this great religion is service of Humanity, its foundation is doing good to all." (13th Canto)

IV IDEAL OF EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY

JARATKARU says : "But I am a non-Aryan woman. An Aryan woman incurs a great sin if she touches even my shadow. We non-Aryans do not get a drop of even that mercy that birds and beasts get from the Aryans."

"No, my sister !" said Bhadra, "the Aryans and the non-Aryans are all sons and daughters of the same father. All have the same blood, the same flesh, the same life, the same soul—the water is just the same. Only the receptacles of water are different. Due to differences of place, time and actions in different births, this water become impure in some places, pure in others. Through the light of knowledge, remove this impurity by actions—water will become the same water. That attribute in virtue of which man is superior to others is man's attribute of humanity. This attribute of humanity, sister ! is the highest ideal of mankind. The infinite, unknown God pervades the entire universe as the highest culmination of this attribute of humanity. We, small human beings as we are, are rowing in a boat through the river of this attribute (of humanity), proceeding towards infinity. This journey is the eternal mission of man. The more a man, the more a nation advances in the path of this great ideal, the purer is his soul, the higher is his religion. Humanity ! Men differ from one another only in respect of this humanity. The Aryan race has become superior because of this ideal, because of humanity. The non-Aryans have lagged behind because of defect in this respect. Still, the Aryan religion is imperfect. The clearest proof of that imperfection is this Kurukshetra. The undisciplined sense-organs are like double-edged swords—if you thrust them at others, you are sure to get a counter-thrust,—Oh ! what a terrible counter-thrust ! Behold ! the proof of that is this battle of Kurukshetra. Know in your mind that if two men hate each other, both have fallen off from humanity. You must have seen how if two stones strike against each other, both come to be powdered and destroyed. Do not grieve, my sister ! By hating the non-Aryans, see how the Aryans themselves are hating one another. See this mass suicide, this rise of sin and fall of virtue. But God is All-beneficent. Even in this great catastrophe, His beneficent ordinance prevails. After this storm is over, what a peace will reign, what a nectar will mankind drink ! God Himself has descended on earth. When after reducing all sins to ashes, this great funeral pyre will come to be extinguished, what a great kingdom of God—full of love, full of virtue, full of peace, full of

nectarine bliss,—will come to be established on earth ! Do not grieve, my sister ! Then the Aryans and the non-Aryans, will proceed eternally, like brothers and sisters, through that path to eternal bliss, singing the hymn of Saviour Brahma and the name of Krishna. The Aryans will lead, the non-Aryans follow, the former extending their right hands in love and friendship to latter, and taking the latter with them with pleasure, meditating on the foot-prints of Krishna. Then men will realise that God exists in all beings, that the greatest and purest religion is doing good to all. Through this new religion, sister, man will gradually become God and the world Heaven." (8th Canto)

V

IDEAL OF UNSELFISH ACTION

SUBHADRA instructs her son : "Just as the eternal universal ether, moving everywhere, pervades the sky, so all beings exist in Him alone, He alone is God. Just as the ether, being unattached and subtle, pervades all things and is present in them all, so the Supreme Soul, though present in all the bodies, is not subject to changes and is absolutely unattached. God is not responsible for man's agenthood, actions and fruits of actions—it is the individual soul itself that acts according to its own nature. An individual soul, a plant, an animate being or an inanimate being—all have separate

natures of their own. God Himself engages Himself in actions according to His own Nature, without being attached to them, viz., in the actions of creation, maintenance and destruction. Similarly, the performance of actions, in an absolutely unselfish manner, according to his own nature is the eternal summum bonum of man. He, who engages himself in actions in an unselfish spirit by dedicating them to Brahman, is not besmeared by sins, like a drop of water on a lotus-leaf. Brahman is present in all beings. Do good to all, and then your actions will be dedicated to Brahman. What is good for the ocean, is good for the drops of water. What is good for the world, my child, is surely good for you too. Having controlled the sense-organs by practice and knowledge, having identified your own good with that of the world, do your own duties according to your own nature, thus dedicating the fruits of actions to Brahman. The trees are fructifying, the clouds are pouring rain,—but what good are they doing to themselves ? The ideal of the world is unselfish action. The trees are producing fruits, the clouds are pouring down rain according to their own natures, and thus they are doing their supreme duties, they are working out their own salvation by doing good to the world. Bravery is your nature, fighting is your duty. To a Kahatriya, there is no higher duty than fighting a just war. So, my child, fight on, without thinking of pleasure or pain, benefit or loss, victory or defeat."

—:O:—

RELATIVE HEROISM OF THE HINDUS AND THE MUHAMMADANS OF INDIA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., F.R.S.S.

Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah is threatening civil war if his demand of Pakistan is not conceded. The weak policy pursued by the Indian NATIONAL Congress in this matter is well-known. One day Mahatma Gandhi calls vivisection of Mother India to be a sin ; the next day he dances attendance upon Mr. Jinnah to moderate—not to abandon, his demand of Pakistan. The British Cabinet Mission, true to its British character, is most likely to concede Pakistan in actuality, if not in reality. Ultimately "Hindusthan" and "Pakistan" shall have to fight each other to make United India possible, and to make it great.

No amount of concessions by the freedom-loving Northern States of the United States of America could persuade the slave States of the South to remain in the Union. The Southerner President, James Buchanan, took advantage of his position, in stocking the southern forts with guns and ammunition too well and leaving the northern forts practically undefended. So when the southern States seceded and formed the confederation of the South, the Federal Government of the U.S.A. found itself weak and almost helpless in spite of its wealth and resources both in men and materials. It took four years of bloody Civil War, and much loss of life and property to weld the U.S.A. into the powerful and progressive State it was to be to-day. That is the lesson of history. If the Hindus concede the Pakistan demand of Mr. Jinnah even partially Mr. Jinnah will lose no time in utilising his position in a Free India to establish a warring sovereign Muhammadan State.

The Hindus will then have to choose between either to submit unconditionally or to fight. Pakistan, the *Darul-Islam*, will make the lot of the heathen Hindus that of mere helots.

If there is to be a Civil War, it is high time for the Hindus to think whether they will be able to fight the Muhammadans. We are all familiar with the "criminal war" the Muhammadans have been carrying on against the Hindus in Bengal during the last 25 years under the aegis of the British police from picking pocket during daylight, stray stabbing during dusk, to abducting and molesting women in dark. Without the British police, the Hindus are confident of accepting the Muhammadan challenge in "criminal" war. We are speaking of Civil War in the military sense. It is time to think of the relative heroism of the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India in actual warfare. In *The Modern Review* of February, 1938, we tried to find out the Relative Readiness of the Hindus and Muhammadans to defend India. We found that where there should have been 75 Muhammadans actually there are only 36, i.e., a number less than half their proper quota, to defend India. For the 151 Hindus and Sikhs who presented themselves for admission to the Indian Military Academy, only 36 Muhammadans offered themselves. They were 19 per cent of those who were ready to shoulder the responsibility of defence.

The Victoria Cross is the highest award for valour in the British Empire. The simple bronze medal is worn before all other decorations. It was instituted in

January 1855 by the late Queen Victoria; and until March, 1912, used to be struck from the metal of guns captured by the British at Sebastopol during the Crimean War. Formerly the right to receive Victoria Cross was confined to men of European blood only. In 1911 at the Delhi Durbar, His late Majesty King Emperor George V extended the right to receive it to the Indian soldiers also.

The proportion of the Muhammadans to the total population of India is 24 per cent. In the Army on account of the policy pursued by the British Government and the division of population into martial and non-martial races, the proportion of the Muhammadans was much higher. During the First Great War of 1914-1918 it was in the region of about 40 per cent. Yet out of the 11 V.C.'s won by Indians, 3 or 27 per cent were by Muhammadans. They were hardly able to keep up their communal quota. The first Indian to receive Victoria Cross was Risaldar Badlu Singh of 14th Murray's Jat Lancers.

In the last World War 31 V.C.'s have been won by the Indian Army. Of these 3 are by the British officers of the Indian Army, of the remaining 28, only 4 are by the Muhammadans. The recipients are:

HINDUS AND SIKHS

1. 2/Lt. (now Major) Premindra Singh Bhagat—July, 1941.
- *2. Subedar Richpal Ram—Feb., 1941.
3. Hav. (now Subedar) Parkash Singh—Jany., 1943.
4. Subedar (now Sub-Major) Lalbahadur Thapa—April, 1943.
- *5. Company Havildar-Major Chhelu Ram—April, 1943.
6. Havildar (now Jemadar) Gaje Ghale—May, 1943.
7. Naik (now Havildar) Nand Singh—March, 1944.
8. Sepoy (now Lance Naik) Kamal Ram—May, 1944.
9. Rifleman Ganju Lama—June, 1944.
10. Naik Agansing Rai—June, 1944.
- *11. Subedar Netrabahadur Thapa—June, 1944.
- *12. Naik Yeshwant Ghadge—July, 1944.
13. Rifleman (now Havildar) Tulbahadur Pun—June, 1944.
- *14. Rifleman Sher Bahadur Thapa—September, 1944.
- *15. Jemadar (Actg. Subedar) Ram Sarup Singh—October, 1944.
16. Sepoy (now L/Nk.) Bhandari Ram—Nov., 1944.
- *17. Rifleman Thaman Gurung—November, 1944.
- *18. Jemadar Parkash Singh—February, 1945.
19. Naik Gian Singh—March, 1945.
20. Havildar. Umrao Singh—December, 1944.
21. Rfa. (now L/Nk.) Bhanbhagta Gurung—March, 1945.
22. Sepoy Namdeo Jadhao—April, 1945.
- *23. Lieutenant Karamjeet Singh Judge—Mar., 1945.
24. Rfa. Lachhiman Gurung—May, 1945.

MUHAMMADANS

- *1. Jemadar Abdul Hafiz—April, 1944.
- *2. Lance Naik Sher Shah—January, 1945.
3. Naik Fasal Din—March, 1945.
4. Sepoy Ali Haider—April, 1945.

* Those whose names are marked with an asterisk are posthumous awards.

The first man to receive a V.C. in this war is a Hindu; another interesting thing is that while the Hindu recipients are of all ranks from the common sepoy to the King's commissioned officer no Muhammadan officer has received the award. But these are minor points. The broad fact remains that the Muhammadans have secured only 14 per cent of the V.C.'s in the Second World War. This is very much less than their population quota. According to an answer given in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 1st of September, 1943, the strength of the respective classes in the different branches of the armed services is as follows:

	Combatant I.O.R. & V.C.O's	R.I.N. officers	I.A.F., R.I.N., & I.A.F. officers	Other ranks
Hindu	47%	32.3%	47.6%	59.5
Sikhs	7%	3.5%	11.7%	2.0
Gurkhas	5%	..	..	..
	59%	35.8%	59.3%	61.0
Christians	5%	..	..	..
Muslims	32%	18.1%	16.6%	17.0%
Others	2%	..	..	..

Artillery Indian Infantry R.I.A.S.C.

57%	41%	55%
10%	7%	5%
..	24%	..
67%	72%	60%
..
28%	24%	36%
5%	3%	4%

So we find the proportion of Muhammadan V.C.'s to be very much below their strength in the different categories of the armed forces. As the Indian V.C.'s are mostly drawn from the Indian infantry; and as in absolute numbers the infantry is the largest category, we shall assume that the all-round strength of the Muhammadans is not greater than 24 per cent—an assumption which is in favour of the Muhammadans. In this view, the relative heroism of the Hindus and the Muhammadans works out to be in the ratio of 86 : 14 or 1.94 : 1. In other words the Hindus are 76 : 24 times as much courageous and brave as the Muhammadans.

The Hindus are twice more ready to defend India; they are twice more courageous and brave than the Muhammadans. This coincidence of the measure does not seem to be accidental but fundamental. The same factors and causes which make the Hindu more ready to defend India make him more courageous and brave and heroic to perform acts which merit the award of Victoria Cross.

Thus the higher the level of heroism the lesser becomes the number of Muhammadans. Where deliberate and complete self-sacrifice is required—a very high stage of heroism, the number of Muhammadans is likely to be nil. Is it for this reason that the number of the Muhammadan "revolutionaries" is nil as noticed by the Sedition Committee?



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN (An Essay on the Influence of Sea-Power on Indian History) : By K. M. Panikkar. Pp. 109 and five plates. London. 1945.

In this short but extremely well-written and timely monograph the author who has to his credit a number of important works on Indian politics and economics, has attempted "to trace the influence of the Indian Ocean on the shaping of Indian history and to discuss the vital importance of oceanic control to the future of India." How much need there was for the appearance of a work of this kind is proved by the author's complaint in his Introduction (p. 7) that till now the whole problem of Indian defence has centred on the question of securing the north-west frontier, whereas the verdict of history is that ever since the sixteenth century the future of India has been determined not on the land-frontiers, but on the Ocean encompassing her on three sides. "For 157 years from the departure of Suffren in 1784 to the fall of Singapore in 1941," the author continues (p. 9), "the question of sea-power did not arise as the Indian Ocean was a British lake,"—a fact which accounts for the one-sided outlook of British Indian frontier-policy just mentioned. Now that America is well established in the Pacific and other powerful nations are likely to make their appearance in the eastern waters, the question has to be faced, "Can the Indian Ocean become once again a protective area?" (p. 15) The author answers this question in the following thoughtful words (p. 15) : "With the islands of the Bay of Bengal, with Singapore, Mauritius and Socotra, properly equipped and protected and with a navy based on Ceylon, security can return to that part of the Indian Ocean which is of supreme importance to India." For effecting this devout consummation, the author frankly looks to the joint co-operation of India and Britain. Addressing a note of warning to his countrymen in this connection, the author says (p. 16) : "The future of India will undoubtedly be decided on the sea . . . India cannot, therefore, afford to take the selfish view that the control of the sea is Britain's job." The author concludes his thoughtful Introduction with the hope that "the un-Indian wave of pacifism (*ahimsa*)" now sweeping over the country will pass away, so that it will be possible for us to realise that "Indian freedom can be achieved and upheld only by firmly deciding to shoulder our share at all costs in the active defence of the areas necessary for our security."

In the following chapters (Chs. 1-6) the author passes successively in review the centuries of Hindu control of the Indian Ocean ("the Hindu period in the Indian Ocean"), the period of Portuguese domination, the years of Anglo-French duel for the mastery of the Ocean and the period of complete British mastery during which the Indian Ocean became "a British lake." Referring to the maritime activities of the Indians and other peoples in pre-historic times, the author says (p. 22) : "The Indian Ocean was undoubtedly the first

centre of oceanic activity." Though the early navigators of the coast of the Indian Ocean, the author continues (p. 24), were of all races, Phoenician, Chaldaean and Asiatic Greek, the Hindus had the preponderant share. "Neither the Egyptians nor the Greeks sailed the Arabian Sea as they did not know the routes till Hippalus made the epoch-making discovery of the monsoon winds in 45 A.D. But the Indian navigators sailed across and had discovered Socotra long before their time and navigated the Red Sea." "The Hindus had already in use a magnetic compass known as *matsya-yantra* for determining direction" (p. 26). It would be interesting to have full references to this highly interesting statement. The supremacy of the Hindus in the Bay of Bengal, specially, was naval as well as political, being based on an extensive colonisation of the islands and it ceased only with the breakdown of the Chola power in the 13th century (p. 28). The Portuguese voyages of maritime discovery were of the nature of an innovation, for "till the last decade of the 15th century none of the European nations, except perhaps the Vikings, had ventured into oceanic navigation" (p. 37). Even the voyage of Bartholomew Dias round the African coast to the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 was in no way remarkable in comparison with what the Indian and Arab navigators had achieved in sailing across uncharted seas, though it was an epoch-making event as paving the way for the direct voyage to India (p. 37-38). The Portuguese for the first time claimed a complete monopoly of the seas in peace-time—a claim which led to a prolonged and historic conflict with the Zamorins of Calicut (p. 40). After a short but bitter struggle the Portuguese established their supremacy in the Indian Ocean, but the Zamorin's fleet, thanks to the services of a remarkable family of naval commanders of Malabar Moslem stock, was able for more than ninety years to hold its own in the home waters of Calicut (p. 44). Meanwhile, the foundation of Europe's empire in Asia was laid by the genius and foresight of Albuquerque, the greatest of the Portuguese Viceroy of India (p. 49). In the interval between the breakdown of Portuguese authority and the establishment of British supremacy there was a remarkable revival of Indian naval power under the auspices of the Sidis of Janjira and the great Marhatta Admiral Kanhoji Angria (pp. 58-63). For a time, as an English historian says, Kanhoji, "victorious alike over the English, the Dutch and the Portuguese, sailed the Arabian Sea in triumph." "In the 19th century after the French fleet was annihilated at Trafalgar in 1805, Great Britain was the only naval power in the world . . . So far as the Indian Ocean was concerned it was, even more than all other oceanic areas, a British lake . . . The one development in the 19th century which affected the Indian Ocean, the construction of the Suez Canal, only strengthened British hold on the seas" (p. 72). In the period immediately preceding the Great War of 1914-1918, Great Britain sailed the seas of the Indian Ocean as an absolute mistress. But the major

European nations (French, Germany and Italy) had acquired interests in the Indian Ocean by virtue of their territorial gains on the East African coast (p. 76). The war of 1914-18 eliminated Germany from the Indian Ocean, but France built a powerful naval base in Madagascar, while Mussolini not only converted Massawa on the Red Sea coast into a mighty naval station, but planned to unite Abyssinia and Eritrea into a great land empire (pp. 76-77). The World War changed the entire situation in the Indian waters. "After the fall of France and the intervention of Italy in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, Great Britain was in no position to make her voice effective in the Far East. With the fall of Singapore in 1941, the safety and security of the Indian Ocean, for 150 years a British lake, vanished at one stroke. . . . In the critical month of April 1942, the fate of Ceylon hung in the balance" (pp. 80-81).

In the concluding chapter (Ch. VII) the author points out that "the peninsular character of the country with its extensive and open coastline and with a littoral which is extremely fertile and rich in resources, makes Indians entirely dependent upon the Indian Ocean" (p. 82). Again, "the history of the last three centuries has shown that any power which has unquestioned mastery of the sea and strength to sustain a land campaign can hold the empire of India, monopolise her trade and exploit her unlimited resources" (p. 83). From this it follows that "India's lifelines are concentrated in the area [of the Indian Ocean] . . . No industrial development, no commercial growth, no stable political structure is possible for her unless the Indian Ocean is free and her own shores fully protected. The Indian Ocean must, therefore, remain truly Indian" (p. 84). What then are the dangers ahead facing India? "The elimination of Japan from the ranks of naval powers," says the author, (pp. 85-89), "will no way solve India's problem, for there is every reason to think that victorious China will embark on a naval career . . . America has developed considerable interests in the Middle East. The possibility, therefore, has to be visualised of America entering the Indian Ocean as a major naval power. . . . [Above all] "the political, industrial and military organisation of Central Asia under the Soviets will obviously demand an outlet into the sea. The lines of traffic developed for the purposes for Lend-Lease aid to Russia in the present war has demonstrated the vital importance of the Persian Gulf to the Soviets." The author concludes with the practical suggestion (p. 95) that "the control of the Indian Ocean must be a co-operative effort of India and Britain and other Commonwealth units having interests on the Ocean with the primary responsibility lying on the Indian Navy to guard the steel ring created by Singapore, Ceylon, Mauritius and Socotra."

The book is unfortunately disfigured by a number of misprints of which we give below a number of examples: Mahen-jo-Daro and Baberu (p. 23), Periplus Maris Erythraei (p. 25), Alexandria, Bir Kassim and eight century (p. 28), Marrvas (p. 32), Chu Fau Chi and Heith (p. 34 and n.), Barthelmy (p. 36), Garmor (p. 66). Champa is twice (pp. 31, 32) wrongly identified with Siam. The account of Pulikesin (*sic*) II, the Chalukya king leading a naval expedition round Cape Comorin for the conquest of Puri, the capital of the Kalinga kings (p. 32), is a tissue of inaccuracies.

The book is enriched with three appendices and six plates reproduced from ancient historical drawings.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GANDHI : WORLD CITIZEN : By Muriel Lester.
Katab Mahal, Allahabad, 1945. Eight illustrations.
Pp. 201. Price Rs. 6-8.

The author has not only had the advantage of knowing Mahatma Gandhi intimately for the last twenty years or so, but has also been an active exponent

of the principle of non-violence in the West. This gives her a singularly advantageous position; and she has made ample use of it in her present book on Gandhiji and his ideas.

The first part of the book consists of eleven chapters in which she describes Gandhiji's position with reference to questions like Truth or Non-violence, Prohibition or Education, Women and Machinery, and so on. Miss Lester makes frequent use of anecdotes in order to illustrate what she means; and this undoubtedly proves very helpful to the average reader when he has to understand Gandhiji's very original approach to numerous social questions. The second part of the book is a chronicle of Gandhiji's life, which differs from similar chronicles published by others in more ways than one. The author not only gives us her analysis of the chief events which have gone to shape Gandhiji's life; but she also shows very successfully how Gandhiji's non-violence has gradually developed from a technique initially employed to right wrongs in the private sphere, or the narrow sphere of family or social life, to one which may well claim today to take the place of war in the settlement of international disputes.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE LAST PESHWA AND THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS (1818-51) : By Praful C. Gupta.
Published by S. C. Sarkar & Sons, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. i-v + 117. Price Rs. 6.

The downfall of the independence and political power of the Marathas is admitted on all hands to be due to the character and doings of the Peshwa Baji Rao II and his regime 1800-1818, forming a sorry episode, is naturally viewed with dislike and disfavour. But we cannot forget that it was his dream and ambition to revive the decaying Maratha Power. True, he lacked many qualities and gifts of a ruler, e.g., far-sighted vision, organising skill, reforming spirit, was nurtured in vices from early boyhood and was even deficient in personal courage but there was one quality in which he excelled—an extraordinary capacity for subtle diplomatic moves and intrigues, "a ceaseless spinning" to use the more appropriate words of Sir Jadunath, "of diplomatic cobwebs" that occasionally peep not merely in the minutes of the G.G.'s but are amply revealed in the volumes of the Poona affairs edited by R. B. G. S. Sardesai as also in the pages of Dr. P. C. Gupta's volumes "Baji Rao and the East India Company" and its successor, the one under review.

The last of the Peshwas showed himself at his best in wiles and subterfuges, dissimulation and the lengthening out of negotiations by endless tricks and stratagems. Concealing the dagger within his velvet gloves, he frisked and flirted with the British Residents almost with a feline delight but mere feline cunning without the tiger's (paw) always ends in futility, particularly when pitted against the British, superior not only in technical skill but also in public virtues. Yet our interest in him does not diminish altogether, for he makes such a statesman-administrator as Sir John Malcolm a victim of his blandishments and coaxes him to hold a brief for him with the G.G. even after all his doings during 1817-18.

Dr. Gupta in the present monography shows us that this quality of the Peshwa did not forsake him even in his exile at Bithur; many of the British Commissioners, e.g., Messrs. Low, Cooke and Manson supported the Peshwa's point of view and sometimes pleaded his case before the G.G.; secondly, that Baji Rao led the same life in Bithur as he did in Poona by dabbling in futile intrigues. Naro Pant Aptes' visit to Bithur and then retirement to Gwalior to take up a permanent residence, the errands to Aurangabad and Poona for obtaining fruits and flowers, and oil for the

cure of rheumatism, apart from his seditious intercourse with Pratap Singh of Satara were highly suspicious; nor possibly did his desire for annual pilgrimages to Mathura, (why not to Benares?) arise from his religious fervour, particularly when we bear in mind his doings at Pandarpur, Mahad and Nasik during the days of his Peshwaship now revealed in the Poona Residency records. And it is not strange that this annual pilgrimage was suspended in 1825 by order of the Government. We applaud Dr. Gupta's restraint and dispassionate judgment on this matter, p. 103, but beg to differ from him in the view that the ex-Peshwa had really no hand in the many intrigues, but was merely influenced by his designing councillors. He was not, after all, an invertebrate.

The book is the result of much industry and we have no doubt that it will interest not only those who would like to obtain a glimpse into the Peshwa's life, but also others who want to acquaint themselves with the careers of the British officials associated with him during 1818-1851.

N. B. ROY

VERDICT ON SOUTH AFRICA (The Tyranny of Colour): By P. S. Joshi. Published by Thacker & Co., Bombay. Pages 386. Price Rs. 9-12.

I must congratulate my learned friend Shri Pranshanker Someshwar Joshi on this fine piece of work which will be valued by all interested in the problems of our people domiciled in the Union of South Africa. No better person could be found to undertake the laborious task, and without labour this great record of Whitemen's tyranny could not have been prepared. Joshiji has spent the best part of his life in the Transvaal as a teacher as well as a leader, and has intimate knowledge of the Indian problems. The book is a clear indictment of the policy based on racial discrimination hitherto pursued by the Union Government masquerading under the plea of self-preservation. In this brief review I can give only a general impression; it is essentially a book which every one must study for himself. The general conclusion which its history conveys is that no Empire, the greatness of which is the boast of its island people, can maintain that boast in the world of today, if overwhelming millions of its subjects are estranged by real enemies of the Empire under the eyes of the nation which is expected to hold it together. Those foes, secret and open, are in South Africa dancing to the tune of a new Messiah of the White Race Supremacy Religion, Jan Christian Smuts. He is a foremost exponent of racial discrimination, and his latest legislation now before the Union Parliament, if carried out, will degrade our people to a status of helotry against which we put up a fight vigorously since 1893 when Natal was a crown colony. This drastic measure so alarmed our countrymen that the South African Indian Congress has sent a Delegation to India in order to apprise the people and the Government of India of its implications and ultimate consequences. In reality this legislation is an open insult to India and a challenge to the whole of Asia. Hence the book dealing with the Indian problems of South Africa is undoubtedly a timely and illuminating publication. The book makes a most painful reading and reveals the wholly irresponsible character of the alien Government of India. It throws a lurid light on the incalculable mischief and misery that the tyranny of colour inevitably entails. It also reveals, in brutal nakedness, how hopeless and miserable the Indian's lot is in British Colonies and Dominions, but worst of all, in his own Motherland owing to foreign domination. The Indian labourer or soldier is in requisition everywhere to solve the Whitemen's economic and military problem and facilitate their struggle for wealth and expansion, but there is none to save him from tyranny

abroad and starvation at home. The book will serve as an eye-opener to those who want India to remain under the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations.

BEHAWANI DATAL SANNTYASI

SIMONE: A novel by Lion Feuchtwanger. Hamish Hamilton, Ltd., London. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Price Rs. 6-14.

A story of the fall of France in 1940. The heroine, a 16-year old Burgundian girl named Simone, a St. Joan born long after her time, is impelled to resist the Germans in her own way, by setting fire to the patrol and the lorries, the property of her uncle, lest they should fall into the hands of the Germans. The tense moments of her psychological thought and action have been vividly described. The treatment has been psychological.

The remarkable feature of the novel is the way in which the author has woven the dreams which a young girl can have of her heroine and her attempts at realising them in practical life—the idealism of the past, never dead, thus springing into life and inspiring the young.

Simone's is the only character which has been drawn, the others forming into the background, and her portrait gains all the more charm and dignity for that.

P. R. SEN

CAPTIVE SOIL: By Mrinalini Sarabhai. International Book House, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 47. Price Rs. 2-8.

In technique and in theme, this little play in two acts offers certain arresting and original features. It is a poetic drama with a chorus, a prologue and an epilogue, and if it does not present a moving action which is said to be the life of a drama, it is deeply charged with a passionate idealism, which at times gives out an incandescence of beautiful poetry.

It is an incomplete saga of an enslaved soil, or for that matter, any enslaved soil, which, unarmed and unaided, has to wage a war of soul against the overwhelming antagonism of brute force and tyranny, with the only weapon of self-sacrifice. "No, our weapons differ," says the patriot in the play. "We shall overwhelm them in our death." The story element is meagre. It is rather the typical picture of an enslaved country with typical characters, which make the impression, that of an oppressive, alien rule, with all its hollow paraphernalia of justice and legislation, trembling at the mighty impact of a passive resisting nation grappling for its inalienable birthright, freedom. Neither the rosy dream of love, nor the siren-songs of beauty and art, can lure away the patriot from his country's struggle for freedom. A new love has crept into his heart, "a love, but not a woman: A love born of the soil."

Gandhian technique of non-violent passive resistance forms the background of the play. It ends with a solemn epilogue which voices the rebirth of the one and indivisible freedom in the society of man. The play presents the most vital problem of all times, namely, the problem of peace, and the most unhappy soil of today, namely, the captive soil of India, stands behind the veil of a thin allegory.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

BRITISH PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA: By Chaman Lal. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 126. Price Rs. 8-12.

Mr. Chaman Lal has done a service to his country and for the cause of truth by exposing in this small volume, the vile British propaganda against India carried on in America by hired men both Indian and European. That a large amount of Indian tax payers' money is spent in this nefarious business, is no longer

a secret and was indirectly admitted by the Government when figures for such expenditure were given to the members of the Central Legislative Assembly in reply to a question. To keep her Imperial grip over India, England wants the moral support of the civilized world and in her shameless efforts Indian men and money are utilized for the purpose. Mr. Chaman Lal put in some straight questions to Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai, Agent-General of the Government of India in U.S.A., but this ex-member of the Viceroy's Executive Council could not give any satisfactory reply. Mr. Chaman Lal in his own way contradicted all these mischievous publications during his tour in U.S.A. and other Indians in America and their American friends are doing the same, but so long the Government of India is in the hands of an alien bureaucracy, the source of mischief cannot be stopped.

A book of this nature should have widest publicity in the country, so that Indians may know that insult is being added to the injury to India's cause by a Government which pretends to be one of the most advanced and civilized in modern times.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

BRIHASPATI-SMRITI (Reconstructed) : By K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Honorary Professor of Economics, Benares Hindu University. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXXV. Oriental Institute Baroda. Royal 8vo. Pp. 186 + 646. Price Rs. 15.

The present work puts together about 2,400 slokas found attributed to Brihaspati in about 200 later works a number of which still remain unpublished. These are arranged in seven sections, e.g., *Vyavahara*, *Samskara*, *Acara*, *Sradha*, *Asana*, *Apaddharma* and *Prayasaitta*. So this represents a fuller reconstruction than the one made by Dr. Jolly more than half a century back and highly acclaimed by scholars as well as jurists. A long introduction covering more than 100 closely printed pages deals with topics like the relationship of Brihaspati with older authors; his peculiarities and special features; the authenticity of portions cited only in later works and the genuineness of verses ascribed to different authors in different works. Some of these involve controversial issues, the satisfactory solution of which must await the discovery of more definite evidence. The labours of the learned editor are highly commendable. No pains have been spared to make the work useful in every respect by the addition of a number of indexes and appendices. The method followed in the foot-notes in referring to sources is, however, not very clear especially in connection with variants the sources of which have not been indicated.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

PATABHUMIKA : By Ramapada Mukherjee. To be had of Ramesh Ghosal, 35, Badurbagan Row, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.

Sri Ramapada Mukherjee has made his mark in Bengali literature as a novelist and short-story writer. The theme and characters of his fictions and stories are mostly selected from our everyday life. He sees something uncommon in the most ordinary and commonplace things and gives a tinted description of what he sees. He possesses the power of picturesque embellishment and his lucid and graceful style is enlivened by sweet humour. The manner in which he narrates his stories is fascinating. *Patabhumika*, (i.e., the background) a collection of ten short stories from the pen of this distinguished writer has, undoubtedly, enriched our literature. The best story in this book is 'Patabhumika' wherein the talents of the author are fully displayed. From the very beginning he describes the story in a highly enjoyable humorous way but in the conclusion

gives such a twist that the reader is overwhelmed with sorrow at the sight of the sorry plight of the poor rickshaw driver sitting beside his broken rickshaw. In the background of this as well as some other humorous stories the writer deftly depicts such pathetic scenes which not only touch the reader deeply but also stir the innermost in human consciousness profoundly. With the exception of one or two all the stories contained in the book will be highly appreciated by all lovers of literature.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

ANTARAL (Behind the Screen) : Sri Digindra Chandra Bandyopadhyay, Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

A problem-drama dealing with the issue of illegitimate children in society. It is difficult to weave into the fine texture of art one's social views, but the writer has partially succeeded in the task.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

PHALAHAR CHIKITSA : By Kaviraj Mahendranath Pandeya, Ayurved-Sastri. Mahendra Rasayansala, Katra, Prayag. 1943. Pp. 209. Price Rs. 2-4.

The author, who is a progressively minded Ayurvedic practitioner, describes in this book the properties of various fruits commonly available in India. He is of opinion that a judicious use of fruit-diet, coupled with hygienic methods of treatment, is sufficient to rid the human system of most forms of diseases without the intervention of drugs. The author has made use of modern researches in dietetics; and his book also contains practical instructions with the help of which the common man will be able to maintain a fair standard of natural health. We recommend this book to all those who are interested in the drugless way of treatment.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MARATHI

MANGALADHAMA : By Gopinath Talwalkar. Published by R. J. Deshmukh, 191, Shanwar Peth, Poona 2. Price Rs. 3-8.

An excellent treatise on Gandhism as a code of conduct and philosophy of life is this book by Mr. Talwalkar, done in absolutely chaste and simple Marathi. Based faithfully on Gandhiji's own writings, it has become a correct reflection of the great teacher's ideas and thoughts as regards human behaviour, how it is and how it should be, if the human race is to be saved from self-destruction. For summer and winter classes of Seva Dale, it is an ideal text-book for the exposition of Gandhism as a social, economic, industrial, educational and political cult.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

MENDINO RANG (Henna Dye) : By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 175 + 6. Price Rs. 3.

The cruelty of this capitalist world, as it affects poor men and women particularly the latter, if they happen to possess good looks and beauty, is handled here, with first-hand knowledge although the author happens to belong to the Princely class. Mendi (Henna) is the name of the heroine of the story, who with her husband undergoes various vicissitudes in life, till she comes back to her village home. It is a picture which grapples one's attention and if only the lesson it teaches is taken to heart, society will greatly benefit.

K. M. J.

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১২০/২, আপার সাইকুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Basis for a World Religion

Hamilton Fyfe suggests "Love is God" as the foundation of a world religion. Gandhiji's formula is also correct: "Truth is God." There is no religion higher than Truth. In an article in *The Aryan Path* Hamilton Fyfe observes:

Bagehot, as bold a thinker as he was cautious in his banking business, suggested in the middle of the nineteenth century, when philanthropy flourished as never before, that on the whole benevolence perhaps did more harm than good. He might have hinted also that religion lay open to the same criticism, because of the conflicting, dogmatic and mutually destructive views of its professional advocates.

Mankind has suffered, ever since history gives us any glimpse of its activities, from the absence of a faith that could appeal to all with the same force and the same beauty. Those of us who recognise this must be always on the lookout for a religion—that is, a bond, a tie, a fellowship—which might unify the whole human race, piercing beneath mere surface differences as Tagore put it, "down below race, rank, religion, to a fundamental humanity, man as man." We cannot be content to hope patiently for William Penn's millennium when "all Humble, Meek, Merciful, Just, Pious and Devout Souls shall know one another, though here the divers liveries they wear make them strangers." We want, we need, a world religion now.

I read, therefore, with eager interest a sermon kindly sent to me by the head of the Terapanthi Sect of Svetamber Jains, together with a Short History of the Sect. I found in these publications much that seemed excellent to me, but I was disappointed not to find anything that pointed to Jainism (about which before I had known nothing) as a possible world faith. This disappointment I should have kept to myself but for the invitation given me to express a "considered opinion" on the matter. I shall be grateful to *The Aryan Path* if I may do so in its widely-read pages.

The Jain system, as explained in the history, consists almost entirely of rules for the priesthood, or rather the preaching friars who travel about giving instruction, but not taking part in "any social, political or legal affairs" and paying "unstinted homage to their Head" who is described as "the highest living deity" and referred to as "Him" with capital H.

In some ways the rules laid down are more severe than those under which Christian monks and friars were supposed to live. The Jains are not allowed, for example, to warm themselves at a fire in cold weather or to cool themselves with a fan when it is extremely hot. The reason for this is that "fire lives" and "air lives" might be injured. They are not to eat meat or vegetables: what they do eat is not stated. They must not drink unboiled water because there may be "water lives" in it; but why it should be more humane to boil these to death instead of swallowing them is not explained. It looks as if the idea was to safeguard the consumer's interior from the entrance of animalculæ rather than to show kindness to the animalculæ themselves.

Now it seems to me that any faith which can be offered with hope of acceptance to the mass of humanity in all lands must be of a social character and must, if

conduct is shaped by it, lead to political action, using "political" in its proper original sense—"related to the well-being of the community." I feel also that to follow blindly, without reserve, the orders of any fellow-man as to what we shall think and believe is unworthy of intelligent men and women. To deify their chief, as Jains do, can be described only as relinquishing intelligence altogether.

In the sermon on World Peace delivered by this God-man I have looked vainly for any wisdom that is not contained in similar discourses by other religious leaders. Indeed, I find rather less, for the sermon asks us to credit the possession by certain people of "a Soul Force which can reduce to ashes sixteen provinces" and denounces the teaching of Evolution, calling for education concentrated on the Soul and the Afterlife, subjects about which we know nothing and which are seldom referred to nowadays in pulpit utterances elsewhere. This, by itself, makes it impossible that Jainism should exert any wide or deep influence over the peoples of the world today.

For education must deal, if it is to have any lasting and strengthening effect on character, with what we know, not with what we imagine or fancy. Children should be told what theories have been put forward as to the nature of the universe and Man's place in it; but no theory should be represented to them as fact. To do that would be not merely immoral but futile.

Most of us heard a good deal about the soul and the after-life when we were young, but very few indeed could now explain what are their convictions on these matters.

The terms are but cloudy symbols of something they never really believed in—any more than their teachers did.

What we know about the world we live in is that it certainly was not planned as a habitation for Man. That is proved by Man's unceasing efforts to alter it, to make it suitable for him to live in. Man departs as far as possible from the natural order, in which all other living creatures live and move and have their being without any attempt to escape from it.

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The force we call Nature must therefore be distinguished from the idea of God—unless we conceive of God as heedless of us and all other species; as coldly just in certain aspects and callously unjust in others; as almighty, but neither loving nor merciful. For that is how we are forced to conceive of Nature and, although they have never resolutely faced up to the problem of God and Nature, all religions that have spread widely assume that God is our Father, kindly, affectionate, tending us as a shepherd tends his sheep.

To pretend in schools and colleges, in temples, churches and mosques, that the world was designed for Man by a benevolent Creator is, I repeat, futile. Even while they are young, many boys and girls detect the falsity of it. If they think at all when they grow up, they turn resentfully against the religion that has attempted to deceive them. They find, if their reading is of any value to them, that the whole of the world's literature negatives the assumption that Man is a superior creature because he is gifted (or cursed) with self-consciousness.

This, the one attribute which sets him apart from other animals, is supposed to have been conferred on him as a special favour by a divine ruler. Yet throughout the ages Man has been depicted in literature as weak if not wicked; as greedy of power and wealth; as a victim to his own passions or to the cruelty of his kind. From the earliest recorded times Man's "crimes, follies and misfortunes" have been the theme of fiction, as Gibbon declared them to be the stuff of history.

From the author of the Book of Genesis describing how the human race was cursed by Jehovah; Homer perceiving "no more piteous breed that creeps on earth's crust"; Burton declaring in his *Anatomy* that Man had many enemies such as lions, wolves and serpents, but that the worst enemy was himself, "since no fiend could torment, tyrannize and vex as one man doth another"; to William James pronouncing Man "the most formidable of all the beasts of prey and the only one to prey systematically on its own species" almost all writers of note throughout the ages have been in agreement as to Man—at any rate, civilised Man—being a misfit.

Yet, while we are compelled to admit that it is largely true, if not the whole truth, our observation notices a quality in Man which struggles towards a life at once more natural and more rational, to use Matthew Arnold's words. We can benefit ourselves by studying Nature closely and obeying its rules, reducing the artificial elements in our lives by reverting to natural conditions as far as we can. But in another direction this quality sets us against Nature.

Nature has no pity, shows no mercy, creates and destroys with the same disregard for suffering, seems at one moment to be a kindly parent and the next annihilates its offspring with unaccountable violence. In humanity there are chords of sympathy, of fellowship.

Many animals, possibly all, have these in rudimentary, unconscious forms, such as mother love, such as the protection by males of their mates. These are instinctive. We are aware of our feelings; we can strengthen or weaken them at will—or by atrophy of will. If they were strengthened to the utmost, we should behave to all our fellow-creatures, non-human as well as human, "as we would have them behave to us," according to the wise Confucius formulated 500 years before Christ. That would be rational behaviour, the only firm basis for a society that could hold out hope of happiness, stability or long duration.

Here then is the divine element in Man; here the one result of intellect (sprung from self-awareness)

which gives it value as an aid to living. This element, which we alone can cultivate and develop, contains all that was implied in the phrase "God is Love," which by experience we know to be untrue if God and Nature are one. Turn the phrase round; make it run "Love is God" and it seems to me we have hit on the right formula, the only possible formula, for a religion, a bond or tie which can unite all mankind.

I prefer the term "comradeship" to "love," which has been soiled and for many spoiled by being applied almost exclusively to one kind of love and disgustingly exploited by film producers and composers of songs for crooners. "Comradeship" strikes a healthier, sounder note. It gets rid of much smug pretence. We cannot say honestly that we love a thief or a murderer, but it is quite possible to feel towards them as comrades who have been unfortunate ("There but for the grace of God . . .") and, while we take away their liberty or their lives, to treat them as we should wish to be treated if we had sinned against comradeship.

This acceptance of equality and brotherhood was at the root of all great religions—when they were founded.

It was soon overlaid by forms and ceremonies, regulations and glosses; it was hidden away by hierarchies, made of small account by priests and presbyters. They spoke of "all men equal in the sight of God," though they professed belief in a God who had made them anything but equal. They meant that the society of comrades was to be looked for only in a world to come.

That form of religion, like all forms which depend on belief in heaven and hell, is dying. The world cries out for a faith, a rule of life, more substantial, more effective, more in harmony with its knowledge of itself. Offer "Love is God" to children for a generation and it would be well on the way to acceptance as a world religion. Children would go more than half-way to meet it. They are ready for comradeship, quick to make friends, to trust, to show sympathy. Sadly we can watch the spirit of comradeship being crushed in them as they become adolescent and usually disappearing when they have grown up.

It would be easier to keep it alive than to kill it; it dies hard. "Race, rank and religion," Tagore's three obstacles, have to be forced on young minds which instinctively repel them. What Jesus meant when he said we should all be like little children is clear to everyone who understands the child character. It was his child-like readiness to treat all alike, to be friendly and helpful, to be always the good comrade, that has kept his personality vivid and given his savings power. The legends encrusted on him have hindered rather than helped.

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"Get rid of your miracles and the whole world will fall at Christ's feet," Rousseau cried; there was truth in that. Nowhere can we build religion any longer on the miraculous, the supernatural. Nor is this to be regretted, for never have religions so based been efficacious. We can do better; we can use a foundation vastly more secure, base a rule of life, not on faith, but on certainty—the certainty that only through comradeship with all living creatures can happiness come to man, woman or child.

C. F. Andrews

G. A. Natesan writes in *The Indian Review*:

C. F. Andrews is one of the few Englishmen whose friendship I have been really proud of. When he was with you, you felt you were in the presence of a really superior being. A devout Christian, he was a true servant of God and he ever sought to serve suffering humanity not only in India but in several other parts of the globe. He was really a Deenabandhu, champion of the oppressed and the lowly. Suffering and distress in any form affected him deeply. He would not hesitate to rush immediately to places infected by plague, cholera and the like if he could be of any service to those in that area. In him you really found "the cry of duty springing at once from a great soul." The enslavement of one individual by another was to him a moral abomination. Hence his strong condemnation of indentured labour and his successful and indefatigable efforts for the stoppage of the same. The domination of one race over another was a greater abhorrence to him. The granting of independence to India was with him a moral question and many may not be aware that long before Nehru, Gandhi and even the Congress thought of it, he advocated independence for India. A genuine soul and a true Christian, he felt deeply the wrongs inflicted by Englishmen on India. His life was truly a dedicated one. In him you saw the true triumph of Christianity and humanity reaching its high watermark.

As I think of dear Charlie, many things come to my recollection. His benignity found expression in his affectionate smile, his flowing beard and his hearty embracing of his dear friends, of whom I could certainly count myself as one. It was my good fortune to be closely acquainted with him during my stay in London in 1928 for over three weeks. And in later years, I had the honour more than once of having him as my guest in my residence at Madras. When he was staying with me, I never felt I had an English guest. He was really an Indian among Indians. I had many opportunities to know the innate greatness of this man. You found no trace of racialism in him, nothing of the pride and arrogance which you notice unfortunately in some of the members of the ruling race in India. In his case it was all gentleness, love, affection and tenderness to an extraordinary degree.

In 1938, Mr. Andrews was staying with me for a few days. It was then that I was laid up with a serious heart attack and my life was despaired of. I well remember his entering my room one morning, sitting by my bedside and telling me: "This morning I thought of you in my prayers." In the days of my illness, several pujas and offerings were held, but I confess I felt at that time, and the thought is still present in me, that the prayer offered by Andrews was one of great comfort to me. The fact that he was a Christian never occurred to me. It was a great and kindly soul that prayed. Hence it was that a few years later when Andrews suggested that I should be the publisher for his "Sandhya Meditations" a series of discourses delivered in the Christkula Ashrama at Tirupattur—I readily responded to his suggestion; and Andrews was

greatly pleased with me, his Hindu friend, for undertaking the publication.

Here are two incidents which I heard in London in 1928. A good friend of mine had purchased for Andrews a fairly costly overcoat. A few weeks afterwards, Andrews turned up at that friend's house on a cold evening without the overcoat. "What is the matter? Have you lost the overcoat?" exclaimed the friend. "No," replied Charlie, "I gave it to a poor fellow last week who was shivering."

One day, an Indian student in London turned up at Andrews's place, and wailing over his lot, desired some pecuniary assistance from him. Andrews's noble soul was deeply touched and without hesitating to enquire about the antecedents of the visitor, but deeply anxious to help him in some form or other, explained to the young man that at that moment he could not afford to spare him any money, but that he had the manuscript of a book which he wanted to have typewritten, for the cost of which he had some little amount left. The fellow clutched at the opportunity, asserted he knew typewriting, took the manuscript and some money for typing. Poor Andrews! He never saw the man nor the manuscript afterwards. Andrews would not say any harsh word of him; he forgave him altogether.

The End of a Chapter

The New Review observes:

The twenty-first session of the League of Nations was its last. From the first it was clear that the League was not viable. It was a league of some nations and not an international association; it was based on power and not on law; though worked on a power basis, it never exerted power and was satisfied with vocal performances. The U.S.A. whose President had fostered it abandoned it from the start. Britain and France which dominated its policy never came to any agreement about the international police force that would have enforced its mildest sanctions.

When the World War came on, the League was moribund and left to die in its Geneva isolation. At the official obsequies this month, there was no mourner. Yet the League had a department which did most useful work, the International Labour Office which fostered timely social legislation in many countries, not through dictates but by dint of discussion and publicity.

The United Nations Organisation which replaced the League has not yet officially taken up the I.L.O. owing to Soviet prejudice, and it has all the radical deficiencies which crippled the League. The U.N.O. also is worked on a power basis and is dominated by Britain, Russia, and U.S.A. Will it ever evolve into an international society based on law, open to all countries on equal terms, and armed with a suitable force?

Its latest proceedings are not reassuring.

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The Second Para of the Second Chapter

The same Review observes :

The second session of the Security Council which is the executive of the U.N.O. was convened at the end of April at Hunter College in the Bronx. The basket-ball court had been turned into a light-panelled meeting-room and the smell of fresh hangings and fresh varnish told of America's sanguine welcome. The representatives of the Big Eleven were there : Quo Tai-chi the soft-spoken president ; James F. Byrnes clear, sharp and gathering laughter from the gallery ; Andrei A. Gromyko the stern, stubborn and suspicious bureaucrat ; Sir A. Cadogan cool, clipped and careful, representing Eton, Oxford and the Empire ; Pedro L. Velloso the bald bespectacled lawyer of Brasil ; Mahmoud H. Pasha the plain-speaking, table-thumping magistrate who often reminds people of his work in the Egyptian High Court ; Francisco C. Nejeria surgeon, poet, guitar-player and gesticulating diplomat who speaks French with a Mexican accent ; Henri Bonnet the long-nosed wary worried searcher after *le mot juste* ; Lt.-Col. W. R. Hodgson striking his reddish mustache and betraying cockney affinities in his Australian dialect ; Dr. Eelco van Kleffens the neat, thin and brisk Hollander who speaks logic in an illogical world ; finally Oskar Lange the rotund, high-pitched, pedantic champion hair splitter of Poland and lackey of Soviet Russia.

It was good to see Comrade Gromyko at the table, for the Soviet has acquired the reputation of a bad mixer among nations. At the first sessions of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission in Washington last year, Russia was absent as she had been absent, months before, at the international meetings on civil aeronautics and as she was to be absent at the London International Education Conference. At the Quebec world-conference on food she was present, but remained sullen and she withdrew before the end.

The Calcutta University and Its Critics

In the concluding portion of his article in *The Calcutta Review* Prof. Dharam Pal observes :

The Government of India approved the general principles of the Punjab Government's proposals (1868) for the establishment of a new University in the Punjab in the following words : "The Government ought to aim at giving to the people of India education in science and in all branches of true knowledge through the medium of their own vernacular languages ; and as the best means of improving those languages, and for other weighty reasons, the Government ought to afford every practicable encouragement to the study of the classical languages of the east. Indeed, it seems to His Excellency in Council impossible to suppose that the people of this country can ever be educated except through the medium of their own languages. The system of the Calcutta University is in some degree founded on the assumption that true knowledge, in its higher branches, can only be imparted to the people of India through the English language, and that the only literature that has any real value is that of Europe. But both these assumptions are open to question. The present difficulty of conveying scientific truth through the vernacular languages of India is indisputable, but there is no reason to doubt that this difficulty may be gradually overcome.

"In Bengal, so far as the power of the language to express scientific ideas with precision is concerned, this difficulty has been to a great extent overcome already. Within the last thirty years the Bengalee language has undergone such a process of improvement and expansion that, in the opinion of those best able to pronounce a correct judgment in the matter, it can now without difficulty be made the instrument of conveying knowledge, and the vehicle of accurate thought and abstract ideas" (Government of India to the Punjab Government, 19th Sept., 1868 ; Parl. Papers 1870, No. 397, pp. 363-65). The Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India, sanctioned the establishment of "University College, Lahore" and added, "The institution will be competent to grant certificate, but not degrees, and may hereafter, if attended with due success, be expanded into University (Argyll's Ed. Despatch, No. 13 ; 5th Aug., 1869).

The Post-Mutiny era was of great importance in the history of Calcutta University, for the criticisms levelled against the constitution and curriculum of the University suggested the lines on which the future reform of the University was to be carried out.

The critics of the Calcutta University were right in emphasising the importance of vernaculars as the medium of education. Much of the superficiality of the present-day educated classes and their lack of originality in spite of abundant assimilative genius, are due to the defects of bilingual thinking (Sir S. Radhakrishnan : *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*, p. 210). As pointed out by Rabindranath Tagore, "Our foreign learning of today remains a thing of the school or college, is kept hung up like a sign-board and does not become a part of our life—or remains in our note-books and fails to get transcribed into thought and action." It would be idle to deny the advantages which we have derived from a study of European science and literature. "India would have been shorn of its fulness if it had missed contact with the West. The lamp of Europe is still burning ; we must kindle our old extinguished lamp at that flame and start again on the road of time." Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that we cannot hope to develop any great literature in the English tongue.

"The modern educated Indian is a false copy of his

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Western contemporary. His voice is an echo, his life a quotation, his soul a brain, and his free spirit a slave to things." The only solution of the difficulty is to make the vernaculars the medium of education. "The true way to touch the heart of the people would be to make vernaculars the means for the spread of knowledge. This is the only way to carry the good tidings to every corner of India. If we do not preserve the sacred Sanskrit and the beautiful vernaculars of India and help them to grow by use and exercise, then the very springs of Indian higher life are destroyed." Dr. John Matthai pointed out the drawbacks of English as the medium of instruction in his Convocation address to the graduates of the Allahabad University delivered on 8th December, 1945 :

"No genuine interest in the substance of knowledge can be created while so disproportionate a demand is made on the faculties of the young in acquiring the medium through which knowledge is imparted. We have now reached a stage in the development of University education in India when we can no longer postpone a final decision on this vital question. It is true that the English language opens to us a literature which, as a living, growing embodiment of human thought and experience, is perhaps unequalled in richness, variety and amplitude. It also places in our hands a vehicle of expression which in a rare degree combines beauty and elasticity and which, moreover, enables us to reach out to the uttermost parts of the earth. Many of us who have employed it as our main medium of expression during our working lives would not merely find it difficult to discard its use but could hardly do so without a pang at the thought of the beauty, pleasure and inspiration which its use has brought into our lives. The fact still remains that it is a language, which, in spite of its widespread use in the country and the mastery of it which Indian scholars have achieved, remains essentially foreign to what is deepest in us and incapable of providing an organic link between the few who have received the blessings of education and the many who have not, nor between us who are alive today and those who in the past created our great heritage of culture. Knowledge is a continual source of interest and power. But the path that leads to it is strait, narrow and hard, which is not easy to tread if we try to walk by the dim and unfamiliar light provided by a language that is not ours."

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Geophysical Prospecting in India

Science and Culture observes :

Geophysics is a part of what has now come to be recognized as the *Earth Sciences*, which include geography, geology, geodesy, geochemistry and geophysics. In the broadest sense, geophysics comprises the study of physical phenomena occurring in all parts of the Earth from all possible angles. Under geophysics, the following sciences are included : Meteorology, or study of weather ; Seismology, or study of earthquakes ; Terrestrial Magnetism, Oceanography, Volcanology ; Hydrology, or study of rainfall precipitation and the subsequent passage of it to the lakes and seas ; Terrestrial and Atmospheric Electricity ; and Geophysical Prospecting.

We quote from the annual presidential address of Prof. M. N. Saha to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal :

"Oil has been located in the past either from ground seepage or from certain surface geological evidence, and oftener by wild-cat methods. But in this particular case (of the discovery of oil in Kuwait in Northern Arabia), it has been found by geophysical methods, by the use of very delicate physical apparatus and by performing seismic experiments . . . This foreshadows the advent of a new age, the Age of Deeper Exploration of the Earth's Crust. Man has so far, with the tools and appliances at his disposal, been able only to scratch the surface of the earth, but science has now placed such delicate appliances at the disposal of mankind that he can explore the crust of the earth some thousands of feet below the surface. This new science of geophysics is scarcely two decades old, but in the

U.S.A. the number of geophysicists runs to several thousands, distributed amongst universities, employees of oil and mineral companies, and among government departments. . . ."

"I later learnt in Russia that the second Baku which the Russians had discovered north of the Caspian Sea is a region with the same physical characteristics as Kuwait. This oil region which gave Russia sufficient oil for her tanks and aeroplanes at a time when the Baku supply was cut off by the Germans was discovered by similar geophysical methods, with the aid of the gravimeter and seismic methods . . . The orthodox methods of geology are unable to indicate to us the valuable ore deposits which may be lying hidden deep under lava or alluvia. The geophysical methods, which have brought to light Kuwait and the second Baku, will be of great help in these regions, but so far the Government of India has employed one geophysicist of Italian extraction for this purpose. If the work is to be tackled seriously, we must have a *Central Geophysical Laboratory* to train a numerous personnel in geophysics."

There is a great scope for the application of geophysical methods to the exploration for oil and minerals in India. Such application has been made, to a very limited extent, by foreign oil and mining companies and by local bodies, and activities in this direction, on a small scale, are still in progress. For instance, the Burmah Oil Company has engaged at different times well known foreign geological firms which have carried out electrical, seismic, and gravity surveys. Geophysical prospecting, in a similar way, has also been conducted by the Attock Oil Company. It is known that hundreds of thousands of square miles have been surveyed geophysically at an expenditure of several lakhs of rupees.

Some of the progressive Indian States, such as Mysore, Travancore and Gwalior also

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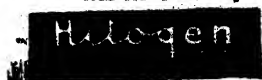
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claim to have applied geophysical methods for purposes of survey and mineral exploration.

The Geological Department of Mysore has carried out several electrical surveys on sulphide ores and graphite deposits and has determined the depths of water-table in a number of instances. The Governments of Travancore and Gwalior are now using magnetic methods in their explorations for magnetic ore bodies.

Recently the Survey of India and the Geological Survey have shown great interest in geophysical methods of prospecting. Mr. B. L. Gulatee of the Survey of India, under request from the Geological Survey, carried out geophysical prospecting for hidden deposits of manganese ores in the alluvial area of Parsoda in the Central Provinces. The deposits of manganese ores buried completely under thick deposit of alluvium were located by gravity methods. The geophysicist in the employment of the Geological Survey of India is at present deeply interested in the application of geophysical methods to the problems connected with water supply and dam foundation.

The geophysical work so far carried out in India has been scrappy and unsystematic, and proper organization needed for such work is mostly non-existent, or utterly inadequate.

The vastness and immensity of the scope of geophysical prospecting in this country is reflected in the fact that over half a million square miles lie buried under surface alluvial deposits of late geological age. The depth of the alluvial cover in the vast stretch of land from Sind and Assam is estimated

at about 6,000 ft. under which lie buried the three most economically productive rock systems of Indian geology, viz., those of Dharwar and Gondwana systems as also of the Eocene age.

Examination and survey of such deeply seated mineral deposits are beyond the scope of surface geological surveys. Geophysical methods, such as magnetic, gravimetric, seismic and electrical, alone provide reliable techniques for exploration of minerals at such great depths. In his lecture before the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science on the occasion of his receiving the Jay Kissen Mookerjee Gold Medal, Mr. D. N. Wadia, Mineral Adviser to the Department of Planning and Development, expressed his optimism regarding the scope of geophysical prospecting for mineral oils in the following words:

"Intensive geological exploration supplemented by geophysical prospecting, notably by seismographic refraction methods and by gravity determination with the help of torsion balance, remains to be done in areas of East Baluchistan, the N.-W. Punjab and the foot-hill zones of the Punjab and Assam, the alluvium and sand covered tracts of southern Punjab (South of Salt Range) and Assam which may yield encouraging results.

"Gravity tests for determining the presence of petroleum saturating the rock-beds in quantity, or other physical tests for sub-surface structures of a more favourable nature underlying these sites, have not been used in these Punjab areas so far. Potential oil fields of this nature occur at Fatehgunj, Gohra, Bakrola, Chak-Dalla, Shirani Hills and Kopat and in the Jammu Hills; to a less extent in Kangra and Garhwal."

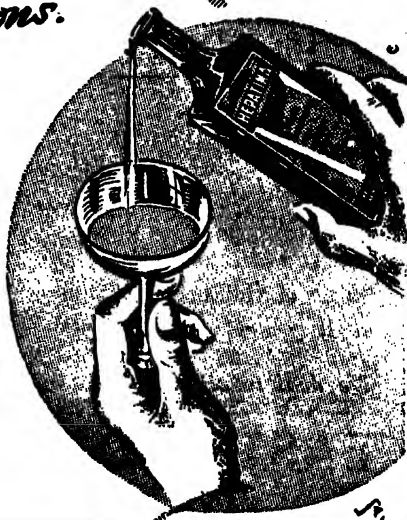
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

An American Estimate of Nehru

We publish this interesting article by Louis Fischer from the Editorial page of *New York Times* of March 17, 1946:

On March 3, an article by Jawaharlal Nehru, appeared in *The New York Times Magazine*. On March 5, Winston Churchill delivered a speech in Fulton, Mo. The two documents are intimately related even though Nehru had not seen Churchill's address when he wrote his essay, "Colonialism Must Go" and Churchill had completed his text before Nehru's piece was printed.

Nehru's words constitute a statesmanlike utterance. Churchill spoke like an ex-statesman, an elder statesman who can say what statesmen refrain from saying.

Nehru placed India in the new framework of post-war international politics. He showed his awareness of many new factors in world affairs which alter the old problem of Indian independence. "The end of colonialism and imperialism," he says, "will not mean the splitting up of the world into a host of additional national states intent on their isolated independence. It will lead to a new grouping together of all nations, a new outlook, to co-operation gradually replacing competition and conflict."

Great Britain, and certain Americans, have always regarded India's independence as a threat and danger. Nehru here suggests that it contains a promise. In every paragraph he manifests his internationalism. He heaps scorn on "one decadent empire (which) tries to help another still more ramshackle empire": in this process the British speed the dissolution of their empire without saving the Dutch empire. Indonesia and Indo-China must go free, Nehru insists.

Moreover, he relates the freedom of the Arab countries to the liberation of India. "A free India," he also contends, "will link together the Middle East and China. India is so situated as to form the center of a group of Asian nations for defense as well as trade and commerce." He also advocates a closer union of India with the countries of the Indian Ocean, including Australia and New Zealand. Here speaks the mature world leader rather than the irresponsible agitator. He sees his own movement in the context of everybody's interests. Separatism and divisive strategy cannot succeed in the air-atomic age.

WARNING AGAINST DELAY

Independence, Nehru acknowledges, is only a first step. It must not be delayed. Then "other questions can be discussed as between equals." Attlee, Pethick-Lawrence, Cripps, Alexander and Wavell should ponder that sentence. And also this: "If, however, freedom is delayed or circumscribed, and colonies and dependencies are used as pawns in the game of the power politics of a few great powers, then these dependent or semi-dependent countries will also play their part in power politics to the extent they can, and side with this or that power as suits their convenience and advantage." This spells Russia. Nehru does not like that alternative because if the colonies grasp it, "they will add to the confusion and chaos of a distracted world and be victims, together with others, of the inevitable disaster."

Prime Minister Attlee's declaration, offering India her freedom without or within the Empire, may indi-

cate that Britain is aware of its new position in the world and of the new mood in India. If the Attlee Government goes beyond the Churchill Government's Cripps offer of 1942, it may find India responsive especially in view of the imminent famine.

The fact that Attlee offers to free India in the spirit of Nehru while Churchill urges an Anglo-American alliance which would, by implication, hold India in the Empire, demonstrates the superiority of Attlee and Nehru over Churchill.

The ex-Prime Minister also feels that a constantly expanding Russia is a menace to peace and to freedom-loving countries. But what does he propose? An Anglo-American military alliance tantamount to an American guarantee of the British colonial empire. This is a nineteenth century solution, out of date, ineffective, disastrous. Churchill is always the super-nationalist and imperialist. Nehru is the internationalist. Churchill helped make the atomic bomb. But he misses its significance. Nehru uses the language of the atomic age. Churchill urges a dual entente. Nehru advocates a "world order."

THREAT BY RUSSIA

Since Russia threatens, Churchill, and with him some short-sighted Americans, reason: hold on more tightly to the British Empire. Since Russia threatens, Nehru replies, give freedom to India, Indonesia, Indo-China, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, etc.

A free India would resist Russian encroachment as a danger to its freedom. An enslaved, unhappy, disaffected India—or Egypt or Java—might court Russia.

Several members of the Senate and House have already answered Churchill: America cannot assume responsibility for British imperialism. That is the way of exclusiveness, not of international co-operation.

Mr. Churchill's address took on special significance not only because of his own past and present positions. In his introductory remarks at Fulton, President Truman said: "I know that Mr. Churchill will have something constructive in his speech." Is this what Mr. Truman calls "constructive"? We are lost if this is how the American Government views the future of mankind.

President Truman has used Wilkie's expression, "One World." One World means that there is no Russian problem; there is no Indian problem; there is no problem of the defense of Great Britain or of the United States. Russia and India and America and Egypt and Germany and Greece are all one indivisible problem. To attack one segment of the problem, as Churchill did, is folly.

Churchill's proposal is a power proposal. It would preserve the *status quo* and the diseases it has bred. He does not promise to liquidate the British Empire after the Kremlin's imperialism has been checked. If his plan stops Russia the evils of imperialism, balance-of-power politics, nationalism and racial discrimination still remain. If he does not stop Russia it means war with Russia.

Nehru's solution, on the other hand, is curative, therapeutic and democratic. It would extend the area of freedom. It would be an enormous step toward the solution of the Russian problem, for Russia would lose its appeal to the oppressed peoples of Asia if those oppressed peoples received their independence.

New York,
March, 15, 1946.

LOUIS FISCHER

The Development of Education in Turkey

In an article under the above caption in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946, K. R. and A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop trace the history of gradual Westernisation of education in Turkey from the eighteenth century to the present day :

To understand the aim and achievement of modern Turkish education it is essential first to consider the main principles of Ottoman education and to realize how, since the eighteenth century, educational progress in Turkey has been indissolubly linked with the development of the idea of Westernization. The Islamic religion not only regulated the duties of the individual to God and his fellow-men, but provided the basis on which depended the administration of justice and the growth and organization of education and learning. To Muhammad himself are attributed the sayings, "The ink of the learned and the blood of the martyrs are of equal value in the sight of heaven," and "a father can confer upon his child nothing more valuable than a good education"; and therefore Sultan Mahomet, "the Conqueror" dutifully followed the tenets of his religion in founding eight "medreses" (theological seminaries) round the mosque which was named after him in Constantinople and in making his new capital a centre of learning and culture. It is, however, the age of Sulayman "the Magnificent" (1520-1566) which can be described as the most enlightened period of Ottoman education. In his brilliant reign the study of medicine, mathematics (considered the basis of the study of law), natural science and Arabic literature, as well as purely theological studies, flourished in the reformed 'medreses'; primary schools attached to mosques and preparatory "medreses" ("tutummes") were established; and Sulayman's services to Turkish education are remembered by his reorganization and extension of public instruction and his liberal and far-seeing patronage of learning and the arts. Yet it is not surprising that after Sulayman's reign the "medreses" became centres of narrow scholasticism and sophistry and made no intellectual advance. The spirit of Turkish learning was based both on the Koran and on the survival of Greek philosophy, which had been transmitted to Turkey through Muslim scholars writing in Arabic, and the influence of Aristotle, as interpreted by Muslim philosophers, still lingered on among the "Ulema" or learned men, who were averse from taking advantage of the contacts with Europe opened up by Sulayman's enormous European empire. Confining their intelligence to Oriental modes of thought and expression and to traditional methods of teaching they were opposed to any new ideas and experiments. Thus during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries while in Europe the boundaries of knowledge in science, medicine and the humanities were being swiftly advanced, Turkey was left outside the main stream of Western culture and decay soon set in.

The movement for Westernization may be said to date from the reign of Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730). Under the stimulus of misfortunes and disasters abroad, progressively minded Turks began to realize that European civilization possessed certain valuable qualities from which Turkey might benefit, and a small though insistent demand for reform gradually arose.

A more definite shape was given to the efforts for reform by Sultan Selim III, who was convinced of the necessity of radical reform in all branches of government and education. Beginning his rule in the same year as the outbreak of the French Revolution, he made energetic efforts to raise the level of education among all classes of his subjects and encouraged the translation of many European works of science into

Turkish. He was anxious to obtain all the information possible concerning the nations of Europe and to find out the cause of their superiority on the field of battle.

Throughout the reign of his successor Mahmud II (1809-1839) "the Reformer," when Turkey was immersed in troubles in many parts of the empire and in financial difficulties at home, both the movement for Westernization, symbolized in the military sphere by the abolition of the Janissaries, and the opposing forces gathered strength; and in 1824, although there were as yet hardly the means to put it into practice, compulsory education for all as part of a general drive for Europeanization was proclaimed by the Sultan, and plans were made to modernize the existing schools. In spite of fanatical opposition the first secondary schools or "Rustiyees" were established and a medical school opened. Sultan Mahmud's first efforts to send 150 students to study in Europe were defeated, but later some officers of the artillery school and various others, including the chemist Dervish Pasha, succeeded in going to England. Among the many services which Sultan Mahmud rendered his country, the careful education of his successor, Abdul Mecit, must not be forgotten, and his father's instructions that the reforms already initiated, must be continued and extended were faithfully observed by the new Sultan.

The historical period commonly known as the "Tanzimat" or "Reform" dates from 1839, when legal sanction was given to the movement by the Sultan's proclamation of the "Hatti Serif" (Imperial Charter). This resembled the French "Proclamation des Droits de l'Homme," and proclaimed equality of civil rights for all citizens, Muslim and non-Muslim, based on the principles of liberty and justice. It was followed in 1845 by another important edict which decreed that the education in the existing primary schools was to be free and made secondary education, hitherto practically non-

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existent, compulsory. A new programme of education for the whole empire was announced, reform of the medical and military schools decreed to be necessary, and proposals made for the foundation of more primary and secondary schools and of an Ottoman University. A Council of Public Instruction was set up to supervise the execution of this policy, and, a significant pointer to the future, while the "medreses" remained unchanged, the new primary schools were made independent of the monopoly previously exercised by the "Ulema" and of the control of the highest religious authority of the country, the Sheikh-ul-Islam. Up to this point the move away from the traditional conception of education as the prerogative of the religious organization was only indirect, but in 1860 progressive educationists founded the Ottoman Scientific Society whose avowed aim was the promotion of secular education. A few teachers were therefore sent to Europe to get the necessary training for becoming teachers at the Turkish University; while in 1868 the Normal School for Boys and the School of Political Sciences were founded, the latter in order to provide the country with a competent and trained civil service, capable of administering the new reforms.

There is no need here to elaborate the early history of the Kemalist revolution, but only to put into proper perspective the remarkable achievements in the field of education. The situation was briefly that outlined above, when in 1924 the American Professor John Dewey was invited to visit Turkey and report on the state of education to the new Government. The aims and the nature of the organization of education in Turkey today afford proof of the extent to which his recommendations were followed. Among the many enormous tasks which confronted the Republic the importance of the problem, often attempted in the past,

but never solved, of providing universal education was this time taken to heart, and in order to make full use of the experience of educationists in other countries the Minister of Education, accompanied by a commission of experts, made a series of visits to inspect the systems of Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Italy and England, while numerous reports were published, notably that of Professor Ismail Hakki on the experimental schools of Europe, and others on the commercial and technical schools in England, the People's high schools in Denmark, and the Sokol organization in Czechoslovakia. The help of Switzerland was also invited, and in 1932 Professor Malche of the University of Geneva was asked to propose measures for the reorganization of Istanbul University. These foreign contacts have continued; a delegation of Turkish educationists visited technical colleges in this country just before the war, and Professor S. J. Davies has lately been studying Turkish technical education under the auspices of the British Council. In 1939, the State had sent and was maintaining abroad no less than 560 students.

While foreign advice and help was welcomed by the new Republic, the system devised by Atatürk's Government was especially designed to solve the many intricate problems which were peculiar to Turkey, and it reflects in all its aspects the ideals and aspirations of the Republic. The problem of eliminating illiteracy was helped by the adoption of Latin characters and the energy and enthusiasm brought to the task of extending education in primary, secondary and higher grades may be measured by a study of some recently published graphs which illustrate the remarkable achievements of the Turkish Ministry of Education.

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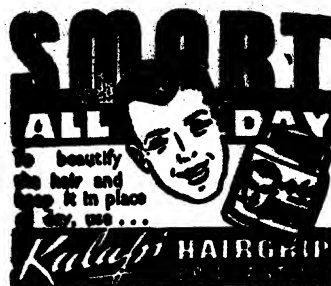


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Sir Francis Younghusband

In an article entitled "Some British I Admire" in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946, Ranjee G. Shahani writes about Sir Francis Younghusband as follows:

Sir Francis was not one of those men who, in Shakespeare's words "smile and smile . . ." Indeed, charm, in the conventional sense of the word, he had not. He was apt to be gruff and somewhat aloof. Also, when in the company of old familiar faces, he spoke in grunts. He was at his best—so at least I felt—during a quiet chat by the fireside. Then he seemed to throw away his armour and relax. One realised at once that he was a transparently sincere man: he said what he felt and he did exactly what he thought. On the very first occasion I met him—that was in 1932—he spoke of stainless and boundless peace; of space unlimited; of untrodden snow; of wild flowers that blushed unseen; of the virgin hills whose tips kissed the distant stars.

Slowly, gradually, as he talked of his beloved Himalaya, one understood that he was somehow different from other Englishmen.

There are, roughly speaking, two kinds of thinkers: the creative and the constructive. To the first group belong, among others, Shakespeare, Goethe, Ibsen and Turgenev, who think through the act of creating. We do not ask these writers for true ideas, but above all for suggestions as to how thought works with various people at various crises. We expect them to make us feel how human beings reason not only when they are at leisure, but when the vicissitudes of life shake them to their foundations. More than that, we look to these great spirits to unite us to our fellow-men in sympathy and a kind of indulgent comprehension. The authors who preach, exhort, or wish to nail us down to narrow conclusions appear less divine than these masters. In brief, creative thinkers are those who do not believe in partial truths, are not dominated by theories, and do

not let single, isolated ideas weigh out of proportion to the various strains in their theme. They contemplate life with a serene smile. Constructive thinkers, on the other hand, are mainly preoccupied with their own speculations and build out of these, with the aid of the cement of logic, rounded systems of thought. Plato, Shankara, Descartes, Hegel, Bergson, Whitehead—to mention but a few names at random—belong to this group. The value of the work of these men depends on the beauty of their intellectual edifices and on the truth and coherence of their respective visions of reality.

Frankly, Sir Francis cannot be placed in any of these two classes of thinkers. He did not try to see life through the eyes of various characters, nor did he elaborate a new theory of the universe. His importance lies elsewhere.

He was an instinctive lover of beauty of thought and action, or, rather, a born connoisseur of ideas and character.

Spiritual arrogance would seem to be the bane of most theologians and thinkers. Many cultivated spirits in the West believe that their wisdom is the highest attainable by man. Most Easterns hold the same lofty opinion about the illumination of their race. Sir Francis was refreshingly free from this myopia of the spirit. Indeed, his was a stereoscopic vision, which embraced the best of the Orient and the Occident. Although a good Christian, he fully appreciated, nay revered, the inwardness of Asia. He held that the soul of Hinduism and Buddhism was at one with Christism. He was thus a real reconciler. He believed that the more intensely spiritual we became, the more quickly we would meet and mingle and broaden out into a happy brotherhood of man. This conviction led to the founding of the World Congress of Faiths, which owes practically everything to him. Sir Francis was sure—and he had a faith that dispels all clouds of doubt—that a new Renaissance, more glorious than any that went before it, was upon us. This is the marriage of East and West.

REACTIONS TO THE CABINET MISSION PROPOSALS

Supplement to *THE MODERN REVIEW*, June, 1946

BRITISH PREMIER'S SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AND OPPOSITION REACTION

The British Premier Mr. Clement Attlee, to a tense and expectant House of Commons read on May 16 the plan outlined in the White Paper which the British Cabinet Mission to India consider "the best arrangement to ensure speedy setting up of a new constitution for India."

The plan, which makes six major proposals to be submitted to majority parties in India urges immediate formation of an Interim Government for India, in which all portfolios including that of war, would be held by Indian leaders.

The plan, which has full support of the British Government, further states that the Cabinet Mission have endeavoured "to be just to the smaller as well as the larger sections of the people", and is designed to set in motion machinery "whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians."

Before reading the Cabinet Mission's statement, Mr. Attlee said: "I rise to give the House an important statement, which is being issued simultaneously in India by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy. "It is, I am afraid, a long statement. I shall have, I fear, to make a rather heavy demand on the patience of the House, but after consultation with the Opposition leaders it was thought that this was so important a document that it should be on the record of the House, and should be read to the House as a whole, because it is impossible to summarise it adequately.

"I propose, therefore, to read it in full with the exception of two tables—rather long tables of figures—which I propose to summarise.

"Before reading the statement the House will perhaps allow me to express my gratitude to members of the Mission and to the Viceroy for undertaking a very difficult task and for their patient endeavours to try to get agreement between the two major communities (Hindus and Muslims)."

"This", continued Mr. Attlee, "is the statement by the Cabinet Mission to India and His Excellency the Viceroy."

The Prime Minister then proceeded to read the statement.

Cheers greeted the Prime Minister when he sat down at 3-18 p.m. G.M.T. (8-48 p.m. I.S.T.) after speaking for 32 minutes.

CHURCHILL'S SPEECH

Mr. Winston Churchill, leader of the Opposition, rose immediately. He said: "I think the Prime Minister was right to read to the House the able but melancholy document to which we have listened, and that it was appropriate that he should read it instead of merely circulating it.

"Certainly I have heard nothing for a long time which so deeply deserves the attention of Parliament and the British nation. The respectful attention which the House gave to every word uttered by the Prime Minister is proof that this opinion is well-founded.

"It would, of course, be most unwise this afternoon for any of us to attempt detailed comment on the long complicated proposals which have now been laid before us.

"The Prime Minister did me the courtesy of sending me a copy last night, but although I read it carefully in the small hours of the morning, and I have now had the advantage of hearing it again, I should certainly not commit myself at this juncture to any thing but observations of a most general character.

"Moreover, these observations, such as they are, arise from the situation in respect of India which we have known for a long time rather than from the new proposals, to which, however, I make a brief reference.

"I am bound to make it clear however, without delay what is the position of the official Opposition.

"The head of the Coalition Government, I and my colleagues of those days, are committed to the offer made to the people of India at the time of the Cripps Mission of 1942, by which we offered Dominion Status as expressed by the Statute of Westminster, including the right of secession.

"We offered this to the many peoples of India, subject to certain provisions, the first was that there should be a broad, real and sincere agreement between the main Indian parties, and the second was that in the constitution we should have provision for honourable discharge of the obligations we have contracted in India towards the minorities, who, added together, are themselves a majority, and also for the discharge of those obligations, embodied with treaties with the Indian States.

"These proposals were made at a moment when the danger of Japanese invasion threat-

ened India in a terrible manner. I personally was induced to agree to them by the all-compelling war interest of trying to rally all forces in India to the defence of their soil against Japanese aggression, and all horrors which would have followed therefrom.

THE CRIPPS MISSION

"The Cripps Mission failed. The answer which Mr. Gandhi gave to the British Government at that time was 'quit India.' He and the Congress proceeded to raise or encourage a revolt or a widespread disturbance affecting principally communications on which the British and Indian forces relied for holding the threatened fronts.

"These disorders, although seriously fomented, were suppressed with surprising ease and very little loss of life, and the inducement to revolt found no response outside political classes from the great mass of the Indian people.

"We persevered and presently the tide turned. India was successfully defended and emerged from the second world convulsion in our lifetime, protected against external violence by the armies, sea power and diplomacy at the disposal of the British Empire, including the valiant contribution of the Indian forces themselves and the Gurkhas.

"Nevertheless, we still persisted in our effort which had been rejected in 1942 and the late Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, on June 14 last, when Government had ceased to be Coalition and was a Conservative Government, used the following words which were quoted by Mr. Eden when the proposal was made to send a Cabinet Mission to India in February.

"These are the words of Mr. Amery: 'The statement makes clear that the offer of March 1942 stands in its entirety. That offer was based in two main principles.

The first is that no limit is set to India's freedom to decide for herself her own destiny, whether as a free member and partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations, or even without it.

The second principle is that this can only be achieved under a constitution or constitutions framed by India, to which the main elements of India's national life are the consenting parties.'

A NEW SITUATION

"By that statement we were and are bound. Now, however, a new situation has arisen. We are confronted with the fact reiterated in the Prime Minister's statement. That there is no

agreement. The main elements of Indian national life are not at present time consenting parties, to quote the words of Mr. Amery.

"No one will doubt the sincerity and earnestness with which the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy have laboured to bring about a solution of the Indian difficulty and worked for a solution with a zeal which would be natural, were it to gain an Empire and not to cast it away.

But the fact is that they have failed through no fault of their own, despite all their efforts and devotion and ingenuity, which is a fact which should be education in Indian matters, not only in this country but throughout the world.

"During these negotiations it has been increasingly clear that the object sought for was not Dominion Status and the subsequent consequence of the right of secession, but direct and immediate independence. I am not sure that results had been realised by the House—it certainly came as a surprise to me.

"The new proposals that we have had seen at first sight to shift the onus of deciding the future Constitution of India from Indian parties to the British Government, who have themselves come forward with an elaborate and detailed scheme.

In so far as this shifting of onus may prove to be the case, it certainly seems to have been an unfortunate step which goes beyond what we understood was the purpose of the Ministers' mission, the mandate they received, which was defined by the Prime Minister as to set up machinery for Indians to decide their form of government.

DISCHARGE OF OBLIGATIONS

"It will, I hope, however, be common ground that we cannot enforce by British arms and a British-made constitution upon Indians against the wishes of any of the main elements in Indian life (cheers.)

"There remains the discharge of our obligations to Indian minorities and the States. We must study the documents with long and searching attention in order to see that these duties have been faithfully safeguarded.

"It would seem at first sight that attention should be particularly directed to the position of the Muslim community of nearly 80,000,000, already most formidable of all races and creeds in the Indian sub-continent, and whose interest and culture are a matter of great consequence to the community as a whole and vital to the peace of India.

"Secondly, we must examine the provision made for the depressed classes, or untouchables as they are called, who number nearly 6,000,000

and for whose status and future repeated assurances have been given and pledges made by many British Governments in ancient and more recent times.

PARAMOUNTCY OF CROWN

"Finally there are relations which the Indian States, which comprise a quarter of the population and one-third of the territory of the Indian Sub-continent, are to have to the Crown and to the new Government.

At present these relations are defined by solemn treaty, dependent upon the Paramountcy of the Crown.

Apparently this is to be abolished.

In a sentence which was obscure and could be either one thing or the other, they would be relegated to a kind of Noman's Land—this question of Paramountcy—and if that is so, it would seem that all foundation for those treaties would be swept away.

"All these matters and many others which will occur to Members as they study the White Paper will require several weeks of profound and earnest consideration, and it would certainly not in my view be desirable to bring this whole matter to debate in the House with all that a debate in these circumstances may entail—It would not be right to bring it in any precipitate manner.

LEGISLATIVE STEPS

"We do not even know at the present time what are the Legislative steps which would be required either for the setting up of an Interim Government or in the event of an agreement being reached, what legislation would be necessary for the creation of a New Constitution or abrogation of the King's title of Emperor of India.

We know nothing of that. Therefore, I say in the name of the Opposition that a new situation has been created, that we are bound to review it in the light of the existing facts, and that we reserve our entire freedom of action as to the future course we should take."

MR. DAVIES' STATEMENT

Mr. Clement Davies, Leader of the Liberal Party, said the Prime Minister's statement was one of the most momentous that had ever been made before the ancient House of Commons.

It would be necessary to study this statement with the very greatest care, and he hoped the House would also wait to hear, understand and appreciate the views of the Indians themselves.

Mr. Davies added: "But a united expression of gratitude from here and from India is

due to the three members of Government for their patience, courage and efforts to resolve this difficult matter, which affects not only the position of India among world States, but future Government and well-being of four hundred million people.

"This is not a moment to utter any thought which might, in any way, jeopardise or affect adversely the possibility of a satisfactory settlement being arrived at by all.

I would only like to say that in the history of our relations with India for over 200 years, our history has been honourable one of which any people and any Government may justifiably be proud.

We may have made mistakes, and have had our faults, but never in the whole course of history can any Empire show such a fine record of tolerance, understanding and justice.

CABINET MISSION'S PRESS CONFERENCE

Sir Stafford Cripps Speaks

Explaining the Cabinet Mission's statement at a Press conference, which was also attended by Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Mr. A. V. Alexander, Sir Stafford Cripps said: "We hope from the bottom of our hearts that the Indian people will accept this statement in the spirit of co-operation in which it has been drawn up and that within a week or two the process of constitution-making may begin and the Interim Government may be formed."

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, joined Sir Stafford in stressing "the determination of the British people as a whole to do everything in their power to assist you in securing a constitution which will enable your future to be great in the annals of your country and in the history of the world."

"You have heard two broadcasts on the statement and you have the document before you. This evening the members of the Mission wanted an opportunity to meet you to give you a few words of explanation and to-morrow we shall be meeting you again to answer questions which you may have to put.

I will make a few remarks about the statement while we are waiting for the Secretary of State to come from the Broadcasting studio.

The first thing I want to point out is what the statement does not purport to do. Let me remind you that this is not merely the Mission's statement, that is the statement of the four signatories, but is the statement of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Now the statement does not purport to set out a new constitution for India. It is of no use asking us "How do you propose to do this or that?" The answer will be: We don't propose to

do anything as regards decision upon a constitution, that is not for us to decide.

What we have had to do is to lay down one or two broad principles of how the constitution might be constructed and recommend those as foundations to the Indian people. You will notice we use the word "recommend" with regard to the ultimate constitutional forms with which we deal.

You may quite fairly ask, "But why do you recommend anything; why not leave it to the Indians?" The answer is that we are most anxious to get all Indians into some constitution-making machinery as quickly as possible and the block at present is in this matter. We are therefore by this means trying to remove the block so that the constitution-making may start and progress freely and rapidly. We hope very earnestly that that will be the effect.

Now, that it has been finally and absolutely decided that India is to have the complete independence she desires, whether within or without the British Commonwealth as she chooses, we are anxious that she shall have it as soon as possible and the soonest is when there is a new constitution structure decided upon by the Indian people.

But of course we cannot just stand by and wait till that time comes. It is bound to take some time to reach that point of completion of the new constitutional structure.

So, as you know, the Viceroy, in whose province Government-making primarily lies, has already started his talks with a view to the immediate setting up of a representative Indian Government. We hope that with the other issues out of the way on the basis of our statement he will be able very rapidly to get that new government representative of the main parties set up and in operation.

This matter of the Interim Government is of supreme importance because of the enormous tasks facing India at the moment. It is these great tasks, and perhaps the greatest of them is to deal with the food situation, that makes it absolutely essential that we should between us arrange a smooth and efficient transition.

Nothing could be more fatal to the Indian people today in the face of dangers of famine than a breakdown of administration and communications anywhere in India, and that is why we stress as we do the vital need for co-operation between all parties and communities including the British in this time of transition.

PROVINCES OPTION

Elucidating the Interim Government plan, Sir Stafford said:

"So much then for the vitally important point of the Interim Government. Some of you may wonder how soon this means that the British will sever their Governmental connection with India—I hope that in any event we shall remain the closest friends when Indian freedom comes.

"Well, we certainly can't say that. Who can foretell how quickly constitutions can be hammered out? One thing is however absolutely certain and this is the quicker you start the quicker you will end and the sooner we shall be able to withdraw, handing over the power to the new Governments of the Union, provinces and, if it is so decided, of the groups.

CONSTITUTION-MAKING

"This brings me to what has been decided rather than recommended. It has been decided to make a start with the constitution-making right away. This does not mean a decision as to what the constitution shall finally be, that is for decision by the representatives of the Indian people.

"What it does mean is that the deadlock which has prevented a start on the process of constitution-making is to be removed once and for all.

"The form in which we propose that the constitution-making bodies should be assembled is important for this reason. It permits of arriving at constitutions in the recommended form. It goes a little further than that in one respect. As we believe and hope that the two parties will come into this constitution-making on the basis of our recommendations it would not be fair to either of them if the fundamental basis which he recommend could be easily departed from.

"We have tried to get a scheme as near as possible to the full adult suffrage which would be fairest but which would take probably two years to work out—and no one believes that we could wait that length of time before starting on constitution-making.

"Some discard the present legislatures as decisive for the option and say let it be exercised when the first new elections have taken place when no doubt there will be a much fuller franchise and when, if necessary, the precise issue can be raised at the election.

"So the three sections will formulate the provincial and group constitutions and when that is done they work together with the States representatives to make the Union constitution. That is the final phase.

POSITION OF STATES

"Now a word about the States. The Statement in Paragraph 14 makes the position quite

clear that Paramountcy cannot be continued after the new constitution comes into operation, nor can it be handed over to anyone else. 'It isn't necessary for me to state—I am sure—that a contract or arrangement of this kind cannot be handed over to a third party without the consent of the States.'

"They will, therefore, become wholly independent but they have expressed their wish to negotiate their way into the Union and that is a matter we leave to negotiation between the States and the British Indian parties.

"There is one other important provision which I would like to stress as it is somewhat novel in constitution-making. We were met by the difficulty of how we could deal fairly with the smaller minorities, the Tribal and the Excluded Areas.

"In any constitution-making body it would be quite impossible to give them a weightage which would secure for them any effective influence without gravely upsetting the balance between the major parties. To give them a tiny representation would be useless to them.

SMALLER MINORITIES

"So we decided that minorities would be dealt with really in a double way. The major minorities, such as the Hindus in Muslim provinces, and the Muslims in Hindu provinces. The Sikhs in the Punjab and the Depressed Classes who had considerable representation in a number of provinces would be dealt with by proportional representation in the main construction of the constitution-making bodies.

"But in order to give these minorities and particularly the smaller minorities like the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians and also the Tribal representatives a better opportunity of influencing minority provisions, we have made provision for the setting up by the constitution-making body of an influential Advisory Commission which will take the initiative in the preparation of the list of fundamental rights, the minority protection clauses and the proposals for the administration of Tribal and Excluded Areas.

"This commission will make its recommendations to the constitution-making body and will also suggest at which stage or stages in the constitution these provisions should be inserted, that is, whether in the Union, group or provincial constitutions or in any two or more of them.

"Now that, I think, gives you some picture of the main points with which we have dealt in our statement.

"There is only one other point that I want to stress before leaving the matter with you until tomorrow morning.

"You will realise, I am sure, how terribly important is this moment of decision for the Indian people.

CRIPPS' APPEAL

"We are convinced that this statement offers an honourable and peaceful method to all parties and if they will accept it we will do all that lies in our power to help forward the constitution-making so as to arrive at the speediest possible settlement.

"Let no one doubt for one moment our intentions. We have stayed here so long and worked so hard only to carry out what has long been the policy of the British Labour Party and that is to transfer power to the Indian people as quickly and smoothly as possible and as co-operatively as the difficulties of the process permit.

"We hope from the bottom of our hearts that the Indian people will accept the statement in the spirit of co-operation in which it has been drawn up, and that within a week or two the process of constitution-making may begin and the interim Government may be formed."

SECRETARY OF STATE'S PRESS CONFERENCE

The British this time intended to quit India, the powers of the Constituent Assembly will virtually be unlimited, British troops are to stay on during the interim period, no time-limit has been fixed for framing the constitution, it is possible for recalcitrant groups to wreck the constitutional procedure, and the new proposals are not an 'award' and so the question of using British troops to enforce them does not arise.

These statements were made by Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, replying to a battery of questions put to him at a 90-minute Press Conference on May 17.

As to the right to opt out of a Group formed by a section, he said, it would arise only after the constitution had been framed and the first election to the legislature had taken place.

The Secretary of State said that no legislation by the British Parliament would be required either for setting up any Interim Government or the constitution-making machinery.

He added that some legislative steps would have to be taken when the new constitution comes into force, but the Labour Government anticipated no serious difficulty in getting it through.

VICEROY'S VETO

Asked what powers the Interim Government will enjoy and whether the Viceroy's veto will remain, or a convention could, as in the

Provinces, be mutually agreed upon whereby the power of veto will remain in suspense, the Secretary of State said that this was a matter for the Viceroy. The Viceroy was negotiating with various bodies about the formation of an Interim Government on the assumption that the constitution-making body would be set up.

Asked if there was any time-limit put for the constitution-making body Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that this matter was discussed by them but they considered it wise not to prescribe any time-limit. The process of constitution-making could proceed rapidly as complexities of the task permitted.

THE INDIA OFFICE

The Secretary of State smiled when the question as to what would be the position of the India Office during the interim period while the constitution-making body would be going ahead with its task, was put.

Coming events cast their shadow before, he observed. Already before his statement was laid, he said, months ago the India Office had been proceeding on the assumption that the time would come when a great change would be made in India and the position of the India Office would be altered. If the constitution-making business went on, that process would be accelerated. The India Office has an enormous administrative machine. That machine would be at the disposal of the new constitution in India. The India Office would gradually be transferred to the control of the new Government.

BENGAL VOTES

Answering questions about the eligibility of election to the Constituent Assembly, the Secretary of State made it clear that persons outside Provincial Legislatures, as regards the term "General" used in the table representation from Provincial Legislatures, included Europeans.

So far as Bengal was concerned 25 votes in the Bengal Assembly might slightly alter the voting at the election of representatives but it would not affect the Constituent Assembly which would have one representative per one million of population.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY'S POWERS

Could the Constituent Assembly be considered sovereign in view of ruling out of adult suffrage and keeping British troops in India during the interim period and previously laying down procedure of constitution-making?

Replying, the Secretary of State said that adult suffrage had not been ruled out. Adult

suffrage, if the constitution-making body so decided, would be an essential basis of the future constitution.

Secondly, if the future constitution of India was based on independence outside the British Commonwealth naturally one of the first steps would be the withdrawal of British troops. British troops would remain until the constitution was made but not for forcing the constitution. The question of British troops remaining did not affect the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly.

Thirdly, the procedure for constitution-making was laid down by the Cabinet Delegation as Indian parties could not come to any agreement.

NO AWARD

Answering another question whether it was intended to enforce the award of the Cabinet Delegation and use British forces in the event of resistance to the proposals, the Secretary of State said that their statement did not announce any award. It was a recommendation as to the function of the constitution-making body and a decision to summon Indian representatives to make their own constitution. Therefore, quite clearly there was no question whatever of the British enforcing an award, and the question of using British troops did not arise.

BRITISH ANXIETY

The A. P. A. writes: Battery of correspondents today probed into every corner of the Cabinet Delegation's new constitutional plan to determine whether it contained loopholes which would permit the British to retain power in India, and were met by answers insisting that Britain this time intended to quit India.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, flanked by Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, answered questions in an effort to convince reporters that they wanted the plan accepted in a form which would permit the British to surrender control of the country at the earliest possible moment.

Most of the questions were directed at the section dealing with Indian States. These have a special position in India since they are ruled by Princes who technically have certain amount of status as independent nations.

At the same time, these Ministers made it clear that once the constitution-making body was in session, its powers were virtually unlimited.

In reply to scores of questions, they said that the Viceroy would take on the job of forming an Interim Government at once.

During the interim period when the constitution will be in the making, British troops

will remain in India. Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that the Government would remain responsible to preserve law and order until the new Indian constitution was finished and could not give up the means of enforcing such law and order.

POSITION OF STATES

As to the Princely States, he agreed that their status was left intentionally vague in the constitutional plan published last night. He said they had a special position and must be brought into the proposed Indian Union by negotiations between the constitution-making body and representatives of the Indian States.

To a direct question whether certain Princely States might choose to remain independent and stay out of the Indian Union altogether, the Secretary of State pointed out that their relationship with Britain was to terminate immediately upon formation of the Union.

Without definitely denying that they might remain out as islands of independence within the Indian Union, he pointed out that they had agreed to co-operate in forming the Union.

These questions were prompted by the situation which developed during the negotiations of four years ago, when a provision was made to permit the States to remain out as independent countries with treaty relations with Britain. This time, no such special provision is made.

A big question remained unanswered at the end of the session, and that was whether the Congress and the Muslim League would participate in the setting up of the constitutional machinery.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence said the Cabinet Delegation would remain in India, because "our next job is to get the plan accepted by the two main bodies."

The plan, as proposed by the Cabinet Mission, provided for a Central Government with powers to act in matters of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that it lay within the powers of constitutional convention to go beyond these proposed limitations, however. He said that safeguards to protect the rights of such a body as the Muslims had been put in. There was the special provision that no decision affecting Muslim and Hindu communities as such could be taken without the approval of a majority of each community.

To a question as to what would happen to French and Portuguese colonies, the Secretary of State explained that this was a question for the Indian Union to determine when it took charge of its own foreign relations.

The A. P. I. writes: Speaking easily and with an even temper and occasionally helped by Sir Stafford Cripps, who sat to his left, Lord Pethick-Lawrence answered scores of questions.

He said that the constitution recommended by the Mission could not be modified in favour of one party to the disadvantage of another.

PROVINCES AND UNION

The question of the right of the provinces vis-a-vis the proposed Union was one of the questions.

He was asked: Just as the provinces have the right to opt out of the groups, will they have the right to secede from the Indian Union, say within two years?

Lord Pethick-Lawrence replied: They will not have the right to opt out in a period of two years. What they will have the right to do is to ask for a revision of the constitution at the end of ten years.

Q: Supposing Assam, which has a Congress Ministry, decided not to come into group C with Bengal, which has a Muslim League Ministry, would Assam be allowed to join any other group?

A: The right to opt out comes later, for this reason; that the whole picture should be understood before the option is exercised.

Q: Can a province, if it opts out of one section, go into another section?

Lord Pethick-Lawrence replied that if the right was given to a province to opt into another section and that other section did not want to receive it, a rather awkward situation would arise. An answer to the question was not laid down in the statement but it would be open to the constituent assembly to deal with it at the appropriate time.

Q: If any province does not wish to join the group in which it has been put, can it stay out?

A: The provinces automatically come into the sections "A" "B" and "C" which are set out in the statement. Initially they are in the particular sections to which they are allocated in the statement and that particular section will decide whether a group shall be formed and what should be the constitution.

The right to opt out of the group formed by that section arises after the constitution has been framed and the first election to the legislature has taken place after that constitution. It does not arise before that.

Q: There is a provision whereby any province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years. Is there included

in the words "call for a reconsideration of the term of the constitution" any right to have secession considered?

A: If you revive the constitution quite clearly the whole basis of the constitution can be considered again. Any province can ask for a revision of the constitution. And so far as I can see, when that revision is undertaken, all questions in the constitution are open to rediscussion.

Q: If the provinces in section "B" which formed a Muslim majority area, decided to form a group but would not come into the Union, what would be the position?

A: It would be a breach of the condition under which all three people met together for the purpose of making the constitution and, therefore, the constitution-making machinery would break down if it was persisted in.

That is contrary to the understanding on which these people came together. If they are coming together on an understanding, presumably honourably accepting the major premise, and if they were to refuse that later on, it will be a breach of the understanding and we do not contemplate such a thing.

Q: Could the provinces in section "B" at the end of ten years decide to be a separate Sovereign State?

A: If the constitution is being revised, of course all proposals for its revision will be open for discussion. Whether they would be carried through is quite another question.

Q: Supposing a group decides not to come into the Union Constituent Assembly, what would be the position as far as that group is concerned?

A: This is a purely hypothetical question. You cannot forejudge exactly what would be done in the event of people not co-operating but there is every intention to proceed with the constitution-making machinery as it is set out in the statement. What will happen if one person or any person or groups of people in some way tried to put spanners in the wheels I am not prepared at this stage precisely to say, but the intention is to get on with the job.

Will it be open to the Constituent Assembly to endow the Union with all powers of taxation, customs, income-tax and other taxes.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence replied that the statement left it open to the Constituent Assembly to interpret the words relating to finance, subject to the condition that any resolution raising a major communal issue should require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities. Subject to that, and subject to alternations in the basic formula, a bare

majority in the Constituent Assembly could carry a proposal.

TEXT OF TRIPARTITE CORRESPONDENCE

Points of fundamental difference which caused the failure of the Simla Conference are revealed in the Tripartite correspondence published on May 18 comprising 21 documents and running to 14 printed pages.

Letters exchanged by the three parties set out the principles and suggested points of agreement put forward by the Cabinet Mission, a memorandum embodying the minimum demands of the Muslim League and points suggested on behalf of the Congress as basis of agreement.

The Conference, which opened on Sunday, May 5, came near breakdown on May 8. On that date Mr. Jinnah, in a letter to the Secretary of State, said that no useful purpose would be served by discussing the points suggested by the Mission.

In a letter, dated May 9, the Congress President stated that the Mission's suggestions were not acceptable, and went on to suggest the formation of an Interim Provisional Government and reference to an independent tribunal of matters in dispute concerning a constituent assembly.

Meetings between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah followed.

In letters concerning these meetings, Pandit Nehru discussed the question of choosing a suitable umpire and said it would be desirable to exclude Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. He added that he and his colleagues had drawn up a list from which a choice could be made, and he presumed that Mr. Jinnah had also prepared a list of possible umpires.

Mr. Jinnah replied that in their meetings not only the fixing of an umpire but several other points were discussed and that no agreement was arrived at on any of them.

LETTERS TO LEADERS

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mr. Jinnah, dated April 27, 1946.

"The Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy have carefully reviewed the opinions expressed to them by the various representatives they have interviewed and have come to the conclusion that they should make one further attempt to obtain agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress.

"They realise that it would be useless to ask the two parties to meet unless they were able to place before them a basis of negotiation which could lead to such an agreement.

"I am, therefore, asked to invite the

Muslim League to send four negotiators to meet the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy together with a similar number from the Congress Working Committee with a view to discussing the possibility of agreement upon a scheme based upon the following fundamental principles:

"The future constitutional structure of British India is as follows:

"A Union Government dealing with the following subjects:—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary Sovereign rights.

"It is contemplated that the Indian States will take their appropriate place in this structure on terms to be negotiated with them.

"I would point out that we do not think it either necessary or desirable further to elaborate these principles as all other matters could be dealt with in the course of the negotiations.

"If the Muslim League and the Congress are prepared to enter into negotiations on this basis, you will perhaps be so good as to let me know the names of the four people appointed to negotiate on their behalf. As soon as I receive these, I will let you know the locus of the negotiations which will in all probability be in Simla, where the climate will be more temperate."

CONGRESS REPLY

Letter from the President of the Congress to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated April 28, 1946:—

"I thank you for your letter of April 27th. I have consulted my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee in regard to the suggestion made by you, and they desire me to inform you that they have always been willing to discuss fully any matters concerning the future of India with representatives of the Muslim League or any other organisation. I must point out, however, that the 'fundamental principles' which you mention require amplification and elucidation in order to avoid any misunderstanding.

"As you are aware, we have envisaged a Federal Union of autonomous units. Such a Federal Union must of necessity deal with certain essential subjects of which defence and its allied subjects are the most important. It

must be organic and must have both an executive and legislative machinery as well as the finance relating to these subjects and the power to raise revenues for these purposes in its own right. Without these functions and powers it would be weak and disjointed and defence and progress in general would suffer. Thus among the common subjects in addition to Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications, there should be Currency, Customs, Tariffs and such other subjects as may be found on closer scrutiny to be intimately allied to them.

"Your reference to two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, is not clear. The only predominantly Muslim provinces are the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan. Bengal and the Punjab have a bare Muslim majority. We consider it wrong to form groups of provinces under the Federal Union and more so on religious or communal basis.

"It also appears that you leave no choice to a province in the matter of joining or not joining a group. It is by no means certain that a province as constituted would like to join any particular group. In any event it would be wholly wrong to compel a province to function against its own wish. While we agree to the provinces having full powers in regard to all remaining subjects as well as the residuary powers, we have also stated that it should be open to any province to exercise its option to have more common subjects with the Federal Union. Any sub-federation within the Federal Union would weaken the Federal Centre and would be otherwise wrong. We do not, therefore, favour any such development.

"Regarding the Indian States we should like to make it clear that we consider it essential that they should be parts of the Federal Union in regard to the common subjects mentioned above. The manner of their coming into the Union can be considered fully later.

"You have referred to certain 'fundamental principles' but there is no mention of the basic issue before us, that is, Indian independence and the consequent withdrawal of the British army from India. It is only on this basis that we can discuss the future of India, or any interim arrangement.

"While we are ready to carry on negotiations with any party as to the future of India, we must state our convictions that reality will be absent from any negotiations whilst an outside ruling power still exists in India.

"I have asked three of my colleagues of the Congress Working Committee, namely, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan to accompany me in any negotiations that may take place as a result of your suggestion."

JINNAH'S REPLY

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated 29th April:

"I thank you for your letter of the 27th April, which I placed before by Working Committee on Saturday morning."

"My colleagues and I fully appreciate the further attempt that the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy are making to bring about an agreement between the Muslim League and the Congress by proposing a meeting of the representatives of the two organisations for the purpose of negotiating an agreement. They, however, desire me to invite your attention to the position taken up by the Muslim League since the passing of the Lahore resolution in 1940 and, thereafter, successively endorsed by the All-India Muslim League sessions and again by the convention of the Muslim League Legislators, as recent as the 9th of April 1946, as per copy enclosed."

"The Working Committee desire to point out that many important matters, both of principle and detail, in your brief letter, require elucidation and clarification, which, in their opinion, can be achieved at the meeting proposed by you."

"Therefore, without prejudice or commitment, the Working Committee, in their anxiety to assist in finding an agreed solution of the Indian constitutional problem, have authorised me to nominate three representatives on behalf of the Muslim League to participate in the negotiations."

"The following are the four names: 1. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, 2. Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, 3. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, and 4. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar."

(A copy of the resolution passed by the Subjects Committee to be placed before the All-India Muslim League Legislators Convention on April 9, 1946 is enclosed with the letter).

SECRETARY OF STATE'S REPLY TO MAULANA AZAD

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the President of the Congress, dated April 29, 1946:

"Thank you for your letter of 28th April. The Cabinet Delegation are very glad to know that the Congress agree to enter the joint discussion with representatives of the Muslim League and ourselves."

"We have taken note of the views you have expressed on behalf of the Working Committee of the Congress. These appear to deal with matters which can be discussed at the Conference for we have never contemplated that acceptance by the Congress and the Muslim League of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement, and what we have asked the Congress Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Muslim League in order to discuss it."

"Assuming that the Muslim League, whose reply we except to receive in the course of the afternoon, also accept our invitation, we propose that these discussions should be held at Simla, and intend to move there ourselves on Wednesday next. We hope that you will be able to arrange for the Congress representatives to be in Simla in time to open the discussions on the morning of Thursday, May 2."

REPLY TO LEAGUE POINTS

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the President of the Muslim League, dated April 29, 1946:

"Thank you for your letter of the 29th April. The Cabinet Delegation are very glad to know that the Muslim League agree to enter the joint discussion with the representatives of the Congress and ourselves. I am glad to say I have received a letter from the President of the Congress to say that they are also willing to participate in the proposed discussions and have nominated Maulana Azad, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as their representatives."

"We have taken note of the resolution of the Muslim League to which you draw our attention. We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition, full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it."

"We propose that these discussions should be held at Simla and we intend to move there ourselves on Wednesday next. We hope that you will be able to arrange for the Muslim League representatives to be in Simla in time to open the discussions on the morning of Thursday, May 2nd."

Agenda:

1. Groups of Provinces:—(A) Composition; (B) Method of Deciding Group Subjects; (C) Character of Group Organisation.
2. Union: (A) Union Subjects; (B) Character of Union Constitution; (C) Finance.
3. Constitution-making Machinery; (A) Composition; (B) Functions; (I) In Respect of Union; (II) in Respect of Groups; (III) In Respect of Provinces."

CONGRESS STAND

Letter from the President of the Congress to Lord Pethick-Lawrence dated May 6, 1946:

"My colleagues and I followed with care the proceedings of the conference yesterday and tried to understand what our conversations were leading up to. I confess to feeling somewhat mystified and disturbed at the vagueness of our talks and some of the assumptions underlying them. While we would like to associate ourselves with every effort to explore ways and means of finding a basis for agreement, we must not deceive ourselves, the Cabinet Mission or the representatives of the Muslim League into the belief that the way the Conference has so far proceeded furnishes hope of success.

"Our general approach to the questions before us was stated briefly in my letter to you of April 28th. We find that this approach has been largely ignored and a contrary method has been followed. We realise that some assumptions have to be made in the early stages as otherwise there can be no progress. But assumptions which ignore or run contrary to fundamental issues are likely to lead to misunderstanding during the later stages.

"In my letter of April 28th, I stated that the basic issue before us was that of Indian independence and the consequent withdrawal of the British army from India, for there can be no independence so long as there is a foreign army on Indian soil.

"We stand for the independence of the whole of India now and not in the distant or near future. Other matters are subsidiary to this and can be fitly discussed and decided by the Constituent Assembly."

"At the conference yesterday I referred to this again and we were glad to find that you and your colleagues, as well as the other members of the conference, accept Indian Independence as the basis of our talks. It was stated by you that the Constituent Assembly would finally decide about the nexus or other relationship that might be established between a free India and England. While this is perfectly true, it does not affect the position now, and that is the acceptance of Indian independence now.

"If that is so then certain consequences inevitably follow. We felt yesterday that there was no appreciation of these consequences. A Constituent Assembly is not going to decide the question of independence; that question must be and; we take it, has been decided now. That Assembly will represent the will of the free Indian nation and give effect to it. It is not going to be bound by any previous arrangements. It has to be preceded by a Provisional Government which must function as far as possible, as a Government of free India, and which should undertake to make all arrangements for the transitional period.

"In our discussions yesterday repeated references were made to 'groups' of provinces functioning together, and it was even suggested that such a group would have an executive and legislative machinery. This method of grouping has not so far been discussed by us but still our talks seemed to presume all this. I should like to make it very clear that we are entirely opposed to any executive or legislative machinery for a group of provinces or units of the federation. That will be sub-federation, if not something more, and we have already told you that we do not accept this. It would result in creating three layers of executive and legislative bodies, an arrangement which will be cumbrous, static and disjointed, leading to continuous friction. We are not aware of any such arrangement in any country.

"We are emphatically of opinion that it is not open to the conference to entertain any suggestions for a division of India. If this is to come, it should come through the Constituent Assembly free from any influence of the present Government power.

"Another point we wish to make clear is that we do not accept the proposal for parity as between groups in regard to the executive or legislature. We realise that everything possible should be done to remove fears and suspicions from the mind of every group and community. But the way to do this is not by unreal methods which go against the basic principles of democracy on which we hope to build up our constitution."

BASIS OF TALKS

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the Presidents of the Muslim League and the Congress, dated May 8, 1946:

"My colleagues and I have been thinking over the best method of laying before the conference what in our judgment seems the most likely basis of agreement as shown by the deliberations so far.

"We have come to the conclusion that it will be for the convenience of the parties if we

commit this to writing and send them confidential copies before the conference meets again.

"We hope to be in a position to let you have this in the course of the morning, but as this will give you too short a time to study it adequately before the proposed resumption of the conference at 3 o'clock this afternoon I feel sure that you will agree that the meeting be postponed until the same hour (3 o'clock) tomorrow afternoon, Thursday, 9th May, and I hope that you will concur in this change of time which we are convinced is in the interests of all parties".

Letter from the Private Secretary to Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the Presidents of the Congress and the Muslim League, dated May 8, 1946:

"With reference to the Secretary of States letter to you this morning the Cabinet Delegation wish me to send to you the enclosed document which is the paper to which the Secretary of State referred. The Delegation propose that this paper should be discussed at the next meeting to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. if that is agreeable to the Congress-Muslim League delegates."

POINTS SUGGESTED BY THE MISSION

Enclosure with letter of May 8: Suggested points for agreement between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League:

1. There shall be an All-India Union Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental rights and having the necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances required for these subjects.

2. All the remaining powers shall vest in provinces.

3. Groups of provinces may be formed and such groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire.

4. The groups may set up their own executives and legislatures.

5. The legislature of the Union shall be composed of equal proportions from the Muslim-majority provinces and from the Hindu-majority provinces whether or not these or any of them have formed themselves into groups; together with representatives of the States.

6. The Government of the Union shall be constituted in the same proportion as the legislature.

7. The constitutions of the Union and the groups (if any) shall contain a provision whereby any province can be a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly call for a reconsideration

of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals thereafter.

For the purpose of such reconsideration a body shall be constituted on the same basis as the original Constituent Assembly and with the same provisions as to voting and shall have power to amend the constitution in any way decided upon.

8. The constitution-making machinery to arrive at a constitution on the above basis shall be as follows:

A. Representatives shall be elected from each Provincial Assembly in proportion to the strength of the various parties in that assembly on the basis of 1/10 of their numbers.

B. Representatives shall be invited from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India.

C. The Constituent Assembly so formed shall meet at the earliest date possible in New Delhi.

D. After its preliminary meeting at which the general order of business will be settled it will divide into three sections, one section representing the Hindu-majority provinces, one section representing the Muslim-majority provinces and one representing the States.

E. The first two sections will then meet separately to decide the provincial constitutions for their group and, if they wish, a group constitution.

F. When these have been settled it will be open to any province to decide to opt out of its original group and into the other group or to remain outside any group.

G. Thereafter the three bodies will meet together to settle the constitution for the Union on the lines agreed in paragraphs 1-7 above.

H. No major point in the Union constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed by the Assembly unless a majority of both the two major communities vote in its favour.

9. The Viceroy shall forthwith call together the above constitution-making machinery which shall be governed by the provisions stated in paragraph 8 above.

MUSLIM LEAGUE REACTION

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated May 8, 1946:

"I have now received the letter of your Private Secretary, dated 8th May, 1946, and the enclosed document to which you had referred in your earlier letter of 8th May, 1946. It is proposed by you that this 'paper' be discussed at the next meeting of the conference to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. if this is agreeable to the Muslim League delegation.

"Your proposal embodied in your letter of 27th April, 1946, runs as follows:

"A Union Government dealing with the following subjects:—Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces, and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all residuary sovereign rights.

"This matter was to be discussed at Simla and we agreed to attend the conference on Sunday, 5th May, 1946, on the terms of my letter, dated 28th April, 1946.

"You were good enough to explain your formula and then after hours of discussion on the 5th and 6th of May, the Congress finally and definitely turned down the proposed Union confined only to three subjects even with power to levy contribution for financing the Union.

"Next, your formula clearly envisaged an agreement precedent between the Congress and the Muslim League with regard to the grouping of Muslim and Hindu provinces and the formation of two Federations of the grouped provinces and it followed that there must be two constitution-making machineries. It was on that basis that some kind of Union was suggested in your formula confined only to three subjects and our approval was sought in order to put into this skeleton blood and flesh. This proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress and the meeting had to be adjourned for the Mission to consider the matter further as to what steps they may take in the matter.

"And now the new enclosed document has been sent to us with a view that this paper should be discussed at the next meeting to be held on Thursday afternoon at 3 p.m. The heading of the paper is 'suggested points for agreement between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League.' By whom are they suggested, it is not made clear.

"We are of the opinion that the new suggested points for agreement are a fundamental departure from original formula embodied

in your letter of 27th April, which was rejected by the Congress.

"To mention some of the important points we are now asked to agree that there should be one all-India Union Government in terms of paragraphs 1-7 of this paper, which adds one more subject to be vested in the Union Government, i.e., "Fundamental rights" and it is not made clear whether the Union Government and legislature will have power or not to obtain for itself the finances by means of taxation.

"In the new 'suggestions' the question of grouping of provinces is left exactly as the Congress spokesmen desired in the course of discussions that have taken place hitherto, and is totally different from your original formula.

"That there should be a single constitution-making body we can never agree to; nor can we agree to the method of formation of constitution-making machineries suggested in the paper.

"There are many other objectionable features contained in the suggestions which we have not dealt with as we are only dealing with the main points arising out of this paper.

"In these circumstances, we think, no useful purpose will be served to discuss this paper as it is a complete departure from your original formula, unless after what we have said above you still desire us to discuss it in the conference itself tomorrow.

PETHICK-LAWRENCE'S LETTER

Letter from Lord Pethick-Lawrence to the President of the Muslim League, dated May 9, 1946.

I have to acknowledge your letter of yesterday which I have shown to my colleagues. In it you raise a number of issues to which I propose to reply in order.

1. You claim that Congress "finally and definitely turned down the proposed union confined only to three subjects even with power to levy contribution for financing the Union."

This statement is not in accord with my recollection of what took place in the conference room. It is true that the Congress representatives expressed their view that the limitation was too narrow and argued further that even so limited, it necessarily included certain ancillary matters.

Up to a point you recognised that there was some force in the argument because you agreed, as I understood, that some power to obtain the necessary finance must be given. There was no final decision on this matter (or of course on any other).

2. Next you claim, if I understood you alright, that our reference to the formation of

R. G. Groups is at variance with the formula in our invitation. I am afraid I cannot accept this view.

It is of course a slightly amplified form because it specifies the manner in which the provinces can decide as to joining any particular group.

This amplified form is put forward by us as a reasonable compromise between the views of the Muslim League and those originally expressed by Congress against grouping at all.

3. You further take exception to the machinery that we suggest should be set up for making the constitution.

I would point out to you however that you yourself in explaining how your two constitution-making bodies would work agreed on Tuesday last in the conference that they would have to join together in the end to decide the constitution of the Union and you took no exception to their having a preliminary session in common to decide procedure.

What we are proposing is, in fact, precisely the same thing expressed in different words. I am, therefore, quite at a loss to understand what you have in mind when you use the words "this proposal was also categorically turned down by the Congress".

4. In your next succeeding paragraph you ask who it is that makes the suggestions that are contained in the document I sent you. The answer is the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy who makes them in our endeavour to bridge the gap between the viewpoints of the Congress and the Muslim League.

5. You next take exception to our departing from the original formula in my invitation. I would remind you that in accepting my original invitation neither the Muslim League nor the Congress bound itself to accept in full the original formula, and in my reply of April 29 I wrote these words:

"We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition for approval by them of the terms set out in my letter.

"These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it."

Indeed this is the only sensible attitude because the object of all our discussions is to explore every conceivable possibility of reaching agreement.

6. Fundamental rights were included by us in our suggestions for addition to the list of

Union subjects because it seemed to us that it would be of benefit both to the large communities and to the small minorities for them to be put in and accordingly to be worthy of consideration in our conference.

As to finance it will of course be quite open to discuss in the conference the precise significance of the inclusion of this word, in I.G.S. context.

7. Your two following paragraphs are mainly a recapitulation of your previous arguments and have been already dealt with above.

From your last paragraph I understand that though you do not consider in the circumstances that any good purpose would be served by the attendance of the Muslim League Delegation at the conference fixed for this afternoon, you are willing to come if we express a desire that you should do so.

My colleagues and I wish to obtain the views of both parties on the document submitted and, therefore, would be glad to see you at the conference.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S LETTER

Letter from the President of the Congress to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, dated May 9, 1946:

My colleagues and I have given the most careful consideration to the memorandum sent by you yesterday suggesting various points of agreement.

On April 28, I sent you a letter in which I explained briefly the Congress view-point in regard to certain "fundamental principles" mentioned in your letter of April 27. After the first day of the conference, on May 6, I wrote to you again to avoid any possible misunderstanding regarding the issues being discussed in the conference.

I now find from your memorandum that some of your suggestions are entirely opposed to our views and to the views repeatedly declared by the Congress.

We are thus placed in a difficult position. It has been and is our desire to explore every avenue for a settlement and a change-over in India by consent, and for this purpose we are prepared to go far.

But there are obvious limits beyond which we cannot go if we are convinced that this would be injurious to the people of India and to India's progress as a free nation.

In my previous letters I have laid stress on the necessity of having a strong and organic Federal Union. I have also stated that we do not approve of sub-federations or grouping of provinces in the manner suggested, and are wholly opposed to parity in Executives or Legislatures as between wholly unequal groups.

We do not wish to come in the way of provinces or other units co-operating together, if they so choose, but this must be entirely official.

The proposals you have put forward are meant, we presume, to limit the free discretion of the Constituent Assembly. We do not see how this can be done. We are at present concerned with one important aspect of a larger problem.

Any decision on this aspect taken now might well conflict with the decisions we, or the Constituent Assembly, might want to take on other aspects.

The only reasonable course appears to us is to have a Constituent Assembly with perfect freedom to draw up its constitution, with certain reservations to protect the rights of minorities. Thus we may agree that any major communal issue must be settled by consent of the parties concerned, or, where such consent is not obtained, by arbitration.

From the proposals you have sent us (S D.E.F.G.) it would appear that two or three separate constitutions might emerge for separate groups, joined together by a common super-structure left to the mercy of the three disjointed groups.

There is also compulsion in the early stages for a province to join a particular group whether it wants to or not. Thus why should the Frontier Province, which is clearly a Congress Province, be compelled to join any group hostile to the Congress?

We realise that in dealing with human beings, as individuals or groups, many considerations have to be borne in mind besides logic and reason.

But logic and reason cannot be ignored altogether, and unreason and injustice are dangerous companions at any time and, more especially, when we are building for the future of hundreds of millions of human beings.

I shall now deal with some of the points in your memorandum and make some suggestions in regard to them.

No. 1. We note that you have provided for the Union to have necessary powers to obtain for itself the finance it requires for the subjects it deals with.

We think it should be clearly stated that the Federal Union must have power to raise revenues in its own right. Further that currency and custom must in any event be included in the Union subjects, as well as such other subjects as on closer scrutiny may be found to be intimately allied to them.

One other subject is an essential and inevitable Union subject and that is Planning.

Planning can only be done effectively at the Centre, though the Provinces or Units will give effect to it in their respective areas.

The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies.

Nos. 5 and 6. We are entirely opposed to the proposed parity, both in the Executive and Legislature, as between wholly unequal groups.

This is unfair and will lead to trouble. Such a provision contains in itself the seed of conflict and the destruction of free growth. If there is no agreement on this or any similar matter, we are prepared to leave it to arbitration.

No. 7. We are prepared to accept the suggestion that provision be made for a reconsideration of the constitution after ten years. Indeed the constitution will necessarily provide the machinery for the revision at any time.

The second clause lays down that reconsideration should be done by a body constituted on the same basis as the Constituent Assembly. This present provision is intended to meet an emergency. We expect that the Constitution for India will be based on Adult Suffrage. Ten years hence, India is not likely to be satisfied with anything less than adult suffrage to express its mind on all grave issues.

No. 8-A. We would suggest that the just and proper method of elections, fair to all parties, is the method of proportional representation by single transferable vote.

It might be remembered that the present basis of election for the Provincial Assemblies is strongly weighted in favour of the minorities.

The proportion of one-tenth appears to be too small and will limit the numbers of the Constituent Assembly too much. Probably, the number would not exceed two hundred.

In the vitally important tasks the Assembly will have to face, it should have larger numbers. We suggest that at least one-fifth of the total membership of the Provincial Assemblies should be elected for the Constituent Assembly.

No. 8-B. This clause is vague and requires elucidation. But for the present we are not going into further details.

No. 8-D.E.F.G. I have already referred to these clauses. We think that both the formation of these groups and the procedure suggested are worn and undesirable.

We do not wish to rule out the formation of the groups if the Provinces so desire. But this subject must be left open for decision by the Constituent Assembly. The drafting and settling of the Constitution should begin with the Federal Union. This should contain common and uniform provisions for the Provinces

and other Units. The provinces may then add to these.

No. 8-H.—In the circumstances existing today we are prepared to accept some such clause. In case of disagreement the matter should be referred to arbitration.

I have pointed out above some of the obvious defects as we see them, in the proposals contained in your memorandum. If these are remedied, as suggested by us, we might be in a position to recommend their acceptance by the Congress. But as drafted in the memorandum sent to us, I regret that we are unable to accept them.

On the whole, therefore, if the suggestions are intended to have a binding effect, with all the will in the world to have an agreement with the League, we must repudiate most of them. Let us not run into any evil greater than the one all of us three parties should seek to avoid.

If an agreement, honourable to both the parties and favourable to the growth of free and united India, cannot be achieved, we would suggest that in Interim Provisional Government responsible to the elected members of the Central Assembly be formed at once and the matters in dispute concerning the Constituent Assembly between the Congress and the League be referred to an independent tribunal.

After a proposal by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that an umpire should be appointed to settle matters of difference between the parties, the conference, understanding that there was a likelihood of agreement on an umpire between the parties, was adjourned and the following correspondence passed between the parties.

NEHRU'S LETTER TO JINNAH

Letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the President of the Muslim League, dated 10th May, 1946:

"In accordance with our decision yesterday at the conference, my colleagues have given a good deal of thought to the choice of a suitable umpire. We have felt that it would probably be desirable to exclude Englishmen, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

"The field is thus limited. Nevertheless we have drawn up a considerable list from which a choice can be made. I presume that you have also, in consultation with your Executive, prepared a list of possible umpires.

"Would you like these two lists to be considered by us, that is, by you and me? If so, we can fix up a meeting for the purpose. After we have met, our recommendation can be considered by the eight of us, that is, the four representatives of the Congress and the four representatives of the Muslim League, and

a final choice can be made, which we can place before the conference when it meets tomorrow.

LEAGUE PRESIDENT'S REPLY

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated May 10th, 1946:

I received your letter of 10th May at 8 p.m.

At yesterday's meeting between you and me at the Viceregal Lodge, we discussed several points besides the fixing of an umpire. After a short discussion, we came to the conclusion that we will further examine your proposal made by you at the conference yesterday, with all its implications after you and me consulting our respective colleagues.

I shall be glad to meet you to consider the various aspects of your proposal any time that may suit you tomorrow morning after 10 o'clock.

Letter from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the President of Muslim League, dated May 11th, 1946:

"Your letter of May 10th reached me at 10 last night.

"During the talk we had at Viceregal Lodge, you referred to various matters besides the choice of an umpire and I gave you my reactions in regard to them but I was under the impression that the proposal to have an umpire had been agreed to and our next business was to suggest names.

"Indeed it was when some such agreement was reached in the conference that we had, we had our talk. My colleagues have proceeded on this basis and prepared a list of suitable names.

"The conference will expect us to tell them this afternoon the name of the umpire we fix upon, or at any rate, to place before them suggestions in this behalf.

"The chief implication in having an umpire is to agree to accept his final decision. We agree to this. We suggest that we might start with this and report accordingly to the conference.

"As suggested by you, I shall come over to your place of residence at about 10-30 this morning.

Letter from the President of the Muslim League to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated May 11th, 1946:

"I am in receipt of your letter of 11th May, 1946.

"During the talk we had at the Viceregal Lodge which lasted for about 15 or 20 minutes. I pointed out various aspects and implications of your proposals and we had a discussion for a little while, but no agreement was arrived at

between you and me on any point except that at your suggestion that you consult your colleagues and I should do likewise. We adjourned to meet again the next day to further discuss the matter.

"I shall be glad to meet you at 10-30 this morning for a further talk."

LEAGUE DEMANDS

Memorandum by the President of the Muslim League embodying minimum demands by way of an offer, in accordance with the conference decision, dated 12th May, 1946.

(Copies sent to the Cabinet Delegation and the Congress).

Principles to be agreed to as our offer:

1. The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N.-W.F.P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except foreign affairs, defence and communications necessary for defence, which may be dealt with by the constitution-making bodies of the two groups of Provinces—Muslim Provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan Group) and Hindu Provinces—sitting together.

2. There shall be a separate constitution-making body for the six Muslim provinces named above, which will frame constitutions for the group and the provinces in the group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the provinces.

3. The method of election of the representatives to the constitution-making body will be such as would secure proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their population in each province of the Pakistan Group.

4. After the constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the Provinces are finally framed by the constitution-making body, it will be open to any province of the group to decide to opt out of its group, provided the wishes of the people of that province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

5. It must be open to discussion in the joint constitution-making body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not.

The method of providing the Union with Finance should also be left for the decision of the joint meeting of the two constitution-making bodies, but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

6. There should be parity of representation between the two groups of Provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature, if any.

No major point in the Union Constitution,

which affects the communal issue, shall be deemed to be passed in the joint constitution-making body, unless the majority of the members of the constitution-making body of the Hindu Provinces and the majority of the members of the constitution-making body of the Pakistan Group, present and voting, are separately in its favour.

8. No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature, except by a majority of three-fourths.

9. In group and provincial constitutions, fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

10. The constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any province can, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the constitution, and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of ten years.

These are the principles of our offer for a peaceful and amicable settlement and this offer stands in its entirety and all matters mentioned herein are interdependent.

CONGRESS POINTS AS BASIS OF AGREEMENTS

Points suggested on behalf of the Congress as a basis for agreement, 12th May, 1946:

1. The Constituent Assembly to be formed as follows:

(I) Representatives shall be elected by each Provincial Assembly by proportional Representation (single transferable vote). The numbers elected should be one-fifth of the number of members of the Assembly or others.

(II) Representatives from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India. How these representatives are to be chosen is to be considered later.

2. The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a constitution for the Federal Union. This shall consist of an All-India Federal Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental rights, Currency, Customs and Planning, as well as such other subjects as, on closer scrutiny, may be found to be intimately allied to them.

The Federal Union will have necessary powers to obtain for itself the finance it requires for these subjects and the power to raise revenues in its own right. The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases

(5) "Our proposal that the Pakistan group should have the right to secede from the Union after the initial period of ten years, although the Congress had no serious objection to it, has been omitted and now we are only limited to reconsideration of the terms of the Union constitution after the initial period of ten years."

CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY

Referring to the constitution-making machinery, Mr. Jinnah says: "Here again the representative of British Baluchistan is included in Section B, but how he will be selected is not indicated."

(6) With regard to the Constitution-making body for the purpose of framing the proposed Union constitution, it will have an overwhelming Hindu majority as in a House of 292 for British-Indian Muslim strength will be 79, and if the number allotted to the Indian States, 93 is taken into account, it is quite obvious that Muslim proportion will be further reduced as the bulk of the States representatives would be Hindus. This assembly so constituted will elect the Chairman and other officers, it seems, also the members of the Advisory Committee referred to in para 20 of the statement, by majority and the same rule will apply also to other normal business." But I note there is only one saving clause which runs as follows:

"In the Union Constituent Assembly resolution varying the provisions of paragraph 75 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities."

"The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so required by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decisions."

It follows, therefore, that it will be the Chairman alone who will decide. He will not be bound by the opinion of the Federal Court. Nor indeed anybody knows what that opinion was as the Chairman is merely directed to consult the Federal Court:

(7) With regard to the provinces opting out of their groups, it is left to the new legislature of the provinces after the first general election under the new constitution to decide instead of referendum of the people as suggested by us."

RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

"The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the

interests affected: and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of fundamental rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the provincial, group or Union Constitution."

"This raises a very serious question indeed", says Mr. Jinnah. "For if it is left to the Union Constituent Assembly to decide these matters by majority vote and whether any of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee should be incorporated in the Union Constitution, then it will open the door to more subjects being vested in the Union Government. This will destroy the very basic principle that the Union is to be strictly confined to three subjects."

Mr. Jinnah concludes:

"These are some of the points which I have tried to put before the public after studying this important document. I do not like to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which are going to meet shortly at Delhi. They will finally take such decision as they may think proper after careful consideration of the pros and cons and thorough and dispassionate examination of the statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy."

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

The Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution on May 24, expressing its inability "to give a final opinion at this stage of H.M.G.'s proposals" as it finds a divergence between these proposals and Congress objectives.

Following is the full text of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the Cabinet Mission's proposals:

"The Working Committee has given careful consideration to the statement dated May 16, issued by the Delegation of the British Cabinet and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government, as well as the correspondence relating to it that has passed between the Congress President and the members of the Delegation. They have examined it with every desire to find a way for a peaceful and co-operative transfer of power and the establishment of a free and independent India. Such an India must necessarily have a strong Central authority capable of representing the nation with power and dignity in the counsels of the world."

In considering the statement, the Working Committee have kept in view the picture of the

future, in so far as this was available to them from the proposals made for the formation of a provisional Government and the clarification given by the members of the Delegation. This picture is still incomplete and vague. It is only on the basis of the full picture that they can judge and come to a decision as to how far this is in conformity with the objective they aim at.

These objectives are: Independence for India a strong, though limited, Central authority, full autonomy for the provinces, the establishment of a democratic structure in the Centre and in the units, the guarantee of the fundamental rights of each individual so that he may have full and equal opportunities of growth, and further that each community should have opportunity to live the life of its choice within the larger framework.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Committee regret to find a divergence between these objectives and the various proposals that have been made on behalf of the British Government, and, in particular, there is no vital change envisaged during the interim period when the provisional Government will function, in spite of the assurance given in Paragraph 23 of the statement. If the independence of India is aimed at, then the functioning of the provisional Government must approximate closely in fact, even though not in law, to that independence, and all obstructions and hindrances to it should be removed. The continued presence of a foreign army of occupation is a negation of independence.

The statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy contains certain recommendations and suggests a procedure for the building up of a Constituent Assembly, which is sovereign in so far as the framing of the constitution is concerned. The Committee do not agree with some of these recommendations. In their view it will be open to the Constituent Assembly itself at any stage to make changes and variations, with the proviso that in regard to certain major communal matters a majority decision of both the major communities will be necessary.

The procedure for the election of the Constituent Assembly is based on representation in the ratio of one to million. But the application of this principle appears to have been overlooked in the case of European members of Assemblies, particularly in Assam and Bengal. Therefore, the Committee expect that this oversight will be corrected.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

The Constituent Assembly is meant to be

a fully elected body, chosen by the elected members of the provincial legislatures. In Baluchistan, there is no elected Assembly or any other kind of chamber which might elect a representative for the Constituent Assembly. It would be improper for any kind of nominated individual to speak for the whole province of Baluchistan, which he really does not represent in any way.

In Coorg, the Legislative Council contains some nominated members as well as Europeans elected from a special constituency of less than a hundred from the general constituencies should participate in the election.

The statement of the Cabinet Delegation affirms the basic principle of provincial autonomy and residuary powers vesting in the provinces. It is further said that provinces should be free to form groups. Subsequently, however, it is recommended that provincial representatives will divide up into sections which "shall proceed to settle the provincial constitutions for the provinces in each section and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those provinces."

There is a marked discrepancy in these two separate provisions, and it would appear that a measure of compulsion is introduced which clearly infringes the basic principle of Provincial Autonomy. In order to retain the commendatory character of the statement, and in order to make the Clauses consistent with each other, the Committee read Paragraph 15 to mean that, in the first instance, the respective provinces shall make their choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed. Thus the Constituent Assembly must be considered as a sovereign body with final authority for the purpose of drawing up a constitution and giving effect to it.

INDIAN STATES

The provision in the statement in regard to the Indian States are vague and much has been left for future decision. The Working Committee would, however, like to make it clear at the Constituent Assembly cannot be formed of entirely desperate elements. And the manner of appointing State representatives for the Constituent Assembly must approximate, in so far as it is possible, to the method adopted in the provinces.

The Committee are gravely concerned to learn that even at this present moment some State Governments are attempting to crush the spirit of their people with the help of the armed forces. These recent developments in the States are of great significance in the present and for the future of India, as they indicate that there

is no real change of policy on the part of some of the State Governments and of those who exercise paramountcy.

A Provisional National Government must have a new basis and must be a recursor of the full independence that will emerge from the Constituent Assembly. It must function in recognition of that fact though changes in law need not be made at this stage.

The Governor-General may continue as the head of that Government during the interim period. But the Government should function as a Cabinet responsible to the Central Legislature. The status, powers and composition of the provisional Government should be fully defined in order to enable the Committee to come to a decision. Major Communal issues shall be decided in the manner referred to above in order to remove any possible fear or suspicion from the minds of a minority.

OPINION RESERVED

The Working Committee consider that the connected problems involved in the establishment of a provisional Government and a Constituent Assembly should be viewed together so that they may appear as parts of the same picture, and there may be co-ordination between the two, as well as an acceptance of the independence that is now recognised as India's right and due.

It is only with the conviction that they are engaged in building up a free, great and independent India, that the Working Committee can approach this task and invite the co-operation of all the people of India.

In the absence of a full picture, the Committee are unable to give a final opinion at this stage.

MISSION REPLIES TO CONGRESS AND LEAGUE

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in a statement issued on May 25, replied to the points raised in the Congress Cabinet's resolution and Mr. Jinnah's statement.

(1) Once the Constituent Assembly starts its work—"there is no intention to interfere with its discretion"—H.M.G. will through Parliament take the necessary action for cession of sovereignty to the Indian people.

2. The grouping of the Provinces (regarding their choice to belong to their respective section) is an essential feature of the scheme and can be modified only by an agreement between the parties.

(3) The Interim Government will be selected in consultation with the political parties, and H. M. G. will give it the "greatest possible

freedom in the exercise of day-to-day administration."

(4) There is nothing to prevent members of the interim cabinet from resigning in case of a vote of no-confidence or of failure to pass any important measure.

(5) Owing to Parliament's "ultimate responsibility for the security of India" under the present India Act, "it is necessary that British troops should remain during the interim period which, it is hoped, will be short."

The following is the full text of the statement:

"The Delegation have considered the statement of the President of the Muslim League dated May 22, and the resolution dated May 24 of the Working Committee of the Congress

"The position is that since the Indian leaders, after prolonged discussion, failed to arrive at an agreement, the Delegation put forward their recommendations as the nearest approach to reconciling the views of the two main parties. The scheme stands as a whole and can only succeed if it is accepted and worked in a spirit of co-operation.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

"The Delegation wish also to refer briefly to a few points that have been raised in the statement and resolution.

"The authority and the functions of the Constituent Assembly, and the procedure which it is intended to follow, are clear from the Cabinet Delegation's statement.

"Once the Constituent Assembly is formed and is working on this basis—there is no intention of interfering with its discretion or questioning its labours—H. M. G. will recommend to Parliament such action as may be necessary for the cession of sovereignty to the Indian people, subject only to two matters which are mentioned in the statement and which, we believe, are not controversial, namely—adequate provision for the protection of minorities (paragraph 20 of the statement) and willingness to conclude a treaty with H. M. G. to cover matters arising out of the transfer of power (paragraph 22 of the statement).

CONCESSIONS TO BRITISHERS

"It is a consequence of the system of election that a few Europeans can be elected to the Constituent Assembly. Whether the right so given will be exercised is a matter for them to decide.

"The representative of Baluchistan will be elected at a joint meeting of the Shahi Jirga and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality.

"In Coorg the whole Legislative Council will have the right to vote, but the official members will receive instructions not to take part in the election.

PAKISTAN IN MASK

"The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the statement to the effect that the Provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed is not accord with the Delegation's intentions.

"The reasons for the grouping of the Provinces are well-known and this is an essential feature of the scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties.

"The right to opt out of the Groups after the constitution-making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves, since at the first election under the new Provincial Constitution this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue, and all those entitled to vote under the new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic decision.

CHOICE FOR STATES

"The question of how the States representatives should be appointed to the Constituent Assembly is clearly one which must be discussed with the States. It is not a matter for decision by the Delegation.

INTERIM GOVERNMENT

"It is agreed that the Interim Government should have a new basis. That basis is that all portfolios including that of the War Member should be held by Indians; and that the members will be selected in consultation with the Indian political parties. These are very significant changes in the Government of India and a long step towards independence.

"H. M. G. will recognise the effect of these changes, will attach the fullest weight to them, and will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of India.

CABINET RESPONSIBILITY

"As the Congress Statement recognises the interim constitution must continue during the interim period; and the Interim Government cannot therefore be made legally responsible to the Central Legislature. There is, however, nothing to prevent the members of the Government individually or by common consent, from resigning, if they fail to pass an important measure through the Legislature or if a vote of confidence is passed against them.

BRITISH TROOPS

"There is, of course, no intention of retaining British troops in India against the wish of

an independent India under the new constitution; but during the interim period which it is hoped will be short, the British Parliament has under the present Constitution, the ultimate responsibility for the security of India and it is necessary, therefore, that British troops should remain."

GANDHIJI'S ANALYSIS OF MISSION'S PLAN

"After four days of searching examination of the State Paper issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on behalf of the British Government my conviction abides that it is the best document the British Government could have produced in the circumstances," says Mahatma Gandhi under the caption "An Analysis" in the *Harijan*, dated May 26.

Mahatma Gandhi adds: "It reflects our weakness, if we would be good enough to see it—the Congress and Muslim League did not and could not agree. We would grievously err, if at this time, we foolishly satisfy ourselves that the differences are a British creation.

"The Mission have not come all the way from England to exploit them. They have come to devise the easiest and quickest method of ending British rule. We must be brave enough to believe their declaration until the contrary is proved. Bravery thrives upon the deceit of the deceiver.

"My compliment, however, does not mean that what is best from the British standpoint is also best or even good from the Indian. Their best may possibly be harmful. My meaning will, I hope, be clear from what follows.

"The authors of the document have endeavoured to say fully what they mean. They have gathered from their talks the minimum they thought would bring the parties together for framing India's charter of freedom.

"Their one purpose is to end British rule as early as may be. They would do so, if they could, by their effort, leave a united India not torn asunder by internecine quarrel bordering on civil war. They would leave in any case.

"Since in Simla the two parties, though the Mission succeeded in bringing them together at the conference table (with what patience and skill they could do so they alone could tell), could not come to an agreement, nothing daunted them. They descended to the plains of India and devised a worthy document for the purpose of setting up the Constituent Assembly which should frame India's charter of independence free of any British control or influence.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION

"It is an appeal and an advice. It has no compulsion in it. Thus the Provincial Assem-

olies may or may not elect the delegates. The delegates having been elected may or may not join the Constituent Assembly.

"The Assembly having met may lay down a procedure different from the one laid down in the statement. Whatever is binding on any person or party arises out of necessity of the situation. The separated voting is binding on both the major parties, only because it is necessary for the existence of the Assembly and in no case otherwise.

"At the time of writing I took up the statement, re-read it, clause by clause, and came to the conclusion that there was nothing in it binding in law. Honour and necessity alone are the two binding forces. What is binding is that part of it which commits the British Government.

"When, I suppose, the four members of the British Mission took the precaution, receiving full approval of the British Government and the two Houses of Parliament, the Mission are entitled to warm congratulations for the first step in the act of renunciation which the statement is. Since other steps are necessary for full renunciation I have called this one a promissory note.

"Though the response to be made by India is to be voluntary, the authors have naturally assumed that the Indian parties are well organised and responsible bodies capable of doing voluntary acts as full as, if not more fully than, compulsory acts.

Therefore, when Lord Pethick-Lawrence said to a Press correspondent, 'if they do come together on that basis it, will mean that they will have accepted that basis but they can still change it, if by a majority of each party they desire to do so', he was right in the sense that those who became delegates well knowing the contents of the statement were expected by authors to abide by the basis unless it was duly altered by the major parties.

"When two or more rival parties meet together they do so under some understanding. A self-chosen umpire (in the absence of one chosen by the parties the authors constitute themselves one) fancies that the parties will come together only if he presents them with a proposal containing a certain minimum and he makes his proposal leaving them free to add, to subtract from or altogether change it by joint agreement.

PROBLEM OF GROUPING

"This is perfect so far. But what about the units? Are the Sikhs, for whom the Punjab is the only home in India, to consider themselves against their will as part of the Section which takes in Sindh, Baluchistan and the Frontier

Province? Or is the Frontier Province also against its will to belong to the Punjab called "B" in the statement; or Assam to "C" although it is a Predominantly Non-Muslim Province?

"In my opinion the voluntary character of the statement demands that the liberty of individual unit should be unimpaired. Any member of the Sections is free to join it. The freedom to opt out is an additional safeguard. It can never be a substitute for the freedom retained in Para (15) which reads:

"Provinces should be free to form groups with Executive and Legislatures and each group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in 'common.'

"It is clear that this freedom was not taken away by the authors by Section 19 which 'proposes' (does not order) what should be done.

"It presupposes that the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly at its first meeting will ask the delegates of the provinces whether they would accept the group principle and if they do, whether they will accept the assignment given to their province. This freedom is inherent in every province and that given by para (15) will remain in tact.

"There appears to me to no other way . . . avoiding the apparent conflict between the two paragraphs as also the charge of compulsion which would immediately after the noble character of the document.

"I would, therefore, ask all those who are perturbed by the group proposal and the arbitrary assignment, that, if my interpretation is valid, there is not the slightest cause for perturbation.

There are other things in the document which would puzzle any hasty reader who forgets that it is simply an appeal and advice to the nation showing how to achieve independence in the shortest time possible.

"The reason is clear. In the new world that is to emerge out of the present chaos, India in bondage will cease to be "the brightest jewel in the British Crown. It will become the blackest spot in that Crown, so black that it will be fit only for the dustbin.

"Let me ask the reader to hope and pray with me that the British Crown has a better use for Britain and the world. The brightest jewel is an arrogation.

"When the promissory note is fully honoured, the British Crown will have a unique jewel as of right flowing from due performance of duty.

"There are other matters outside the statement which are required to back the promissory note. But I must defer that examination to the next issue of *Harigan*.

